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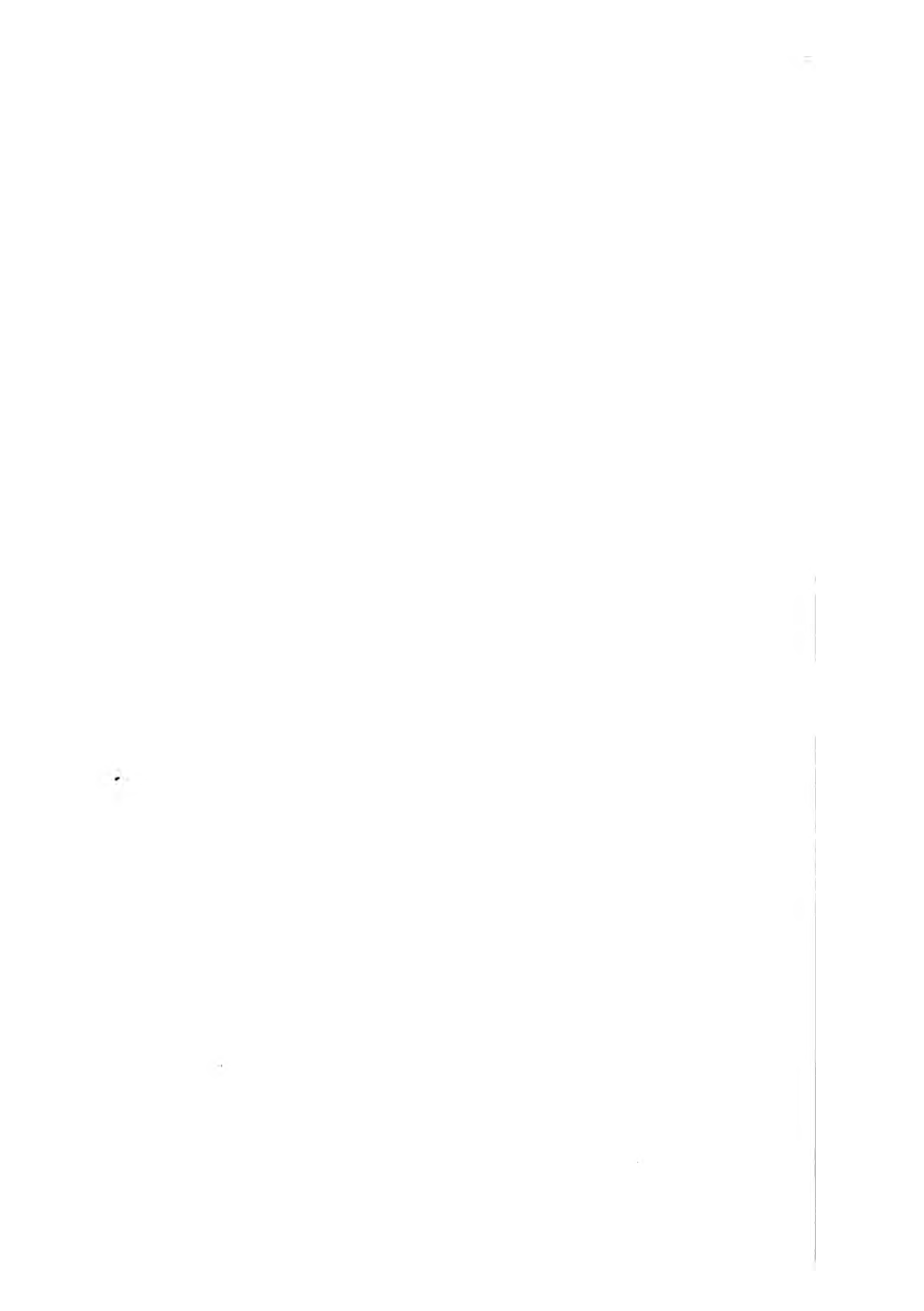
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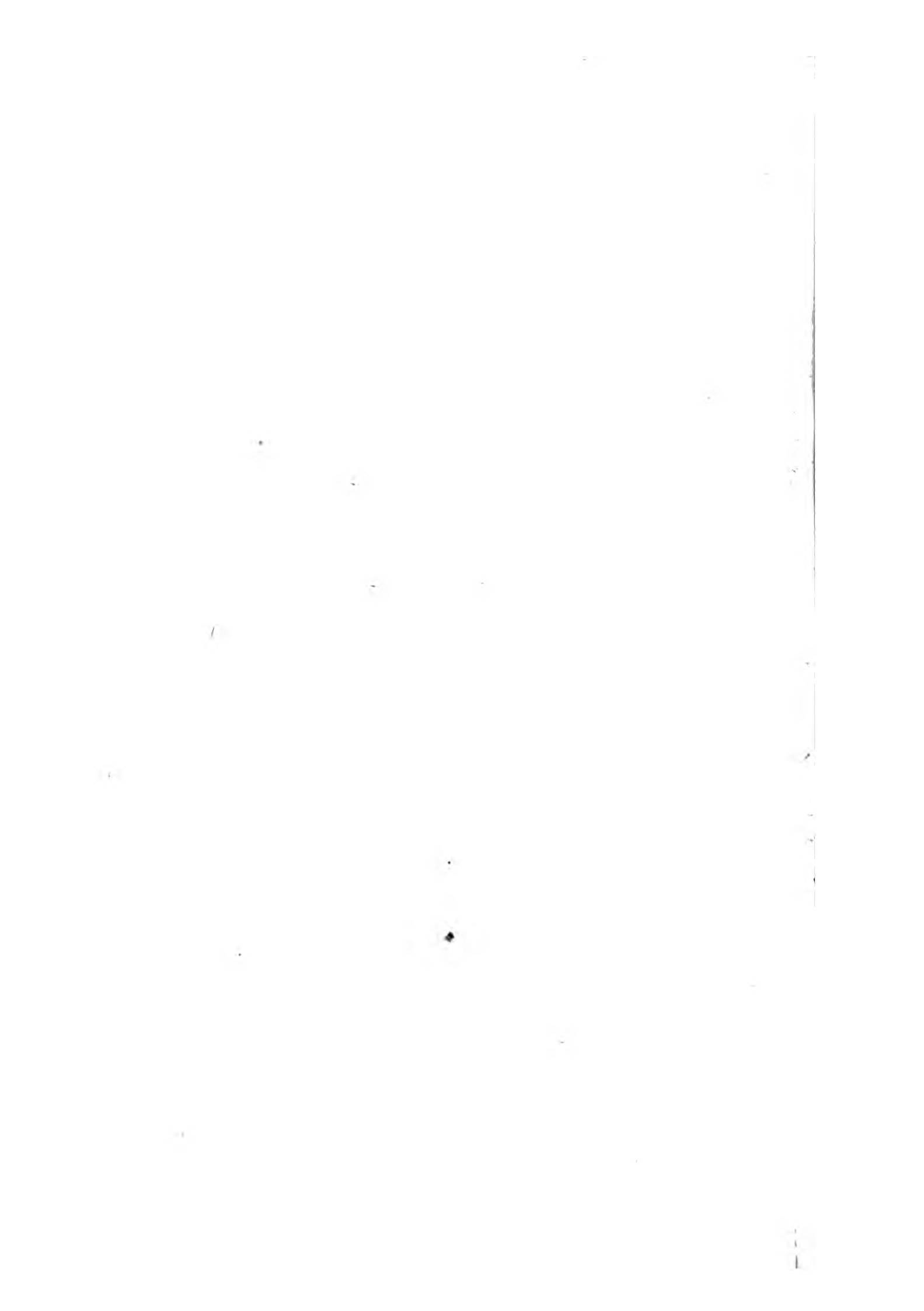
Sir Alan Gardiner



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EGYPT
UNDER MEHEMET ALI.



EGYPT
UNDER
MEHEMET ALI.

BY
PRINCE PUCKLER MUSKAU.

Translated from the German.

BY H. EVANS LLOYD, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

MDCCLXV.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.



8 JUL 1962

69/319

P R E F A C E.

THE following work has lain in my portfolio for a considerable time, precisely as it now appears, in every essential point. A final revision was all that was requisite to complete it for publication. I believe this delay will not do the work any injury, for the interest of the public in the affairs of Egypt was at the time it was written almost blunted by the redundant competition which prevailed, and they may now be glad to read an unaltered description of that country as it then was, and as it has unhappily ceased to be.

This reflection, however, is of course of recent date; and if I am asked why I have so long delayed the publication of this work, I really know not what cause to assign. On the one hand, returning to my estate after an absence of seven years, my attention was more engaged in its improvement than in literary pursuits.

On the other hand, I was perhaps instigated by a feeling of modesty to abstain from inundating the public, year after year, with publications from the same pen, however indulgently those writings had been received by the greater portion of my readers. But though my modesty kept me in the back-ground, I could not conceal from myself that the very thing which I considered my greatest merit, namely my candour, and consequent independence, which raised me above paying unconditional respect to any party view, placed me in the unhappy predicament of the poor Bat—between the Birds and the Beasts. The Aristocrats thought me too liberal, the Liberals too aristocratic; the Formalists called me impious, the Unbelievers sanctimonious; the *Bureaucratie* represented me as a semi-revolutionist, while the Democrats affirmed that I was a time-server—that I took good care not to give positive offence, and, when expediency required, flattered the ruling powers. In short, I could not please anybody.

Had the consequences of all this affected my literary reputation merely, they would have given me little concern; but I had to learn to my cost, that these views

began to exercise a considerable influence on my social position, and did me real injury, both positively and negatively. Now, as I cannot play the hypocrite, and on the other hand feel little inclination to act the part of a Don Quixote—sacrificing myself without necessity, and without success—I thought it best to delay again appearing as an Author, till some propitious conjuncture should arrive.

Besides this, there was one species of criticism that really vexed me: I mean that which constantly reproached me with being neither a poet nor a man of letters. If I had ever made such a pretension—even in the remotest degree—these critics would be perfectly in the right; but as I have never even dreamt of aspiring after such honours, the reproach is as absurd as if we were to despise the violet because it is not an oak. Sterne, Lord Chesterfield, and Madame de Sévigné were neither poets nor literati, and happy should I esteem myself if I possessed but one hundredth part of their reputation. This at least I may venture to say, that I have always written for good company, which never consists of pedants.

But why, after so much bitter experience, appear

again upon the literary stage?—Dear reader, there are some reasons which I cannot communicate to you—and experience has doubtless taught you, that he who has once tasted the forbidden fruit, is but too prone to relapse into the same sin.

WALDEANSAMKEIT,

February 29, 1844.

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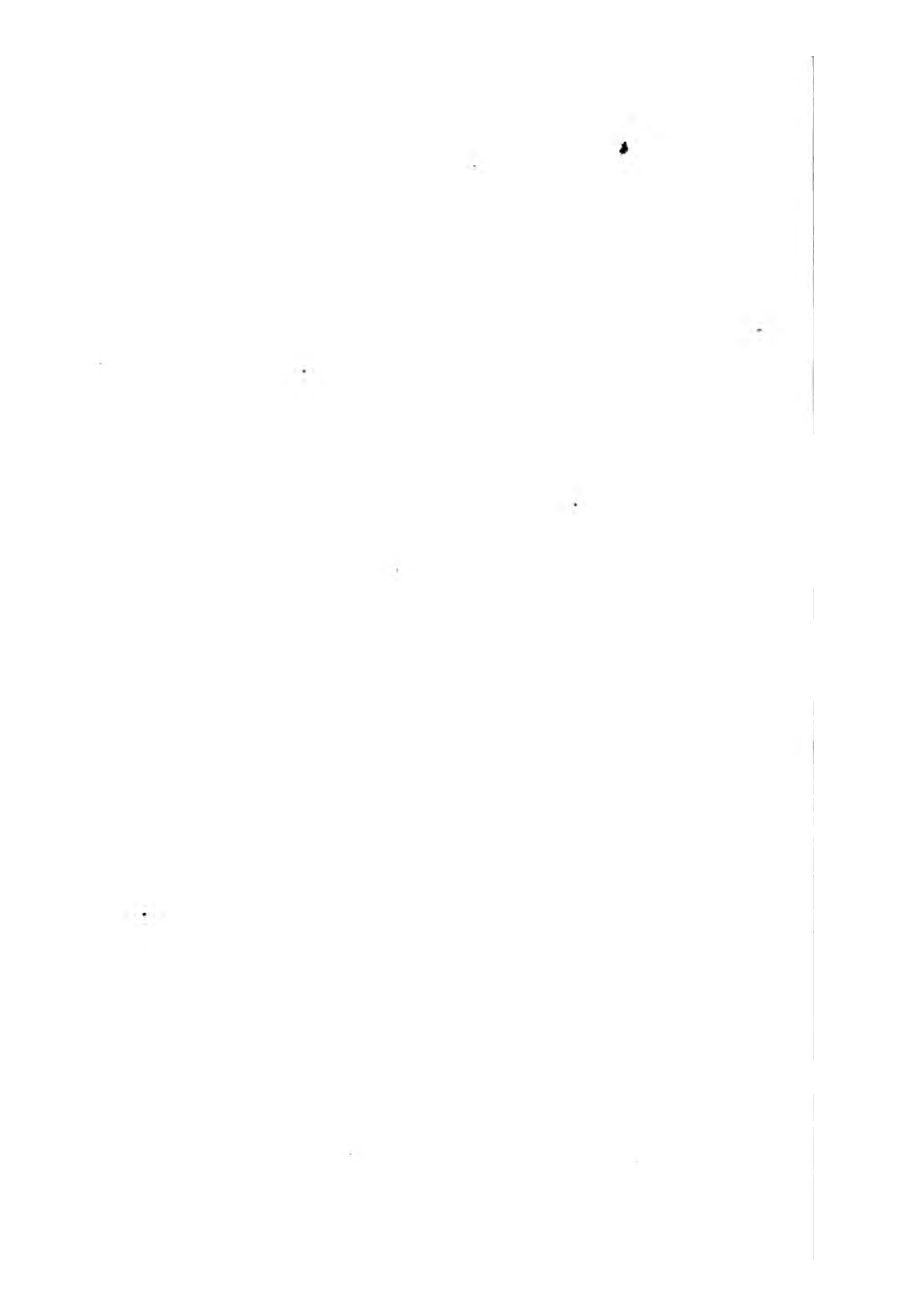
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INTRODUCTION.

As the following Work derives its title from, and will, in a great measure, relate to Mehemet Ali—a man in regard to whom I am of opinion that no one is more blindly judged of in Europe,—I must prefix, at the very outset, some general remarks, in order to state my view of the political events which have so materially and so deplorably changed all the relations of the East, since my return from Egypt.

I am well aware that a defeated hero is always in the wrong, and that the fickle multitude ever judges according to the passing result, though in the sequel, when temporary passions and interests have subsided, a more philosophic view of the past places historical truth on its just basis. Thus, Napoleon, after having shone so long as a meteor, was degraded to the very dust, and universally calumniated, being for a time denied every degree of merit and goodness—because he had fallen! Now, however, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, since he disappeared from the stage, the multitude again pay him the tribute of unbounded admiration and respect, and the same people who were wearied of him, and abandoned him

in time of need, have, with the most profound veneration and religious pomp, brought home his mortal remains across the ocean.

I do not, however, think of placing Mehemet Ali in the same rank with Napoleon, but both have points of resemblance, and in future times nations will do more justice to Mehemet Ali, and be constrained to acknowledge that they are pre-eminently indebted to the operations of his distinguished mind for that beneficent and mighty impetus, which has given to the East the germ of a new epoch of civilisation. True, it is only a germ; but it is a fructifying germ, which he has faithfully cherished with indefatigable perseverance, with the highest degree of judgment of which he was capable, attended with the utmost success of which his times were susceptible. For, let us remember that the Mussulmans—standing quite out of Europe, in respect to the influences of civilisation—are, in the thirteenth century of their Hegira, almost in the same mediæval position as we were after the lapse of the same number of centuries from the appearance of our Divine Prophet; a position from which we extricated ourselves, not only with vast and energetic toil and labour, but also through torrents of blood. Hence, experience itself teaches us that an advance in civilisation in such a period, even though produced by the most energetic hand, cannot at once attain the state in which we now stand. But what, let me ask, was our position in those middle ages? I believe that, with respect to cruelty and crime, rudeness and corruption of morals, arbitrary power and intolerance, and the insupportable yoke of the mighty, descending through

all classes, the state of Egypt, under Mehemet Ali, may be deemed splendid, in comparison with that of most of the countries of Europe in those dark ages.

The incontestable merits of Mehemet Ali, which stand out in uncontrovertible facts before all men, are the following:—with admirable talent for organisation, he has introduced, into one of the most neglected countries of the world, order and security, those first desiderata of a civilised state; and this he has effected to such an extent that, where formerly robbery and death threatened the traveller at every step, he may now, though laden with gold and costly wares, safely and fearlessly traverse the immense dominions of Mehemet Ali, from Mount Taurus to the frontiers of Abyssinia, as far as his sway extends between the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Desert.

In the administration of justice, and in the government of his territory, he has introduced greater equity, and more fixed rules, than at present exist in any other Oriental State.

He has fettered fanaticism; exercised greater tolerance in religious matters, than is found in many Christian States; and he has not only protected the Christians in his own dominions, but has favoured them to such a degree as was deemed almost harsh towards the Mussulmans.

He has not only animated the commerce of Egypt with Europe, but he has, in a great measure, created it anew; and, by the most splendid establishments and institutions of all kinds he has revived, to the great advantage of Egypt, an interest in manufactures, which was wholly lost in that country.

He was the first to encourage the cultivation of cotton, indigo, and sugar, which is now carried on with constantly-increasing success; and a great part of these productions is consumed in his own countries, by the manufactories established at his expense. In like manner, he greatly improved the culture of silk in Syria, by the most extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, but which have been, for the most part, destroyed in the war carried on by the English for the liberation (!) of that country.

For the improvement of future generations, he has founded a system of schools and education, of which not the smallest conception had existed in the East for hundreds of years, and he has expended immense sums for this purpose.

He has erected more buildings, and has called more useful institutions into existence, than any Sovereign of Egypt, since the time of Saladin.

Besides all this, he, who found Egypt without a ship, and without a single disciplined soldier, has created the means of building twelve ships of the line and twice as many frigates and corvettes, and of forming an army, disciplined in a European manner, of more than 100,000 men. And with these resources, the Albanian peasant, who did not learn to read till he was thirty-five years of age, the insignificant chief who, a hundred times in his life, did not know where he could repose his head in safety, has become a Prince, whose armies have twice made "the Sovereign of the Faithful," at Byzantium, tremble on his throne, and whose ever-increasing importance already began to assign him a place among the great powers of the world.

At length, however, after such great deeds and victories, he was proscribed by European interest, as the dreaded Corsican had been before him (but with much less reason), and in this unequal contest has fallen with unforeseen rapidity.

His discomfiture, as might have been expected, instantly aroused a swarm of detractors, of every shade and colour, who fell with increased fury upon the sick lion who had so long been the object of their envy; and, not content therewith, they proceeded at the same time triumphantly to pass sentence on those who had been so besotted as to consider this vanquished hero as an eminent and a great man, and had even publicly stated that such was their opinion.

In Mehemet Ali's misfortune, we find very many points of resemblance with that of Napoleon; thus, in the first place, he, in fact, fell only through a concurrence of the most untoward circumstances, which could not be foreseen, and which, for the most part, were quite beyond his control; secondly, at the decisive moment, he was abandoned by his most powerful ally, on whose co-operation he had founded all his plans; thirdly and lastly, he did not follow up his preceding good fortune with the consistency of an Alexander or a Cæsar, nor did he perseveringly pursue an undertaking till he brought it to a successful issue. Had Napoleon or Mehemet Ali been in the place of Alexander, they would have concluded peace with the King of the Persians after the first battle—though not without the intention of recommencing hostilities at some future opportunity. But in prosperity, it is necessary completely to profit by opportunity, when

it is present. In adversity, however, Mehemet Ali manifested more coolness and prudence than Napoleon, though his mode of procedure cannot be called heroic.

From the very moment when Mehemet Ali found himself abandoned by France, and left to contend alone with the united powers of England and Austria, he may be said to have defended himself only *pro forma*, for he was too perspicacious not to see, at once, that he had no possible chance of success at the long run. But as he was neither obstinate nor vain enough to desire all or nothing, as the day was unpropitious, and the chances were all against him, he did not choose to stake all upon one card, and threw up the game. By this step he reserved to himself the possibility of recommencing hostilities, if more favourable circumstances should offer. When St. Jean d'Acre had been, properly speaking, not taken, but blown up and destroyed by the irresistible force of 500 cannon, at the distance of musket-shot, the Viceroy thought only of retaining what was not yet lost.* I know, from the best authority, that at the very commencement of the war, Ibrahim had received instructions to this effect from his father, and this circumstance will sufficiently account for the inertness and negative mode of carrying on the war adopted by this General, who has otherwise proved himself so energetic and decisive.

The part of a man like Mehemet Ali can, however,

* The English themselves boasted, in the *Morning Chronicle*, at that time a Ministerial paper), that "by the immense advantage which their greatly-improved moveable sea-batteries now afforded, no fortress capable of bombardment from the sea could resist a fleet with 5 or 600 guns." These laurels, therefore, were easily gained.

never be considered completed, so long as he holds all the elements of power in his own hand. With consummate skill and ability he has succeeded in maintaining this power, as well as his actual independence; and who among the children of men can predict whether Providence, which assigned him a high destination in the history of the world, has indeed wholly deprived him of this office? At all events, it is absurd to conclude, from the great diminution of his importance, that a man who, by his extraordinary actions, has for so many years fixed the eyes of the world upon him, is, in fact, no better than a juggler, who has hitherto amused Europe and the East with mere illusion and charlatanry,—a circumstance which, by-the-by, would be less flattering to the deceived than to the deceiver.

It is, however, a fact, and a very remarkable one, that a chief cause of the rapid fall of Mehemet Ali is to be found in his most meritorious actions. By his efforts to raise the people of the East to a higher degree of culture—and, for the furtherance of this object, by his approximating more and more in his own person to European manners and customs; by his endeavours to introduce many of them generally; and, by his proceedings, directing the whole course of his government towards the attainment of this object, so that even the Sultan, following his example, adopted the same course, an entirely new spirit was awakened in the East. Those nations which had so long been stationary, now began to perceive that they had need of foreign influence; and that nothing, but blending with European civilisation (I do not mean mere servile

imitation, and still less religious conversion) could give them a new re-organisation of their own, and thus obtain for them a more secure and more happy internal condition than they had hitherto enjoyed under any Mahometan sceptre. A direct supremacy of European Powers had hence, for some considerable length of time, been deemed not only possible, but desirable ; as they would thus receive *directly* what Mehemet Ali could only give them *indirectly* and *imperfectly*. When therefore the English and Germans entered the lists against him, the population of Syria met them with open arms, and immediately fell off from the Egyptian Government, with the exception of Emir Beschir, who possessed more penetration, and had, besides, the same interest as Mehemet Ali. Notwithstanding this, the Syrians knew full well that, even under the iron rule of Ibrahim's sabre, and the oppressions of his unworthy favourites (for Mehemet Ali had, unfortunately, given up Syria without restriction to his son), they were much better off than they had ever been under the feeble government of the Sultan ; and that, on the other hand, if the old relations should return, they must fall into infinitely greater misery. They were, however, sanguine, and had an indistinct hope of quite a new state of things—of a new Master, who should be given them by Europe, and not by Turkey. This notion was cherished by many in Syria, especially on the sea-coast and in Lebanon, where a great proportion of the most influential inhabitants are Christians ; while the Druses, who are an equally powerful body, not only manifest no religious intolerance, but, on the contrary, easily accommodate themselves to any

creed.* Even a great number of educated Mussulmans entertained similar thoughts ; and I was astonished to find that this idea (so diametrically opposed to the former fanatical views of these countries) obtained not only in Syria, but even in Asia Minor ; and though, doubtless, not clearly defined to the bulk of the population, yet evidently germinating among them, and already spread to a remarkable extent over the more reflecting part of the people.

I am, therefore, stating no more than truth when I say that the present conquerors are mainly indebted to Mehemet Ali himself for the important advantage which they possess, of having the people on their side ; an advantage which tended to his overthrow (as the same endeavour undermined Mahmoud's power), but which, upon the whole, is a benefit to the East.

I shall merely add a few personal particulars, which I should pass over altogether, were it not necessary to state them for the sake of the weak-minded and the credulous.

It has been asserted in several public journals that the reason I zealously take the part of Mehemet Ali, is only because he loaded me with presents and favours ; nay, these journals have almost asserted that I was as good as in his pay.

With respect to the favours and partiality which I certainly did enjoy, and that for a long time, in no ordinary degree, I shall always entertain feelings of gratitude and personal satisfaction for them ; and

* Emir Beschir professed to be both a Christian and a Mahometan at the same time ; and would have become a Jew, if his doing so would have procured him the sceptre of Syria.

the more so, as the Viceroy, at my sole intercession, unreservedly restored to one of the richest and most eminent merchants of Cairo the liberty which he had legally forfeited, with the loss of the greater part of his fortune. According to Oriental custom, I was considered for many months as the Prince's guest, and, as such, had free lodging and provisions both in Cairo and in Alexandria; attended with a degree of splendour with which I would willingly have dispensed, because it laid me under much constraint; and everybody knows well enough that the hospitality of the Great in the East must often be repaid doubly and trebly to their servants. Mehemet Ali was, besides, well aware that the Bey of Tunis had already treated me with the same munificence.

With respect to presents, I affirm most unequivocally that I never received from Mehemet Ali any other gift than a foal; and this I highly value, because he himself selected it for me from his stud at Shoubra. Ibrahim Pasha, likewise, gave me two foals of his breed.

The conveyance of these animals, for which I had to hire a ship on purpose to Trieste, cost me much more than they were worth, and among the genuine Arab horses, which I afterwards purchased in the Desert, there is not one which is not ten times as valuable as these three foals.

It is a singular circumstance by the way, that Mehemet Ali's spirited stallion, which had become a good hunter, received a mortal injury in leaping over a stream, on the same day that St. Jean D'Acre fell.

Perhaps, however, I remained too long in Egypt.

The character of the Orientals is full of suspicion, and Mehemet Ali, more than any other person, has too often had good reason to distrust Europeans. The distinction with which he treated me, and the unmerited importance which he awarded me, excited the envy and ill-will of many influential persons, Europeans as well as Turks; independently of which, whenever Mehemet Ali required it, I communicated to him, quite unreservedly, and perhaps injudiciously, my views respecting everybody and everything. Accordingly I soon perceived that all sorts of intrigues were at work against me, but I cared not a straw about them. At this time, (that is, during my second residence at Cairo, when I had wholly declined Mehemet Ali's generous hospitality), I sent an article to the Augsburg "Algemeine Zeitung," which contained some very innocent remarks on the corpulency of Said Bey, the Viceroy's youngest son, to which, however, an unfavourable colouring was given, by the unlucky circumstance that the Editor thought fit to head the article with the words "The Corpulent Prince." This was translated and read to Mehemet Ali; from that moment I observed a certain degree of coldness, and a decrease of familiarity in his manners, which grieved me, but against which I could do nothing, since any explanation would only have made the matter worse.

It appears from all this (and I might have alluded to other circumstances of a similar character), that my relations with Mehemet Ali were not always unclouded, and that ultimately I could not have felt myself called upon, from personal motives, to take up my pen in his defence, had not the most sincere reverence for

the eminent qualities and the great historical importance of this Prince, induced me now, as it did then, impartially to say of him what I believe to be the truth, and thereby, as far as my feeble powers extend, to defend him against the unjust accusations, and the ill-founded judgments, with which German authors and journalists so perseveringly pursue him ; a circumstance which is the more singular, as the most distinguished men, both English and French,—and among them the brave Commodore who fought against him with so much energy,—have invariably done him more justice.

EGYPT

UNDER

MEHEMET ALI.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

A GLORIOUS, ardent sun ushered in the morning of the new year of 1837; a warm balsamic air breathed over the voluptuously rolling sea, but isolated black clouds hurriedly traversed the heavens, and frequently concealed from our sight the beneficent orb of day—an image of human life, even when most propitious.

Mount Ida, clothed with the newly-drifted snow, shone splendidly in a sparkling robe of spotless white, relieved by the dark, deeply-indented garland of the rocks and mountains of Candia, which encompassed this classic beauty like a faithful body-guard. We glided gently along the smooth surface of the waters, in our comfortable felucca, and approached the brig *Semindidshad*, belonging to the Viceroy of Egypt, which was waiting for me in the naked, sterile bay of the island of Dur, and welcomed me with a salute of her guns. An historical interest is attached to

this little brig, for Osman Pacha, the Viceroy's ungrateful favourite, fled in this vessel to the Sultan, at Constantinople.

I went on board with my small retinue, and in a few minutes found myself the only European (excepting one of my servants, who is a German,) among some hundred Candiots, Arabs, Turks, and Negroes, men of a strange countenance, and, for the most part, of a strange language; each of them, however, was eager to testify his respect. The captain's cabin, which was supplied with all necessary conveniences, was obligingly assigned to me by Mustapha Pacha's order, and everything seemed to promise a most favourable voyage through the Lybian sea; but I had too lively a remembrance of my usual fate on the ocean, confidently to indulge in any such hopes.

Towards evening we entered a part of the sea which was still agitated by the violent south wind of the preceding week. The waves beat furiously against us, and gave the most disagreeable shocks to our vessel, and the favourable north wind by which we were impelled, rose, during the night, almost to a storm. I had, with much pains, arranged my cabin in apple-pie order, but alas, it soon came to a tragical end! In a few moments all the tables, with papers, books, bottles and glasses, were overthrown with a terrible crash, and, while I held fast by my bed, at least to maintain my own post, a cask rolled across the deck, over the skylight of my sleeping cabin, and shattered the glass into a hundred pieces, which showered down upon me like pointed icicles.

It was quite out of the question to think of clear-

ing this chaotic mass, during the violent rocking of the brig, over which the waves continually dashed ; beside this, all my servants were for many hours in such an agony of sea-sickness, that not one of them was visible for two days and nights, during all which time this storm lasted. Had not an old negro, from Senaar, taken pity on me, I should have had no assistance whatever ; for neither the captain, of whom the negro said, with some contempt, " that he was himself sea-sick," nor any one of the crew, made their appearance. In general, so much confusion seemed to prevail in the command, and all evolutions were performed so slowly, and with such noise—so different to what we are accustomed to in European men-of-war—that had I seen nothing more of Mehemet Ali's fleet than this brig, I should have formed a very unfavourable opinion of it.

Nothing was to be done but to fortify myself with patience, to remain in bed as quietly as, under existing circumstances, was possible, and to leave my broken, scattered effects to roll themselves into order again as best they might. In this predicament I remained fifty hours with real Turkish phlegma, little affected by sea sickness, but quite unable to move. More than once I attempted, with no small pains, to perform the feat of drinking a cup of broth, which my compassionate negro presented to me in all the attitudes of a rope-dancer, in order to avoid spilling the half of it on my bed ; he also brought me a joint of mutton, which I endeavoured to pull to pieces with my fingers, so that at all events I might not be wholly deprived of necessary food.

The storm did not abate till after the space of nearly three days, during which we had made way by day with close-reefed sails, and by night had cautiously lain to, but had, notwithstanding, made from five to six knots an hour. To my great joy I at length heard from one of my resuscitated servants, that the Bay of Aboukir was visible on one side above the tossing waves, and that the Arsenal of Alexandria could be distinguished in the distant horizon. Though still greatly discomposed, and tormented with a violent headache—the usual effect of sea-sickness—I quickly threw on my cloak and ascended the deck.

The ash-coloured waves still beat high against our vessel, which continued to rock from side to side, though in rather a more bearable degree than before. The sight of the sea, tinted by the waters of the Nile, and the view of Egypt, for which I had been longing so ardently, soon made me forget all my past sufferings and troubles. I rejoiced in the thought that, within a few hours, I should have the delight of setting my foot in the proud city of the immortal Macedonians, which, called into new life by a second Macedonian hero, and under him already raised to splendour, now lay before me with all its thousand romantic reminiscences, between the desert and the sea.

Alexandria, in its mingled oriental and European character, rose above the waves, and like a *fata morgana*, towered above the flat sandy banks, which sometimes appeared suddenly behind the foaming billows, and then again rapidly vanished from our sight. I saw before me, apparently resting on

no solid basis, and as if floating in the air, glimmering white palaces, crenated walls, verdant palm-groves, and Pompey's lofty Pillar, fronted by a forest of masts, which extended from one end to the other of the noble harbour. A fort now stands on the site of the celebrated ancient Pharos of the Ptolemies, and the extensive residence of the Viceroy separates the new from the old harbour, which have changed places; for the old harbour is the only one that is used, and the new harbour does not contain any ships, and is choked up by the sand.

The whole scene was in the highest degree striking and uncommon, and the nearer we approached, the more extraordinary did it appear; the sight of the fleet especially, that colossal work which had been formed in the space of not more than eight years, by the hand of a creative genius, quite surprised me. It was the commencement of the festival of the Bairam, and, ten ships of the line, each of more than one hundred guns, six frigates, of above fifty, and twenty corvettes and brigs, were ranged in long rows, and adorned with innumerable flags and streamers of various colours, from the top-mast down to the very deck, and afforded a festive appearance of rare splendour. Scarcely had the pilot conducted us through the shallow entrance, when all the forts and vessels commenced a fire, which gave a complete notion of a naval engagement.

The palaces, the ships, the sea itself, vanished in a few seconds; clouds of smoke filled the atmosphere; nothing was to be seen but the red flashes of the cannon, nothing to be heard but their deafening

thunder, to the right and to the left, before and behind us, as though Alexandria were a volcano, emitting its fire on every side. The genius of the man who holds sway here, seemed to dwell upon the waters, and to announce itself in all its power and greatness. The whole inspired me with an elevating feeling: it was a noble reception on the frontiers of the mysterious kingdom—of that country of ancient and modern wonders which at length lay before me; and, with profound emotion, I thanked Providence, which, after many difficulties and dangers, had at length brought me thither in safety.

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDRIA—RECEPTION—BESSON—BOGHOS BEY.

WE had scarcely cast anchor, when I received notice of a visit from the Captain-General of the Fleet, Besson Bey, who, being informed of my expected arrival, by the Seraskier of Candia, most obligingly offered me apartments in his residence, in the new Ibrahim Square, and at the same time informed me that his equipage was on the shore, ready to convey me thither as soon as might be convenient to me.

This Frenchman, who is the soul of the Egyptian Marine, and is highly honoured by Mehemet Ali, is the same Captain Besson who was formerly in the French service, and who made an offer to Napoleon, when he was at Rochefort, to take him to America; but the Emperor, in spite of Besson's entreaties, persisted in his fatal resolution to trust himself to the generosity of the English. Besson sailed only one day before the Emperor, and did not meet a single enemy's ship on the whole voyage.*

I requested to be allowed a short time to reduce

* It may here be proper to mention a circumstance which has not, to my knowledge, been anywhere referred to. "In the year 1815, while Napoleon was still in the field, I received from Germany a printed paper, purporting to be the substance of a treaty between England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France (*i. e.* the Bourbon family), the principal stipulation of which was, that in case Napoleon should, in the course of the war, be taken prisoner by the

the chaos of my effects on board into something like order; and, on my landing half an hour afterwards, at the New Quay (without any molestation from the importunate populace, which had proved so troublesome at Algiers and other sea-ports), I found an elegant English carriage, drawn by two Arabian horses, ready for me, and several gigantic camels to convey my luggage. Well pleased at feeling terra firma under my feet, I hastily stepped into the britschka, and drove rapidly through the narrow streets of the Turkish part of the city, filled with a motley and dirty crowd—soldiers in red, white, and green uniforms, with shining arms; and, as Mr. Von Prokesch remarks so appropriately, “with its oriental strata of stench and perfumes.” I soon reached the quarter of the Franks, the neat and cleanly appearance of which, and its palaces built entirely in the European style, would be an ornament to any city in our civilised part of the world, though a portion of the ground on which they stand was but lately gained from the sea. All the foreign consuls reside here; and their immense flags, which were displayed on account of the Bairam, added the more to the festive appearance of the whole, because light circular flights of steps lead to the very top of the staffs to which these flags are fastened, and which are planted on the highest terraces of the houses.

armies of any of the Allied Powers, he should be given up to England, to be conveyed to a distant island in the ocean.”

I am not certain, but it seems to me that the Island of St. Helena was expressly mentioned. The supposed motive for this stipulation was lest, if Napoleon should fall into the hands of one of the Continental Powers, he might, at some future time, be made an instrument of further troubles.—H. E. L.

The worthy General received me at the door of his mansion, assigned to me a richly furnished, extensive suite of rooms, introduced me to M. Roquerbes, the Prussian consul, who resided above me in the same house, and provided so kindly, and so completely for all my wants, that he left me no room to wish for more.

I received the Viceroy's answer to the letters sent to his highness, as early as the following day; upon which, Boghos Bey, the principal and confidential minister of Mehemet Ali, honoured me with a visit.

Boghos Bey is an Armenian Christian, who commenced his career as a dragoman, but by his talents, his fidelity, and extremely conciliatory manner towards high and low, has gained the entire favour of his master, and much popularity, both with strangers and natives, especially with the lower classes. His personal appearance is distinguished by the greatest simplicity; and his manners, though certainly those of a man of the world, are almost studiously humble, but by no means devoid of dignity, or of evident consciousness of his important position in the state, and of the great influence which he enjoys with his master. It is said that once only, and that a long time ago, he lost this favour, for some unknown reason; when Mehemet Ali's anger was excited to such a degree, that he ordered Boghos to be privately executed. The consul Rosetti saved him in a very singular, and almost romantic manner, and kept him concealed till the Pacha, who believed that his orders had long since been executed, manifested great sorrow at having lost a man whose services were indispensable to him.

His friends now ventured to acquaint Mehemet Ali with the truth, and from that moment the confidence which he reposed in Boghos Bey has never, so far as is known, received a second shock. The gratitude of the minister to his deliverer was deep and abiding, and since his death has been unremittingly continued to his family and heirs.

As all commercial affairs and intercourse with the consuls, as well as the foreign policy of the state, are directed by Boghos Bey, and as the viceroy is now the only gigantic merchant in his dominions, where politics and commerce are more blended together than in any other country, we may judge of the extent of the sphere of action and occupation intrusted to Boghos Bey. He is now about sixty years of age, and has sparkling little eyes, full of fire and cunning, with a rather restless expression, which he very characteristically endeavours to moderate as much as possible, and seeks to conceal, by drawing his head-dress over his forehead. He manifests no affectation of business, and is very easy of access ; he is indefatigable in his labours, invariably affable to everybody, an enemy to luxury and ostentation, very reserved, and, without doubt, the most cunning of the cunning. This last trait is a subject of complaint among the merchants ; yet every one prefers having transactions with him than with any other man in power, because cunning proceeds more gently than brute force, though the final result may often be the same.

I shall probably have frequent occasion to speak of this man, who is so indispensable to Egypt ; and it may suffice to add here, that our first conversation, which embraced many and various subjects, produced in me

a lively interest, and that the friendly and flattering words which he addressed to me, in the name of his Highness the Viceroy, excited both my surprise and my warmest gratitude.

During my present stay at Alexandria, I saw him sometimes in his own residence, and every visit confirmed the advantageous opinion which I had conceived of him at our first interview. I could not help admiring his acuteness in judging of European affairs and policy, and being much struck with the dexterity of the accomplished courtier, and the graceful manners displayed by a man who had never enjoyed any of the advantages of a European education. Lastly, it is almost a duty, here to express my gratitude for the wholly unmerited distinctions which I experienced from him, by order of the Viceroy. Equipages and saddle-horses belonging to his Highness, were placed at my disposal, and even a guard of honour was sent me, which I had much difficulty in declining. When I visited the fleet, I was received by the admiral with the same marks of honour as had been shown me in Candia; every wish that I expressed, whatever it might be, was immediately complied with, and with the greatest readiness; and I was permitted to see anything I desired, without the slightest mystery being made about it.*

* Boghos Bey, as my readers must be aware, died lately. His death has been a great loss to the Viceroy, who had few servants more faithful, and certainly none more able. The envious hatred of the great men ventured to betray itself at the grave of Boghos Bey. Europeans have cause to honour his memory, which they have indeed proved by their sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES.

AFTER discharging the usual duties of social etiquette, my first business naturally was to inspect the few remains of antiquity of which Alexandria can still boast. Mounds of *débris*, formed in the course of thousands of years, extending between the sea and lake Mareotis, are the only remnants of so many past splendours, and of a city containing 600,000 inhabitants, which, for a long period, was considered the second city in the world, and which may perhaps again be elevated to that dignity. Amid this mass of confusion, however, we may still clearly distinguish the position of the main street, which led from the Canopus gate to the Necropolis, thirty stadia in length from east to west. Many columns which were still standing along this street only ten years ago, have been since pulled down, and partly employed in the erection of the Arsenal. Of the second magnificent street, which crossed the others from the gate of the Sun to that of the Moon, not a trace remains, and only Pompey's Pillar, as it is called, Cleopatra's Needles, and the Catacombs, are worth a visit.

All these have been so repeatedly described, that I may dismiss them with a few words. I inspected them on an interesting ride, in company with

M. Lesseps, the highly polished consul of France, and a young physician named Aubert, who, by his intrepidity and ability during the prevalence of the plague and the cholera, has acquired a high reputation here. He assured us, that he considered the death of a plague patient one of the happiest, for it was attended with little pain, and pleasing illusions smoothed the passage to the unknown world. Alexandria is scarcely ever altogether free from the plague, and even now there were constantly several cases, though the epidemic has long since ceased. Happily this scourge is, of all contagious disorders, that which may most easily be guarded against by prudence. Her cruel sister the cholera is, in every respect, far more formidable.

In viewing the two obelisks of rose-coloured granite, called Cleopatra's Needles (a hyper-poetic name), which formerly stood together before the Temple of Cæsar, and one of which is thrown down, I was struck with the powerful effects of the weather in this favourable climate, which has almost totally destroyed the hieroglyphics carved, above an inch deep, on the east side of the standing obelisk; while the inscription on its west side is in a state of perfect preservation. Surrounded as these Needles are by high piles of rubbish, they produce but little effect, though their masses are very considerable, being of single blocks, eighty feet in length. It is much to be lamented that it is now too difficult to remove them, and to attach them to other buildings.

M. Von Prokesch states that the prostrate obelisk was presented to the king of England by Mehemet

Ali, who even offered to be at the cost of conveying it to the sea-side; but that the engineer who was sent here, found that the expense of conveying it to England would be too great. Unhappily, the French were not deterred by such considerations, with regard to the obelisk of Thebes. I say unhappily, because one of the most sublime and almost uninjured monuments of antiquity—the splendid temple of Luxor—has been greatly disfigured by the loss of one of its obelisks from before the entrance; while the two Needles at Alexandria might be removed to Europe, and there employed to adorn some magnificent edifice, and would not be missed here. They ought, however, to go together; for an obelisk standing alone is an anomaly which never occurred among the Egyptians, who only erected them in pairs, to adorn their grand entrances.

Pompey's Pillar, which is now ascribed to Diocletian, affords, from its elevated summit, an interesting panorama of the desert, the sea, and the city; its shaft of polished granite, which is of Egyptian workmanship, and fifty feet in height, is extremely beautiful; the upper part, added by the Romans, is positively barbarous; it is surrounded by a bare and desolate tract, so full of rat-holes that it is really dangerous to ride rapidly over it; and of this we had ample proof.

The Catacombs, and the small chambers in the rock, so ridiculously designated "the Baths of Cleopatra," are filled by the sea-water, and may perhaps have served for washing the dead, but assuredly were never used as baths by the living; and it is scarcely worth

the trouble to crawl through their dank chambers. They bear much resemblance to those of Milo, and have little of an Egyptian character ; and still less do they possess anything remarkable as works of art, although obscure European travellers have sometimes thought it necessary to fall into ecstasies about them. The Fellah who went before us carrying a bundle of lighted fir-wood, accidentally extinguished his torch, and thus compelled us to remain much longer than was agreeable in the dark, in a suffocating heat, while he groped his way out to fetch another light. Though the remaining antiquities of Alexandria, *above ground*, are so inconsiderable, I wonder that no more frequent, and especially more thorough investigations have been attempted *under ground*, in this immense accumulation of *débris*, more particularly if we reflect that it was here that the hieroglyphic writing was first translated into the language of the conquerors ; and that perhaps the discovery of one double inscription, like the Rosetta Stone, might, in the present state of inquiry, afford the most comprehensive results.*

* I hear that Lepsius has just made a discovery of this kind in Philæ,—Success attend him !

CHAPTER IV.

THE FELLAHS.

HAVING still a little spare time, we proceeded to the railway, which had been lately constructed for the purpose of conveying stones to the buildings which were in the course of erection along the shore. Here we found a great number of Fellahs, men, women, and children at work. The Viceroy had just increased the wages of all employed on the public works half a piastre per diem.

As most of the accounts of Egypt which have fallen into my hands, are filled with the most dismal lamentations of the misery of this unhappy class, I was not a little surprised at finding, for the most part, vigorous, healthy, and cheerful-looking men, who performed their work amid song and jest, were most indulgently treated by their overseers, and seemed only in joke when they solicited us to give them a bakshish, an odious habit which prevails in other countries as well as here. They were ragged enough, to be sure, and barely clad; but where do we find it otherwise in the East, nay, even in Greece? The climate requires so little, and order and cleanliness are certainly not indigenous in these parts. I have since paid much attention to this subject, and am fully persuaded that the Fellahs of Egypt are infinitely better off than many of their class in

Europe. Take for instance the Irish peasants, who are the subjects of the most enlightened Government in the civilised world, or take the poor weavers in Vogtland, of whom I read only this very day, in the newspapers in the year 1843, that the utmost which they can earn is twopence a-day; and that when potatoes, their only staple article of food, fails, they are ready to perish with famine; hence I maintain, that these Fellahs, though unquestionably exposed to much harsh and arbitrary treatment, are nevertheless in a situation which might excite the envy of many of our countrypeople.

The houses of the Fellahs are for the most part small huts, built of bricks baked in the sun, and some are only of dried clay, with no other opening than the door; but these dwellings have the advantage of being warm in the winter, always affording protection against slight showers and storms, (which, however, are very rare here,) and of giving shade in the summer-time, independently of which they are quite roomy enough for the few wants of these people; whereas in Greece, even the better class of peasants seldom have a shelter which is impervious to snow and rain; and if we recollect the hovels and pigsties, filled with suffocating smoke, in which the wretched, starving Irish are lodged, and which, in that comparatively cold climate, scarcely afford any protection whatever, I think our pity must be turned to an opposite quarter.

The Fellahs are, indeed, poor; but in the meanest Egyptian villages which I visited, I almost always found bread, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and vegetables in abundance, nay, even poultry, and in the larger

villages butcher's-meat was readily offered for sale at very moderate prices : that is to say, however, when no Government officer was present, for their rapacity is unquestionably one of the dire calamities of Egypt. In Greece, on the other hand, onions and very indigestible bread of Indian corn, is all that the poor people can procure, and they are therefore compelled to subsist on one and the same diet, just as the low Irish live on potatoes and whisky from year's end to year's end. Lastly, I never heard of a Fellaah being starved to death, which, to the disgrace of humanity be it spoken, has notoriously and frequently happened among the Irish peasants, and may perhaps even be a possible occurrence there to this day.

Again, the Fellaahs, it is stated, are most miserably clad ; but here, too, the comparison is in their favour ; for, in the first place, the climate is so mild that they require scarcely any clothing ; and, secondly, I have never yet seen the women, like those of the lower classes in Ireland, without even sufficient rags to cover themselves with common decency. On the contrary, though I often saw the female Fellaahs in miserably tattered garments, yet, like all the women of the East, they were invariably covered up to the mouth ; besides which they generally had five or six pieces of gold coin, fastened in a row to their dress, from the throat to the waist. Now, I affirm, that this can scarcely be entirely reconciled with that extreme poverty of which our philanthropic travellers draw so frightful a picture : so easy is it to see the mote in our brother's eye, while we perceive not the beam in our own eye ! I verily believe, that in the heart of

Paris and of London, scenes of more fearful misery may be met with than throughout all Egypt. Add to this, I never heard of a single suicide, which, alas! are so frequent among us; and I would further observe, that the excessive repugnance of the Fellahs to enlist as soldiers, to avoid which they resort to the most cruel self-mutilations, is an unequivocal proof that they are not so lamentably wretched in their present situation as they are represented.

A traveller, however, landing direct from Europe, and for the first time in his life seeing the common people covered with dirt and rags, (which, by-the-bye, is quite common in the East, though in Europe it is the indication of the greatest misery,) is filled with disgust and commiseration; his imagination becomes excited, and he looks henceforward at everything through coloured glasses, even if he is quite unprejudiced and does not wilfully regard things in a wrong light. Many persons however are in the latter predicament,—the greater part of the European merchants for instance, especially in Alexandria; they dislike the Viceroy and his government, because they hate him as a rival in trade; for as he is the all-powerful merchant and monopolist in his country, he prevents them from overreaching the unwary and ignorant Egyptians at pleasure in the way of free trade, and probably undertakes this office himself in some small degree; besides this, with superior cunning and power, he often compels speculators to purchase his own goods from him, at prices which, in the sequel, yield them no profit.

The Viceroy encounters another class of enemies in

the numerous adventurers, who hope to find in Egypt an El Dorado for blockheads and idlers, and who, being good for nothing, are compelled to return home without attaining their object. Another set of opponents, are men, who, at first proved serviceable, but who, for impertinent pretensions, or barefaced and shameless robbery, were subsequently turned off; then, too, there are obscure authors, who, astonished at being quite overlooked and unemployed by the Pacha, though they had sufficiently announced their intention of writing about Egypt, leave the country without a penny in their pockets, and, consequently, full of gall and bitterness; and, having returned to Europe with empty purses, they vent their spleen on the Oriental barbarian. Lastly, Mehemet meets with a host of enemies, in honest, but imbecile philanthropists, mostly Englishmen, who, as soon as they see a man without breeches on his body, and without roast-beef in his stomach, cry "Murder!" and curse the cruelty of the Pacha, as the cause of such unspeakable horrors. They never stop to inquire how much blame for existing evils is to be attributed to imperative circumstances, to deeply-rooted abuses, and to invincible national prejudice, and how much or how little to the arbitrary will of the Pacha. Still less have they the slightest conception, that in this very respect, things are often infinitely worse in their own country, where the same excuses do not obtain.

All these various classes of men write, or hire others to write, against Mehemet Ali, who, indeed, might easily pay for answers, but he despises such adversaries, and is fully convinced that, sooner or later, he

will be more justly appreciated. There are persons in still higher situations, who manifest the same tendency, although their motives are different, and whom I shall at present pass over; but I would, nevertheless, in all kindness, caution every stranger, when he comes to Egypt, not to listen to any tittle-tattle, whether from his consul or from his tailor, but to see with his own eyes, to inquire for himself, and then to judge for himself.

A late traveller, in a very fluent style, and not without talent, has written, as if it were gospel, whatever his good friends, or his dragoman imposed upon, or pretended to translate to him, respecting Mehemet Ali and the condition of Egypt. Such a work may receive approbation and credit in Europe; for what do the majority there know of the East? In fact, we are, at this moment, as ignorant of the relation and state of things in that part of the world, as the French were in the time of Louis XIV. of everything out of France. Whoever travels in Egypt with books of this kind in his hand, and has the slightest talent for observation, will often find the doubt arise, whether they are not altogether mystifications and fabrications; and whether the authors, with Champollion, Burckhardt, Belzoni, Caillaud, &c., and a few historical works on their writing-table, may have not described Egypt, without having ever quitted their own fire-sides.

Nothing can be more shallow than the opinions which we read every day, or are compelled to listen to, respecting Mehemet Ali; and nothing more foolish than the demands which are constantly made

upon him. In some measure he is required to be at the same time Romulus, Numa Pompilius, and Trajan. No regard is had either to his position or to his wants; his critics wilfully shut their eyes to the extraordinary things that he has already effected, and, with silly self-complacency, ridicule and depreciate his *pseudo-civilisation*, because it differs so widely from their own. Lastly, people are so stupid,—I really cannot use a milder term,—as not to see that Rome was not built in a day, and that the real wisdom of Mehemet Ali, as a sovereign, consists in this, he undertakes only that which the times and the state of his nation are ripe for; he proceeds with equal caution and energy, and is not diverted from his firm and well-digested course of procedure, either by theorists or pedants, by censure or by praise.

While at Cairo I had the real satisfaction of meeting with a man who agreed with me in these views, whose decision outweighs a whole cargo of every-day travellers; I mean Professor Schubert, of Munich, who recognised, with high veneration, the greatness of the sovereign who gave new life to Egypt, and who would also have breathed a soul into it, had not European superiority violently overthrown him in the midst of his career.

To return, however, to the Fellahs. In my opinion it would be a matter of impossibility for the greatest of all statesmen, with the best intention in the world, to make them rich, or to put them on a footing with the peasants of Holstein or Altenburg; for, as soon as these children of nature have gained a

sufficiency for their bare subsistence, they lie down in the sun, and like the Lazzaroni, while away their time in idleness, unless they are compelled to work. Even now, when there is plenty of work to be had, if they have a mind to do it, I have seen innumerable examples of their boundless indolence and carelessness. They have ever been so, and as a matter of consequence, always miserably poor. There is, however, this difference, that formerly they used to steal and rob, whereas they cannot now venture to do so; and if by any means it is possible gradually to effect a change in their inveterate habits, Mehemet Ali has adopted the right course, by making himself—not as has been falsely affirmed, the only proprietor, but rather almost the only director, of the cultivation of the soil in his own dominions; he has thus compelled the Fellahs to cultivate this fruitful land not only for himself, but also for their own subsistence, in like manner as Joseph commanded to be done in the time of Pharaoh.

The joint responsibility which the Viceroy introduced, was certainly a harsh measure, but the object was a benevolent one, because he believed that the most indolent would be more inevitably compelled to work, by making his doing so, the interest of all. Experience, however, has shown that Mehemet made choice of wrong means,—the system has been abandoned; and during my residence in Cairo, the Viceroy not only renounced all arrears, but repaid, from his own treasury, 10,000,000 of piastres,* of which payment had been extorted from some to make up for

* A Turkish piastre is equal to about twopence English.

the deficit of others. I have already mentioned that he has besides added half a piastre daily, to all those who voluntarily labour for him at the public works, and whose numbers are very considerable. He has also ordered, that in paying the Fellahs annually for the produce which they must deliver, no deduction shall be made as hitherto for their former debts; but that they shall always be paid in full, and with ready money; nay, he even, of his own accord, increased the price of his productions. These measures, at that time, caused such an accumulation of money among the poorer classes in several villages, that dealers from Cairo visited them on speculation, and speedily disposed of their goods among them. This may sound like a fable to those who have formed their ideas of the Oriental Despot upon articles of Egyptian correspondence, the fabrication of which, for the most part, originates from impure sources; but it is literally true, and has been corroborated to me by the authority of the most competent persons, both natives and foreigners, who are settled here.

One of the greatest difficulties which the Viceroy has to contend with, is the immorality of his officers, the ill effects of whose rapacity and corruption are attributed, by short-sighted travellers, to the sovereign himself. Mehemet has, therefore, attempted to substitute Arab local country magistrates, in the place of the Turkish; but the result has so ill answered his expectation, that he will probably be compelled to re-appoint the Turkish magistrates, who, as one of my informants expressed himself:—"Always stole more decently than the Arabs.

Mehemet Ali is well aware of this fundamental evil in his administration, but its very universality, as well as many other political motives arising from his precarious situation with respect to the Porte and to Europe, render it extremely difficult of cure. A radical reform cannot be looked for till the next generation are raised in the scale of society, by means of a better education in their youth. I shall reserve the account of the extraordinary results which the Viceroy has already obtained in this respect, and which are comparatively greater than those of any sovereign of his time. I shall subsequently have an opportunity of adducing incontestible special facts which will indisputably prove that Mehemet Ali strove to be a true reformer of the East, and that he was guided by more exalted ideas than those of mere ambitious egotism; at least up to that time when others interfered and obstructed his work, and thus scarcely left more than the satisfaction of personal advantages, to a man of his oriental character and views of life. This was, and is, my firm opinion, though I am not blind to the faults and errors of this extraordinary man.

Certain European reviewers will hence undoubtedly not fail again to summon me before their tribunal. Hyper-liberal scribblers, or sanctimonious critics, who formerly crossed and blessed themselves, because I smiled at the English aristocracy, though many of its members had invited me to their tables or to balls and entertainments, will now assuredly not miss the opportunity of coming forward in an opposite spirit; and because they invariably presuppose what

is bad and despicable, and judge of others by themselves; they will doubtless pertinaciously maintain, that I laud and defend Mehemet Ali, only because he loaded me with marks of esteem and honour!

By this time I am become quite callous as to what motives are imputed to me in this respect. My vocation is to speak the truth as I find it, indifferent as to how it is received, or whether it flatters one party, or vexes another. Armed with this principle, I have more than once had the satisfaction of seeing opinions, which at first were violently attacked, subsequently confirmed by the result. I will simply call the attention of the reader to one fact, viz., that during my stay in Greece, I was treated by the Government with as much kindness and respect as I experienced in Egypt; and that consequently I am personally bound to feel an equal degree of gratitude to both; yet I could not on this account refrain from speaking the truth, though the result has certainly not been to the advantage of the Government and condition of Greece.* This circumstance will, I hope, at least prove my unbiassed frankness, and I do not desire any higher commendation.

* Time must show whether any improvement will be effected by the late revolution. This revolution itself, proves that I was right in regard to the preceding state of things.

CHAPTER V.

NAPOLEON AT ROCHEFORT.

I SPENT several days in a close inspection of the Arsenal and the fleet; but before entering upon this important subject, I will insert an episode relative to my worthy and estimable companion and guide in these visits, the Captain-General Besson. It was my good fortune speedily to procure the friendship of this excellent man in so high a degree, that he even intrusted me with an important Memoir, with leave to publish it—a permission which he had hitherto invariably refused, and to the earnest solicitations of the most distinguished men. This Memoir contains more positive information than we have ever received on that obscure portion of the history of Napoleon, which relates to his stay at Rochefort, and which is not to be met with in the writings of Las Cases, Norvins, Capefigues, and others.* It will be clearly perceived from the documents, that if Napoleon had to end his days in moral torture at St. Helena, it was by no means in consequence of the insuperable difficulty of his escaping from France; but that it arose, on the one hand, from the machinations of the petty camarilla, by whom he was surrounded at

* I wrote this in 1837, and I am unacquainted with anything that may have since been published on this subject.

Rochefort; and who, with few exceptions, far from being disposed to sacrifice themselves for the Emperor, thought only of their own interest and of their own danger; and, on the other hand, from the magnanimity of Napoleon himself, who disdained to expose those whom he looked upon as his faithful friends, to the possible fate of an ignominious death, in order to save his own person. Lastly, the romantic idea which he had strangely conceived of English generosity, may certainly have contributed its share. The glory of the Emperor has, undoubtedly, lost nothing by it. The close of his great career was thus rendered infinitely more tragic, and has more infallibly secured to him the deepest sympathy of posterity, to the latest moment of his life, than if he had sunk into obscurity, in the prosaic life of a private man, either in England or in America. The force of circumstances rendered it impossible for Napoleon ever again to take an active part in the history of the world; fortune, therefore, bestowed upon him all she still could give—a catastrophe peculiar to himself! Notwithstanding his hard fate, his glory remained unimpaired—enough for him, who desired only to live for posterity!

In the following Memoir, I have attempted nothing beyond a faithful translation, since the simple, honest and unaffected words of Besson, would only have lost by any adventitious ornaments or remarks. He has, however, merely touched upon several points which, in the course of conversation, he finished in fuller colours; I am not authorized to repeat what was

thus communicated: nevertheless nothing material will, on this account, escape the penetration of the attentive reader.

“The Emperor,” says Besson, “arrived at Rochefort early in the morning of the 3rd July. I was at that time a Lieutenant, attached to the general staff of the Marine. As I easily perceived that the commander of the two frigates, which the provisional government had placed at the disposal of the Emperor, manifested very little inclination to compromise himself, in order to perform a sacred duty—that is, to risk every thing, even his life, to save his Majesty from his enemies, I quickly conceived the plan of taking his place, and of making an offer to the Emperor to convey him to the United States, on board one of the vessels belonging to my father-in-law, which had been consigned to me at the beginning of the year 1815.* I was therefore obliged to communicate the whole plan to my wife, and her reply fully answered my expectations. ‘The Emperor,’ she immediately said, ‘is placed in such a situation, that it would be the highest honour for any one to deliver him from it. Offer him the best sailer among my father’s three ships, and take the command of it yourself, if his Majesty wishes it. As for me, do not make yourself uneasy on my account, though I know very well, that every means will be taken to annoy me; I am ready to suffer anything, rather than to hinder you from performing so great an action.’

“I accordingly waited, without delay, on Marshal

* Besson had married a wealthy Danish lady.

Bertrand, to whom I had the honour of being previously known, and communicated my plan to him. The very same evening I was presented to the Emperor, who acceded to my project, after having made some unimportant modifications: upon this I immediately concluded a simulated contract respecting the cargo with Count Las Cases. I demanded no reward for the owners, beyond the repayment of the expense of the expedition. M. de Bonnefoix, maritime prefect* of the fifth arrondissement, likewise gave his consent; and I received from that honourable officer, whose conduct in the whole affair was as noble and generous as every other action of his life, an official order implicitly to follow the will of the Emperor; to convey him, if he desired it, to the United States, and then to return to France to render an account of my mission.

“ My hastily prepared project consisted of the following particulars:—

“ The Magdalena yacht, under Danish colours, (which was built at Kiel, in 1812, to act against the English cruisers in the Baltic,) was to take on board a cargo of brandy, consigned to America. It was to be furnished with two charter-parties, one for Kiel, the other for New York. Five empty casks, lined with mattresses, were placed in the hold, between two rows of hogsheads of brandy, to conceal five persons in case the vessel should be searched. In the cabin, below the English fire-place, there was a trap-door which communicated with the above place in the hold, which was furnished with sufficient provisions for five days. Fresh air was conveyed to the casks, by very

carefully concealed pipes, which issued under the beds in the cabin. Thus fitted out, the ship was to proceed to the island of Aix, and there cast anchor among the small vessels which were waiting at that port to put to sea. There the necessary effects for the passengers were to be put on board, twenty-four hours previous to their own embarkation, and when everything was arranged, the yacht was to sail, and proceed from the Perthuis Breton, between the continent and the island, and then to go to the island of Noirmoutier, and thence to Ushant, whence she was to sail for the high seas.

“ By taking this direction it was almost impossible not to succeed, for the English were at that time off the Gironde and the entrance of the Perthuis d’Antioche, that is to say, precisely on the opposite side. This was, in fact, proved in the sequel ; for the Magdalena really took that course with perfect safety, only one day before the unhappy embarkation of the Emperor on board the Bellerophon, and did not meet *with a single enemy’s cruiser on her whole voyage.*

“ As soon as the plan, so arranged, had been finally accepted, Marshal Bertrand gave orders to Count Las Cases to hasten everything that was still necessary for its execution. Messrs. Roy, Brè, and Co., of Rochefort, were appointed to load the vessel, and to furnish the necessary papers. I took everything else upon myself ; and the better to avoid exciting suspicion, I disguised myself as the captain of a merchantman from the North (*capitaine du Nord*). The success was complete ; for General Becher did not discover that I belonged to the French navy, till

Napoleon went on board the *Bellerophon*, and it was on this occasion that he said to me, 'I am sorry, Captain, that you have so seriously compromised yourself by your zeal; your plan, I must confess, deserved a better fate.' So much activity was manifested in the preparations, that I left Rochefort early on the 6th of July, for Marennes, in order to receive the brandy necessary for the cargo of the *Magdalena*. On the 10th I proceeded to the island of Aix, where I learnt that the Emperor was on board the *Saale*, and that he was wholly abandoned by Captain Philibert, the commander of that frigate; who declared to him, that the presence of an English ship off the entrance of the *Perthuis d'Antioche*, was an insuperable obstacle to his Majesty's departure, as he, Captain Philibert, had the strictest orders not to expose himself and his crew to the danger of an uncertain encounter, in order to secure the personal safety of the Emperor. Captain Cornée, commander of the *Medusa* frigate, behaved in a very different manner. That brave officer offered to the Emperor to take him on board his vessel, and either to secure his safe retreat, or to die with him; adding, that he might indeed be sunk, but that he pledged his word of honour never to surrender. This generous offer had no better fate than mine, as will be seen in the sequel; and the only motive which deterred the Emperor was, his repugnance to expose those who followed him to such an uncertain fate.

"Napoleon hereupon left the *Saale* frigate at nine o'clock, p. m.

"I was summoned the same evening to the Emperor,

who received me with great kindness and desired me immediately to embark his effects and those of his suite. I accordingly commenced at ten o'clock, and at midnight all was ready, so that nothing remained to be done except taking the passengers on board. I must here mention a circumstance which had nearly cost me my life. Every point of the island was well guarded, and particularly that part opposite to which the Magdalena lay at anchor. I had selected a spot for our embarkation, which was about fifty paces distant from a marine post; and in order to prevent any mistake, I had requested Count Bertrand to give notice to the commander of the post to pay no attention to the noise which he might hear between ten and twelve o'clock that night. Being convinced that we might now commence our operations without being disturbed, we all proceeded to work; but we had scarcely embarked a small part of the luggage, when a fire of musketry was directed at us, which unfortunately took effect, broke the arm of one of my Danes who was standing next me, and riddled our boat like a sieve. I instantly leaped on shore, at the risk of being shot, and hastened to the post, where I soon set matters to rights. *Nobody there had received any notice*; but the brave soldiers, who heard us speak German, mistook it for English, and fired at us accordingly.

“A little before midnight I repaired to the Emperor, and informed him that *all was ready and the wind favourable*. His Majesty replied that it was impossible to depart that night, because he expected King Joseph. ‘Go down,’ he added, ‘and take some

supper with Bertrand, he will communicate to you a new project; give him your opinion of it, and then come back to me.'

“ The Emperor manifested great composure, yet he seemed to be thoughtful, and I mention this circumstance only to contradict the publications of the day, which universally affirm that Napoleon was asleep almost the whole time that he was at Rochefort, and was so cast down by his situation, that he was unable to determine on the adoption of any plan. On the contrary, I did not find him in the least cast down, or agitated; he frequently, as usual, had recourse to his snuff-box, and at the same time listened very attentively to all that was said to him; but he appeared to me to look with too much indifference on the tragical complexity of his situation. ‘How unfortunate, sire,’ said I, ‘that you cannot depart to-day. The Rade des Basques is free from enemies; the Perthuis des Bretons is open: who knows if they will be so to-morrow?’ These words were unhappily prophetic. *Even on the 12th, the English knew nothing of the Emperor’s arrival at Rochefort*, which was first made known to them by the visit of the Duke de Savary and Count Las Cases on board the *Bellerophon*; this will indisputably prove that they had remained, up to that moment, at the entrance of the Gironde and of the Perthuis d’Antioche, in order to prevent every attempt to escape, which might be made by the frigates at anchor in the road off the isle of Aix. On the same evening, however, that the above-mentioned noblemen communicated the Emperor’s arrival, the *Bellerophon* moved to anchor

in the Rade des Basques, which was unquestionably the proper position for simultaneously guarding both entrances.

“ I left the Emperor and went down into the cabin to Count Bertrand, who told me that some young officers, at whose head was one Gentil, a lieutenant in the navy, had come to propose to the Emperor to embark him on board a sloop (*chaloupe pontée*) from Rochelle, and to convey him in it to the entrance of the Rivière de Bordeaux, passing the Straits of Monmousson, where an American vessel was at anchor, in which the Emperor could obtain a passage to America, or of which he might take possession, in the event of a refusal. There were in fact several American vessels off Royant, which General L'Allemand visited, and the captains of which had offered their services to his Majesty.

“ As I was well acquainted with the brave young men who had made this offer, and whose names deserve to be handed down to posterity,* I told the marshal that I was convinced Heaven itself pointed out to his Majesty a safe means of escape, but that it must be immediately taken advantage of, since every circumstance appeared to combine to ensure success.

“ “ What do you mean by this ? ” inquired the marshal in astonishment.

“ “ I will explain myself,” replied I. “ The two

* They were Messieurs Dovet, Enseigne de Vaisseau, Knight of the Legion of Honour—a young man of very enterprising spirit, devoted to the Emperor ; Condé, an Aspirant of the first class, worthy in every sense to tread in the footsteps of his brave father, the Commandant Condé ; and Gentil, one of the most resolute officers, who took part in the whole Spanish war, among the Marins de la Garde.

sloops off Rochelle are excellent sailers, better, undoubtedly, than the English cruisers. They must be sent, one through the straits of Monmousson, the other through the Perthuis d'Antioche, and persons and effects belonging to the Emperor must be embarked on board both the vessels; but so that the crews themselves may not be aware who is on board the other sloop. Nothing more, I said, would then be necessary, except giving private orders to the commanders of the two light vessels, separately, to put themselves in the way of the English cruisers, to suffer themselves to be chased by them, and to draw them away as far as possible; and that a report should be secretly spread at Rochefort that Napoleon had embarked on board one of these sloops, so that the crew of each sloop might themselves believe that the Emperor was on board the other. As soon as this plan was matured and had been properly spread abroad, the sloops might sail the next evening, while the Emperor would accompany me on the following morning, when he would have two more chances of happily effecting his escape. 'It is the more necessary,' I expressly added, 'to take advantage of all these favourable circumstances with the least possible delay, as it is highly probable that the enemy, who is now under sail off the entrance of the Perthuis d'Antioche, is still ignorant of the Emperor's presence, for if he were aware of it, he would unquestionably not fail to take up a position in the Rade des Basques, whence he would be able to watch both the Perthuis.'

"The marshal seemed to be of the same opinion as

myself; and as he was anxious to acquaint the Emperor with the proposition without delay, he requested me to accompany him.

“We found Napoleon resting his elbow on a beautiful vermilion seat, which had been presented to him by his consort Maria Louisa, and which, as his majesty wished to retain it till the last moment, was almost the only article of furniture which was not yet embarked. The Emperor raised his head, and said with an' expression of good humour, ‘*Eh bien, Bertrand, que vous a dit le Capitaine Besson?*’ After Bertrand had made him acquainted with all that I had said, the Emperor manifested his entire approbation of my plan, and immediately ordered the remaining effects belonging to his suite, and a number of provisions, to be put on board these sloops, and desired that a report should be circulated that it was his intention to embark on board of one of these, and then to despatch both of them shortly before his own departure. He added, ‘*Je suis à présent décidé à partir avec vous, capitaine, dans la nuit du 13 au 14.*’

“I foresaw, with the deepest regret, that this fresh delay would render all our efforts abortive, and I even ventured to express my apprehensions, but without effect.

“On the 11th and 12th, the sloops were further fitted out, and early on the 13th, they set sail, with full instructions, as had been agreed upon. This they effected without impediment, although the Bellephou, in consequence of the visit of the Duke de Savary and Count Las Cases, had already taken

up her new position in the Rade des Basques, on the evening of the 12th.

“ At break of day, on the 13th, M. Marchand came on board, and entrusted to me a leathern belt, filled with gold coin, to meet the Emperor’s expenses, and, at the same time, he gave me an order from his Majesty to repair to him forthwith. It appeared to me, that the little gold which the Emperor intended to take with him, had been divided, and that M. Marchand had consigned a small portion to the care of every individual who was to embark with his Majesty.

“ At seven o’clock I repaired to the Emperor, whom I found ready dressed, and pacing up and down in his room: ‘ *Ah vous voilà!*’ he exclaimed, as I entered, ‘ *Les chaloupes sont parties ce soir donc le sort en est jeté.*’ He then inquired whether I was certain that I was acquainted with the whole coast, while he, at the same time, pointed with his finger to the island of Aix, &c., in the chart of Poitou, which lay upon the table. As I was about to reply, M. Marchand entered, and whispered to the Emperor, upon which I was suddenly dismissed. On retiring, I met a person whom I had never seen here before, and who, I afterwards learnt, was King Joseph.

“ The whole day was passed in making every arrangement for our voyage as perfect as possible; and when evening set in, I was informed, that the gentleman whom the Emperor had lately sent to the Bellerophon had just returned. I have not the slightest doubt, that it was only on this day, that certain persons,

belonging to the suite of Napoleon, under the apprehension that they might be taken prisoners with him, on board my yacht, had definitively influenced him to enter into serious negotiations with Captain Maitland, whose answer had just arrived, but of which, at that time, I had not the slightest suspicion.

“On the contrary, when his Majesty again summoned me, as soon as it was dark, I experienced the greatest delight, in the anticipation that my wishes were approaching their goal.

“On entering, I found General Savary, Count Las Cases, Count Montholon, and another person who was a stranger to me, in the saloon. ‘Captain,’ said the Emperor, addressing me, ‘you must immediately return to your yacht, and cause my effects to be disembarked. I sincerely thank you for all your good intentions towards me. Had the object been the deliverance of an oppressed people, as was my intention on quitting the island of Elba, I should not have lost a moment in confiding myself to your care; but as the sole question now hinges upon my personal welfare, I will not expose those who have remained faithful to me and to my interests, to any dangers, which, to say the least, are useless. I have resolved to go to England—and to-morrow I shall embark on board the Bellerophon.’

“Had I been struck to the ground by a flash of lightning from a serene sky, I could not have experienced a more fearful sensation than that which was produced by these last words. I felt the blood forsake my cheeks, the tears gushed from my eyes, and for some moments I had no power of utterance. It

was as clear to me as the light of heaven that the Emperor was fearfully mistaken in his chivalrous ideas of the magnanimity of the British government, and a thousand anxious forebodings filled my breast; for I had myself been at different periods, during the space of five long years, the victim of this government, whose good faith has ever been on a par with the Punic.* Hence, it is not to be wondered at that I clearly foresaw the issue. ‘To England, sire,’ I at length exclaimed, in a half suffocated voice—‘to England! Then you are undone! The Tower of London will be your residence, and you may think yourself happy if nothing worse befalls you. What, your Majesty will deliver yourself up, bound hand and foot, to that perfidious cabinet, which will rejoice at being able to destroy him who has so deeply wounded it to the very heart’s core, and threatened its entire existence with destruction! You are the only person whom it has to fear, and will you voluntarily give yourself up to it without any necessity? Sire * * *’ God knows what I might still have added in my despair, had not General Savary, who was in a corner of the saloon, interrupted me with his sonorous voice, and harshly imposed silence. ‘Captain,’ he exclaimed, ‘you take too much upon yourself! Do not entirely forget in whose presence you are!’

“‘*Oh, laissez-le parler,*’ said the Emperor, with a sorrowful look, which went to my very heart; but I

* Captain Besson was twice a prisoner on the frightful English Pontons. His escape was very romantic, and his consequent aversion to the English may be pardonable.

soon perceived, when I had in some measure recovered myself, how useless any further attempt would be.

“‘ Pardon, Sire,’ I continued, ‘ if I have said too much ; but I am as completely stunned by your decision, as if I had been struck by a thunderbolt, and I am only able to entreat your Majesty’s indulgence. As for your Grace,’ I added, turning to the Duke, ‘ I request you, at least, to order the post not to fire at me again to-night, for it would be too hard a fate to be struck down by a French bullet while compelled to land effects, to disembark which in America, I would have sacrificed my life ten times over.’

“‘ Go, Captain,’ said the Emperor, mildly, ‘ and make yourself easy. When you have finished your business, come again to me.’

“ I did as I was commanded, though in the most desponding spirit, and at nine o’clock in the evening of the 14th of July all was completed, on which I immediately returned to inform the Emperor. I found him alone with M. Marchand, who might well be called Fidelity personified, and whose obligingness to me never varied. Without his assistance I should, perhaps, never have obtained access to the Emperor, for the spirit of intrigue had already taken as firm footing in the island of Aix, as it had formerly done in the Tuileries. I will mention only one instance. The persons who were appointed to embark with the Emperor on board the Magdalena, were Marshal Bertrand, Count Las Cases, and General Montholon. The two latter were very little compromised with the government of the King, and had therefore nothing

to fear ; whereas General L'Allemand was already condemned to death. Yet that meritorious General could never succeed in laying his claim before the Emperor. Being constantly impeded in every possible way, he at length requested me to allow him to mix with my crew, in the disguise of a sailor, and thus to save his life.

“ As soon as the Emperor saw me enter, he came up to me, and said—‘ Captain, I again thank you : as soon as you have settled everything here, come and join me in England. I shall undoubtedly, when I am there,’ he added, with a smile, ‘ still have need of a man of your character.’

“ ‘ Ah ! sire,’ I replied, much affected, ‘ why dare I not cherish the slightest hope, that a day will ever come, when I may be summoned to obey so flattering a command.’

“ Unable any longer to suppress my feelings, I was about hastily to retire, when the Emperor made me a sign to stop, and sent Marchand out to fetch Marshal Bertrand ; he then selected from among some arms for his private use, which stood in a corner of the room, a valuable double-barrelled gun, which he had long used in the chase, and, presenting it to me, said, with much emotion, ‘ *Je n’ai plus rien dans ce moment à vous offrir, mon ami, que cette arme. Veuillez l’accepter comme un souvenir de moi.*’

“ This present, which is so invaluablely dear to me, and the inexpressibly benign manner in which it was made, induced me, as I was alone with the Emperor, to make, almost involuntarily, a last attempt. I

threw myself at his feet, and conjured him with tears, by everything which the most melancholy conviction suggested to me, not to give himself up to the English ; for that, as yet, nothing was lost ; and I promised to have all his things again on board within two hours, when he might immediately follow, and we might set sail without delay. Nothing was wanting but his decision—his command. Alas ! all was in vain. ‘ Well, sire,’ I exclaimed, rising ; but the marshal, who had entered meantime, interrupted me : ‘ Captain, cease your useless endeavours,’ he exclaimed, impatiently ; ‘ your zeal is laudable, your conduct is noble, but his Majesty *cannot now draw back.*’

“ It was, perhaps, so ; and I suppressed the words which were still upon my lips. I said : ‘ Nothing now remains for me, but to take leave of your Majesty ; and to depart in the same yacht, sire, which was intended for your Majesty. I shall follow the precise route which you have approved ; and time, I fear, will too soon show your Majesty which of the two projects was the safest.’

“ Struck to the heart, I retired and went on board my ship. It was ten o’clock at night ; I immediately had the anchor weighed, and sailed with a brisk east wind. I was not in any way molested, and at day-break reached the entrance of the Perthuis Breton, where I mixed with the coasting vessels.

“ It is necessary to observe, that the Emperor did not embark in the *Epervia* till five o’clock in the morning of the 15th, and arrived on board the *Bellerophon* at nine o’clock A.M.

“ I had therefore long before continued my voyage unobserved in company with the coasting vessels, and it was not till I found myself off the Sables d’Olonnes, that I took leave of my captain, to sail to Ushant and Kiel, through the English Channel, where he arrived safely twenty days afterwards, without having been visited by a single English cruiser, or, as I observed before, being in anywise molested. I then returned with one of the coasting vessels to Rochefort, where I waited on the Marine Prefect to receive his orders. He told me, that, at the desire of the Emperor, he had kept back till the last moment two chests of plate, which he was to deliver to Madame Besson, in case the Emperor had sailed with me. As his Majesty however had taken an opposite step, he had deemed it his duty to send these chests, with some others which his Majesty had entrusted to him, on board the Bellerophon. In fact, the sale of these very chests of plate served to supply the Emperor’s most urgent wants at St. Helena; but I myself was very far from having any notion that his Majesty would have carried his attention so far, as to think of the fate of my wife, in case my project had been carried into execution.

“ My next interview with Madame Besson was a melancholy one indeed. It was long before either of us could find words to give vent to our profound affliction. The unhappy resolution taken by the Emperor destroyed him for ever; but my fate also was inevitably marked out. I felt assured that I must become the victim of my voluntary action, and so it proved ere long. Dismissed, as unworthy of

-serving the new government, I was compelled to fly from my country, and to leave my wife alone at Rochefort; in consequence of the agitations of the last few days, she became extremely ill, and was long exposed to all kinds of annoyances; indeed the police completely persecuted her, and drove her to Bourdeaux, where she at length found an opportunity of embarking for Kiel, where we met again for the first time in December, 1816. Since that mournful period I have been a wanderer in foreign lands; nor have I ventured to approach the coast of France, except in the year 1826, when his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt sent me to Marseilles, to arm the ships of war which General Livron had caused to be built there for his Highness. My connection with Egypt takes its date from that time. Mehemet Ali has most generously rewarded my services, and I shall esteem myself happy if my activity, my goodwill, and sincere regard for the extraordinary man to whom Providence has conducted me, may contribute to render me more and more worthy of his benefits."

The reader will scarcely be able to lay down this simple statement, without feeling the most lively interest for the principal characters, the great Emperor, and the brave Besson. It cannot, however, be concealed, that the hero, who had for years been hurried from place to place, harassed and exhausted, no longer possessed the energetic resolution which had raised him so high when only General Buonaparte; but we must remember, that he had not then been intoxicated by the atmosphere of the court,

which gradually weakens the strongest head, and corrodes the purest heart.

Providence, however, in this instance, as in every other, ordered all for the best, and Besson may fully console himself. The Emperor, it is true, had his deliverer succeeded in conveying him to America, might have been spared the personal sufferings of many years, but his glory, I repeat it, would only have suffered a mortal blow. It was better, far better, for Napoleon to die in St. Helena, as the prisoner of Europe, than to end his days as an obscure individual in private life. His admirers have therefore reason rather to rejoice that the result turned out as it did, and the English alone have cause to lament that the plan of the intrepid Besson failed, for its success would have spared them one of the most disgraceful pages of their history.*

* Eight months after this was written, on my return from a difficult and dangerous journey in the deserts of Arabia, I found that Besson, whom I had left in the full vigour of life, was already in his grave. His manuscript alone remains with me, as a guarantee for the authenticity of the fragment here communicated of his life, which, in many other respects, was extremely remarkable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW ARSENAL.

WHEN a stranger for the first time visits the arsenal, and views this colossal establishment, with its solid and handsome buildings in its whole immense extent,—an establishment which is not inferior to most of the kind in Europe, nay, which in many points surpasses them; where he finds the largest ships being built, and long rows of magazines stored with every requisite to equip twice their number on the shortest notice; and if he is told that only eight years ago the waves of the sea were rolling over this very spot, and that the whole of the magnificent fleet which now fills the harbour, issued from this same arsenal,—he must almost fancy that he is listening to the relations of an enthusiast.

If he then pauses to reflect upon the remarkable circumstance, that these wonders of activity and judgment were created in a country enveloped in complete barbarism,—a country which at that time possessed scarcely any of the necessary means, the hand of man excepted, and that the whole was effected by the immovable will of a single individual, in opposition to the combined opinion of all his countrymen, he will be overwhelmed with astonishment, and will be constrained to confess, that, since the time of Peter the Great, no European sovereign

has performed such marvels in the same space of time.

But Mehemet Ali's bold spirit is not even yet at rest, and he is now engaged on a work almost equally gigantic, namely, to gain from the sea, and from a slimy soil, one hundred feet deep, extending under it, a basin sufficiently capacious for the whole fleet, and which may be drained at pleasure. The prodigious chests, which are made in the docks, and when filled with stones will be sunk in the sea, as many of them already are, are nearly as large as ships of the line. Almost everybody questions the possibility of success; Mehemet Ali alone does not doubt; for, like Napoleon, he has no such word as *impossible* in his vocabulary. One of the foreign consuls, with a view of dissuading him, said, "Your Highness is throwing your money into the sea."—"Allah kherim!" replied the Viceroy, "for many years I have been doing nothing else." In fact, the experience of Mehemet Ali has been very dearly bought in every instance before he attained his objects; but this never made him hesitate in his proceeding; he always began afresh, till success eventually crowned his perseverance; and this it is, which has made him the great man that he has become.

One of his friends having reproved him for suffering himself to be constantly deceived and betrayed by adventurous and ignorant projectors, he gave him the following remarkable answer upon this head. "I know," said he, "that of fifty men who come from Europe to offer me their services, forty-nine are like false jewels, but, without trying them, I cannot pick

out the one genuine brilliant which may perhaps be among them. I, therefore, purchase them all, and when I have discovered the genuine one, it often repays me a hundredfold for what I have lost by the others." Such a genuine brilliant the Viceroy now possesses in Besson, as he formerly did in Cerisy.

Mehemet Ali had spent a whole year and more than a million of money upon his arsenal when Cerisy, provided with very slender recommendations, arrived in Alexandria. This distinguished Frenchman was presented to the Viceroy, who immediately after the first interview, commissioned him to inspect the new erection, and to state his opinion respecting it. The upright, though somewhat blunt, Cerisy, returned the short but energetic report, that everything which had been done was good for nothing, and that even the locality which had been selected was utterly unsuitable.

It may easily be conceived what a host of interested persons were offended by such a decision, and what intrigues it must have called forth. Mehemet Ali, without suffering himself to be disconcerted, ordered Cerisy to explain the matter more at length, in a detailed memoir, and at the same time to draw up a new plan for the building, entirely according to his own individual opinion. When he had carefully examined it, and the powerful arguments of the Frenchman had convinced the Viceroy, he immediately stopped the progress of the old building, forgot the sums uselessly spent, and, without a moment's delay, commenced the execution of the new plan. Here it may be said everything was to be

created, but the Viceroy was nothing daunted. The basin was dug, the land required was conveyed in waggons, and in four years several of the largest ships of the line were launched from the completed arsenal, which, like them, had been called forth from nothing.

These are characteristics of a Reformer, of a man who lives for one idea, and for that alone, and who is not deterred by any opposing difficulties, and unhappily form a striking contrast with the irresolution, the petty calculations of means and resources, which we so frequently witness in decrepid Europe, without emerging from a provisional state. However, we must not pass over the dark side of this undertaking; and it cannot be denied, that the great impatience of Mehemet Ali, in the prosecution of his plans, has caused him much injury, and will cause him still greater. Cerisy, in spite of his repeated remonstrances, was compelled to build his ships of green wood; in consequence of which, the whole fleet bears in itself the germs of premature decay. The Viceroy was not blind to this circumstance; but he induced Cerisy to obedience, by saying:—"I want these ships, and I want them soon; and when they have performed their service, as I hope they will, they may rot as soon as they please." Fortune has not fulfilled this hope, but it cannot be affirmed that it was altogether Mehemet Ali's own fault.

It is not my intention to describe this arsenal in detail, as such establishments are sufficiently known, and everywhere more or less resemble each other. I will merely mention some points which particularly struck me. Among these, is the admirable rope-

walk, which is equal in extent to that of Toulon, and surpasses it in the perfection of its arrangements. The ingenious new machine, invented by a Frenchman, for twisting the ropes, is in use here ; and the work appears to me not inferior, in rapidity and perfection, to the best of the kind in England.

In point of order and scrupulous cleanliness, in the magazines, as well as in the workshops, the French arsenals which I have visited are decidedly inferior to those of Egypt. An excellent arrangement, among others, is, that as soon as the work is done at night, all the instruments that have been used during the day are hung up on the walls and pillars in various elegant devices ; which have been fixed upon, once for all, as is usual, for the ornaments of an armoury ; and this must be done by the workmen themselves, before they leave the place. This not only makes an elegant decoration, but has this advantage, that the instruments can never be mislaid or lost, and that a theft would be instantly perceived. For this and many other judicious regulations, the arsenal is chiefly indebted to the indefatigable care of General Besson, the worthy successor of the ingenious founder, Cerisy, whose name will be immortalized in the annals of Egypt.

With the exception of the finer nautical and mathematical instruments, very little of European manufacture is to be seen in these magazines. Arms, paper, clothing, linen, leather, and cloth (the latter in part of cotton), are all the produce of Egyptian manufactures instituted by the Viceroy.

Three ships of the line were being built in the docks, which are uncovered, in consequence of the dryness of the climate. In the foundation walls, which consist of large hewn stones, several antique granite pillars and Egyptian figures are introduced, and not without taste; in fact, they are worthy of mention as an indication of Mussulman civilisation in an æsthetic point of view.

THE FLEET.

The effective naval force of Egypt, in the year 1837, consisted of:—

SHIPS OF THE LINE.	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Pounders.</i>	<i>Crew.</i>
Acre	104	30	1200
Massr	104	”	1200
Mohallet el Koubra	100	”	1150
Skander	100	”	1150
Mansurah	100	”	1150
Iloms	100	”	1150
Beleny	96	”	1000
Aboukir	82	”	950
FRIGATES.	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Pounders.</i>	<i>Crew.</i>
Avadalla	64	30	600
Rashid	60	24	580
Beherah	60	”	580
Mufta-dshehad	60	”	580
Dshir-Dshehad	60	”	580
Kaffershake	60	”	580
Damiat	54	”	500
CORVETTES.	<i>Carronades.</i>	<i>Pounders.</i>	<i>Crew.</i>
Tantah	24	30	200
Dshenah-Bacharih	24	”	190
Belenghi-Dshehad	22	18	190
Dshehad-Beker	22	-	190
Carried forward	1296		13,720

BRIGS.	Carronades.	Pounders.	Crew.
Brought forward .	1296		13,720
Sharka	18	16	120
Washington . . .	18	”	100
Semendi-Dshehad .	18	”	100
Bedi-Dshehad . .	16	”	100
Sheinderi	16	”	90
Theinsach	16	12	90
Shabbas-Dshehad .	14	16	90
Cutter	10	”	50
The Nile Steamer .	4	30’	} 150
	2 guns à la Paishans		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	Guns, 1428 .	Crews, 14,610	
Armed Transports, their Crews			1080
The Arsenal, Carpenters, Caulkers, and Cabinet-makers, &c.			4500
			<hr/>
		Crews.—Total	20,190

N. B. All the men employed in the arsenal are organised as military workmen, and in case of necessity are able to bear arms.

SHIPS BUILDING.	Guns and Carronades.	Pounders.
Ships of the Line, No. 9	100	30
” 10	88	”
” 11	100	”
” 12	All the parts of this vessel are indeed ready, but they are not yet in the docks to be put together.	

Three frigates of the first class are far advanced, calculated each to carry 64 carronades, 30 pounders.*

The naval school of Ras-el-Ain, connected with the arsenal, contains 1,200 pupils, who are instructed, boarded and lodged, and supplied with uniforms at the expense of the government, besides which each of them receives from 20 to 100 piastres per month. Some of these are trained for the marines, and others for the service of the administration.

* They were all completed two years afterwards.

There are, besides, two purely nautical schools on board the Acre and Mansurah, in which the number of pupils is unlimited. The conditions are the same, but every pupil receives the pay of 100 piastres per month. Among them is the Viceroy's son, Said Bey, who has a similar allowance, just as the King of France once received a salary as canon at Auch.

The seamen are provided as follows:—the government allows every sailor, yearly, 3 complete cotton suits, namely, 1 working dress; 1 better dress for holidays; 1 capote for the winter; 2 tarbushs or caps; 2 shirts; 4 pairs of shoes; and a sufficient supply of soap for washing his clothes.

The sailors are divided into four classes. The first class receives per month 30 piastres; second, 25; third, 20; fourth, 15. The subaltern officers are paid in the same proportion.

The ration consists of the most suitable and wholesome provisions, and is ample for the support of two persons. His Highness also maintains all the male children of the marines, and from the hour of their birth, allows them the same ration as their father, besides five piastres per month in money.

The invalids of the marines are sent to their respective dwelling-places, where they receive a monthly pension of 30 piastres, and are at the same time frequently employed as overseers in different departments, by which means those who are still capable of work, are permitted to combine this remuneration with their pension.

CORPS OF OFFICERS OF THE MARINE.

Mustapha Pacha, who commands the sea forces *en chef*, has long held the rank of admiral *pro tempore*, but is in fact nothing more than vice-admiral or lieutenant-general.

The office of vice-admiral is likewise only *pro tempore*, and is equal to *maréchal-de-camp*, and chief of the general staff of the squadron. This post is filled by Besson Bey. The *contre-amiral* is likewise only a *miriliva*, or *maréchal-de-camp*, and at the same time president of Council of Marine, which gives him incalculable influence. This office is held by Hassan Bey, a Turk, who has received a European education, and of whom I shall make further mention hereafter.

There are ships' captains of the first and second class; the former have the title of Bey, and take the rank of a colonel in the army, and the second class, that of lieutenant-colonel.

The frigate-captains are likewise divided into first and second class. The first take the rank of *chef de bataillon*, and the second that of majors of the first class, and are likewise employed as second ships' captains, or as commanders of corvettes.

The captains of brigs are majors of the second class, and are appointed indiscriminately as seconds of frigates or corvettes.

The ship-lieutenants* are likewise of the first and second class, have the rank of captains, and act as seconds in corvettes and brigs.

* By the term "ship," a ship-of-the-line must of course be understood.

The frigate-lieutenants likewise consist of two classes, and take the rank of premier lieutenants.

The *aspirants* of the first and second class take the rank of first and second lieutenants.

This concise, but indisputably authentic statement, will suffice to give the reader a just conception of the extent of the naval power of Mehemet Ali, and, taken in connection with what I shall subsequently communicate in the course of this work respecting the army, the territorial extent, the revenue, and resources of the Egyptian-Nubian-Syrian Empire (for such it then was), they confirm my opinion that it will lead to a most detrimental anomaly for all parties to continue to retain a man who is *de facto* a powerful independent monarch, in the official position of a dependent pasha.

When I surveyed this stupendous regal power, I could not help thinking that we have in Europe many monarchs whose kingdoms are scarcely equal in extent to a single province of the pashalic, and whose resources do not amount to the tenth part of those of Mehemet Ali; while there are many other sovereigns who cannot compete in power and splendour even with one of Mehemet Ali's stadtholders,—for example, those of Candia and Soudan; nay, that there are even others who positively are merely great landholders, who cannot boast of as much territory as many an English nobleman, but who nevertheless bear the anomalous title of sovereign.

Hence, it unavoidably ensued, that so unnatural a relation as the present could not be maintained without continued violent measures; and a whole-

some policy would, probably, not have desired to uphold such a state of things ; not even the policy of the Porte, which stood in need of a powerful friend, professing the same religion, and consequently bound by the same interests for the success of the main point—the security of the Mahomedan sway—rather than of a powerful vassal, who, so long as he had not attained his independence, would stand opposed to it as a dangerous rival, and who only bore the name of vassal, while he, in reality, once far exceeded his master in concentrated power and importance.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT TO THE FLEET.

ON leaving the arsenal we entered a gig, a long, narrow, and very elegant boat, resembling the exclusives of Cowes, and proceeded to the fleet, the whole of which was assembled here, and afforded an imposing scene. We steered direct for the admiral's ship, where I intended to pay my respects to the Prince Said Bey, the second son of the Viceroy.

Although the impression produced by the British fleet in Malta and Zante was still vividly before me, yet as far as a landsman may judge, I did not find, with respect to materials, any essential difference between the vessels of the two nations, which were always placed in my mind in juxtaposition; indeed, in some few particulars, even if not very important, I here noticed several advantages; for example, the exterior cleanliness and order, which pervaded even the most hidden corner and the deepest hold, as well as the more suitable arrangement, as it appeared to me, of the storing and setting up of the arms, in various little magazines, which divided the entire of the ship's hold, instead of their being placed in one large apartment, a method which facilitates a more easy and rapid access to them; and lastly, new and very practical defended embrasures on the upper deck, an arrangement which has been copied from the French,

and which will, without doubt, be adopted in all new vessels.

The manœuvres, on the other hand, were decidedly to the disadvantage of the Egyptians, as some of them manifested a great want of decision, and others took double and even triple the time in performing most of their evolutions. This, however, is less attributable to the unskilfulness of the Arab sailors, who, on the contrary, seem to me to possess every qualification to make the best seamen in the world, than to the great lack of able officers; for Mehemet Ali was probably too precipitate in dismissing the greater number of Europeans, in consequence of various misunderstandings. Without the aid of the few whom he yet retains in his service, and among whom M. Touset, aide-de-camp of M. Besson, deserves especial notice on account of his talents and great zeal, this fine and colossal creation would doubtless be in danger of being annihilated as rapidly as it rose, as if by enchantment. The Viceroy's true friends will do well to counsel him not to be in too great a hurry to put into the hands of his countrymen that office to which they are not yet equal.*

* The question seems naturally to arise, what might have been the result, if, at the commencement of the late war against Mehemet Ali, when the English had not above eight or nine ships of the line, and the French considerably more, stationed in the Mediterranean—what, I say, might have been the result, had France resolutely engaged the whole of the fleet of the Viceroy, which was at that time augmented by several Turkish vessels, which had gone over to him, placed it under the command of French officers, and employed it in the combat, and thus, making use of initiated men, had attacked the English fleet with an almost four-fold superiority? Often has a complete destruction of the nimbus of the greatest naval powers so

Said Bey, who is strictly educated as a seaman, is a very amiable young man, and possesses many promising qualities. He is under the direction of General Besson, and of his appointed tutor, Mr. König, a man who possesses extensive knowledge and experience, and bears the highest character. Said Bey has already, in some measure, acquired the polish of an European prince, and begins to act and to feel as such. He is, however, extremely shy, and his very estimable qualities are only learnt in confidential intercourse. He speaks French fluently, and with a very slight foreign accent; and has also some knowledge of English. He would certainly be much liked in Europe, and would be well received everywhere.

He has a very great desire to go thither, but at present there is an insurmountable obstacle of a most singular nature. The prince, considering his youth, is most extraordinarily corpulent, and his father is unwilling that he should present himself to the eyes of Europe till he has become thinner. On a later occasion I had an opportunity of conversing privately with the Viceroy on this subject, and I did my utmost to induce him to change his mind, but I was unable to effect anything. Mehemet Ali repeatedly asserted that he would not suffer his son to travel in his present unsightly condition. "I have prescribed a regimen for the prince," added he; "he is now pur-

completely shattered them, that from that hour they died a lingering death. So much is certain, that a like opportunity will probably never again be presented to France. Well is it for the peace of the world that she did not take advantage of it.

suings it, and will become thinner, and then he may travel, but certainly not before." With this prescribed regimen, poor Prince Said Bey is incessantly tormented, without its having as yet done him any material good. He is weighed every week; and in the detailed report of his education, which is regularly transmitted to Cairo, the results of the weighing must on no account be omitted, and an inevitable overflow of spleen invariably ensues if the pounds are not *decrescendo* !

The surest method of ridding the prince of his unhappy corpulency, of which, probably, not a word would be said in Europe, would be to send him to England, and there have him trained as a boxer. In the course of four weeks he would be as thin as a whipping-post, and far stronger than he has ever been in his life. Two young English women lately came to Egypt and circulated a prospectus, in which they undertook, for a due consideration, to instruct the ladies of the harem, according to the European method, but their Mahomedan spouses did not give much encouragement to the scheme. Now, if an English boxer would take a hint from me, a better fortune might probably attend him, and poor Prince Said Bey might at length be rendered capable of undertaking his long-wished-for tour.*

My first interview with Said Bey was confined pretty well to the circle of the *lieux communs*; but

* As Said Bey has since visited Constantinople, for the purpose of marrying a Turkish princess, the paternal recipe has probably proved efficacious; the marriage, however, does not appear to have taken place.

afterwards I became better acquainted with him, and found him of an exceedingly lively temperament and full of fun. Once we even climbed, for a wager, up the rope ladders of the admiral's ship to the topmast, and, spite of his corpulency, he far outstripped me. I must, however, add,—and I hope the reader will pardon my vanity in making this remark,—that I excited general applause, inasmuch as I was no seaman, and had performed my part in so masterly a style; the Arab sailors henceforth dubbed me the Prussian admiral,—a title, the ratification of which I have some thoughts of claiming on the banks of the Spree, when the German national fleet shall start into existence. I heartily wish that this said fleet may be conducted with the same firm determination, the same energy of resolution, but with superior judgment and ability in its operations, as the fleet of Mehemet Ali. The first Prussian man-of-war has already been launched,—why was it not called the “Amazon,” since the Amazons have no descendants?

The *Nile* steamer which was built in London, is a real ornament to the fleet, and, not excepting the *Medea*—which is confessedly the most beautiful steamer in the British navy—is a nonpareil, and is maintained in the most perfect order by an English engineer. Some frigates, built in France, are equally distinguished in their way. Among the smaller vessels I observed more neglect, as, for example, in the brig in which I sailed from Candia, and the inefficient command and regulations, which I had had ample proofs of witnessing during my passage from that island.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.—ENVIRONS.

I WAS on the whole very much pleased with Alexandria and its Afric-European medley. The foreign consuls, who in general take the lead in society here, where something more of the etiquette of large cities prevails than in the other cities of the Levant and Barbary, live in much greater unanimity, and the numerous foreigners, especially Frenchmen, in the service of the viceroy, tend both to augment and to enliven the higher circles. Among others, a very splendid establishment was kept up by M. Von W., chief of a battalion and aide-de-camp of Soliman Pacha, and formerly chamberlain to the Duke of Lucca, whose lady is a member of a noble family in Hanover.

In this mansion the greatest luxury was combined with the utmost sociability; but it was highly characteristic of the rather superficial state of things here, when, one fine morning, the whole affair vanished in smoke; and the most wealthy capitalists of Alexandria learnt with horror that the excellent dinners to which they were daily invited by M. Von W. were provided with money which had been borrowed from them. Repayment was out of the question, and after a great piece of work they were obliged to submit to their fate. M. Von W., however, exchanged Alexandria for Constantinople. Besides a whole

host of adventurers, there are, however, many substantial families here, some of whom inhabit real palaces, and live in a corresponding style. Among the principal of these, I must especially mention the Swedish Consul-General, Chevalier Anastasi, whose style of living and hospitable entertainments would be considered grand and elegant in any part of the world.

I must indulge myself with saying a few words respecting this excellent man, as I accidentally came into closer intercourse with him, and will observe *en passant*, that our Berlin Egyptian Museum is indebted to his liberality for one of its most costly sarcophagi.

My worthy reader may perhaps have retained some remembrance of my secretary, Theolog, mentioned in the "Vorläufer." Theolog [is the son of a niece of the Chevalier Anastasi, who formerly defrayed the expenses of his education, but was so displeased with the hair-brained tricks and extravagant expenditure of his favourite at Munich, that he at length felt compelled altogether to withdraw his countenance from him. Hereupon the young man was brought into the most miserable condition, in which, in fact, I found him at Athens, and, rather from pity than necessity, took him with me, especially as I was just wending my steps towards Alexandria, where I trusted that I might effect a reconciliation between him and his great-uncle.

It was rather singular, by the way, that a celebrated diplomatic professor of Germany, who became acquainted with Theolog in Greece, and persuaded him to go to Germany, was, according to the assertions

of the latter, the chief instrument in leading my young protégé into the abovenamed scrapes. Theolog says, that he advised him to draw as largely as he could on his liberal relation in Trieste, where he had credit for the full amount of the sum which was set apart for the whole course of his studies. I have some reason to doubt this assertion, as M. Anastasi told me, laughing, that the said professor had written him a long letter, which he had carefully reserved as a very curious document, in which the young man sought to excuse his unpardonable conduct; by saying, "1st, That M. Anastasi was a merchant, and might consequently become bankrupt; 2nd, That M. Anastasi was already advanced in years, and might consequently die soon and suddenly; and that therefore he could not feel much offended with his nephew if he sought to make himself sure and independent, while he was pursuing his studies."

Such diplomacy, if it may not be termed clever, is at any rate very original. True, it missed its aim, and might have provoked the most lenient; nevertheless we succeeded in effecting a complete reconciliation with the good and noble-minded man: Theolog was reinstated in his favour—was supplied with a considerable capital, and, at the expense of his uncle, a mercantile concern was opened for him, in which he may become as rich as the Chevalier Anastasi himself, if he combines with that gentleman's knowledge of business the same good fortune, and more especially the same integrity and probity which have distinguished him. M. Anastasi himself was not always successful. At the commencement of his career, every thing went

wrong, and he was forced to become bankrupt. He came to a judicial composition with his creditors, whereby he allowed them 25 per cent. He recommenced in a small, unobtrusive way, but the wheel of Fortune had turned. She gave a double and a triple success to all his speculations, and, in the course of a few years, M. Anastasi was a very wealthy man.

“The proof of the pudding is in the eating;” though not bound by law to do any thing, he called a public meeting of all his old creditors, or their heirs, and conscientiously repaid them both capital and interest, to the very last mite. Examples of this kind are rare, in this our egotistical age, and well merit the most honourable acknowledgment of the whole community.

Thus I lost my third travelling secretary on my present oriental pilgrimage; and it is singular enough, that all three of them had something of the prodigal son about them; and that I found an opportunity of bringing them all three back into their respective families. Whether the reconciliation will be permanent in every case, is quite a different question. As for myself, having successively had a Protestant, an Israelite, and a Greek-Catholic secretary (of whom the Israelite was incomparably the best), I had a great inclination to let my choice fall upon a Mussulman, as there are a great many here who have studied in Europe, and who may therefore know a great deal more than I do.

When Prince Said Bey returned my visit, he was accompanied by Vice-Admiral Hassan Bey, an accomplished European Turk, who spoke French so fluently,

that I took him for an orthodox French Christian, till I saw him suddenly kneel down and perform his Mussulman devotions, which a good Mahomedan has not the slightest scruple in doing when the hour is come, be he where he may. This admiral, who was formerly a Mameluke (body slave) of Mehemet Ali, is considered the best horseman in Egypt, a singular accomplishment certainly for a sailor; and he has besides seen much of the world, and many vicissitudes. He told us that when he was in Chili, his skill in horsemanship exceeded that of several of the most famous riders there, whereby their jealousy was excited to such a degree, that several attempts were made upon his life, and he was eventually obliged to leave the country.

The admiral now possesses one of the finest horses in Alexandria, a true Ned-shi, which, at my request, he one day mounted, and thus confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, his reputation for horsemanship. It was impossible to sit firmer and with more grace upon any horse, or to have such a fiery steed more completely under one's command. His dapple-grey horse, with an Isabella tail, which I describe for the benefit of the hippologue, was not very high, but of a powerful and firm make, pretty strong, small symmetrical bones, and would have been pronounced perfectly beautiful, by his exceedingly just proportions, if his neck had not been too short, a defect which often exists among the Ned-shi. Its fetlocks were longer than those of the generality of the Arabian horses, and it is as fiery as it is gentle. Yet even this horse did not belong to the noblest race of the

desert; of which Hassan Bey, who formerly took part in the war against the Wachabees, gave the following description:—

“The only animals of this select race which I ever saw,” he states, “were the favourite horses of Abdullah, the leader of the Wachabees. They were taken prisoners by us with their masters; and had it not been for this chance of war, they could not have been procured at any price, however high. They stood full a hand higher than my horse; their eyes and bones resemble those of the gazelle; and the latter, though very delicate, were as firm as steel. Their beauty, and the grace of all their actions, were incomparable, and our first-rate horses could not in the least compete with their extraordinary agility and swiftness, and their untiring endurance of fatigue.” These noble animals unfortunately perished that same year, in an Egyptian stud, which at that time was in a very bad condition, and they thus proved of no advantage to the Egyptian breed.

I must now return to the state of society at Alexandria.

Among the various means of social entertainments of this city—the chief of which is a high game of hazard, which is played in private houses, an old fashion, which took its origin in the good times *des soupers*, to the latter of which I am by no means unfriendly—I must mention two very neat adjoining amateur theatres, the one French, and the other Italian. The first of these is the principal, and owes its establishment and support almost entirely to the indefatigable zeal of M. Reinlein, Vice-Consul of

Holland ; who, sometimes like a Talleyrand in miniature, has recourse to all the finesse of a diplomatist, and at others, as the happy imitator of Mehemet Ali, puts into active play all the energy of his will, to keep together the troops of distinguished volunteers, who are frequently disposed to rebellion. M. Reinlein lives and moves only in the atmosphere of music and theatricals ; and as I am of opinion that a strong passion for these arts, when it can be fully gratified, forms a considerable portion of the enjoyment of life, we may congratulate M. Reinlein, because the riders on hobby-horses are far more to be envied, than those who elect the Pegasus, or the war-steed of ambition. It is true that M. Reinlein, in addition to this happiness, possesses the agreeable acquisition of a most lovely and amiable Spanish lady as his wife, for which he is probably still more envied than for his amateur theatre.

I am sorry to say that the French theatre was closed at this time, and I must therefore express my thanks, that not the slightest opposition was made to an *improvvisatore* in honour of my unworthy self, in the residence of M. Lesseps, the French consul, and which was arranged in the course of a very few days with the greatest alacrity. The subject was a piece from Scribe, and the chief characters were performed in a masterly style by Madame Von Wülffingen and Mr. Janin, a St. Simonian, and brother of the celebrated Perlet. Mr. Janin especially distinguished himself in the second piece, from the *Comédien d'Etampes*, in which his incomparable caricature of the English lady excited the more

laughter, because many of the spectators had lately seen, if possible, a still more ludicrous original of this caricature in *nature*, and therefore had it fresh in their minds.

In the Italian theatre, I only, on one occasion, attended a concert, where several singers displayed much talent, especially one lady, among whose devoted admirers was Lord Byron.

The Alexandrians, like their forefathers in ancient times, are still fond of making parties of pleasure by land, although they now have scarcely any land of their own left; and, instead of the delightful groves, which formerly surrounded the villages of Lake Mareotis, and where that delicious wine was produced, which is celebrated by Horace, Athenäus and Strabo, nothing is met with but a bare morass, sand-hills, and foreign wines! There are, however, some few oases which have a more favourable appearance.

In order to make myself acquainted with the environs, I mounted my horse one fine Friday, which is the sabbath of the Mussulman, on an excursion to view the few cultivated spots in the vicinity. I was accompanied by M. and Mdme. Roquerbes, the latter the handsomest Smyrna lady in Alexandria, and the only one among my acquaintance here who understands the art of preparing Turkish coffee, in ideal perfection. We first visited a villa belonging to the Minister Boghos Bey, which is ornamented with noble palm trees, and a pretty flower-garden. Many of the date trees were loaded with fruit, which I tasted in their fresh state, for the first time at Alexandria, because, when I was in Barbary, it was not the season when

they are ripe. They have not the least resemblance with the dried dates, which we eat in Europe, but are more like our plums ; they are of a dark-blue colour, extremely juicy, but, to my taste, rather too luscious.

Riding past a double row of windmills, which were introduced into Egypt only ten years ago, and by a large cotton magazine belonging to the Viceroy, we proceeded to Mehemet Ali's country-seat, which was in the course of erection. It is certainly very magnificent, but is built entirely in the Turkish national style, which is not devoid of gracefulness, though a pure taste cannot fail to be offended by the barbarous mixture of beautiful marbles and wood saturated with oil ; of richly gilded ceilings, and rough whitewashed walls ; and other similar incongruities and absurdities. It was, as I have observed, the Turkish sabbath, and we saw many persons walking in the garden, but when we reached the entrance of the palace, we found it barricaded, and no person within to give us any information. In order to have a better view, M. Roquerbes and I clambered to the top of the wall, which is within the extensive public garden, and surrounds the palace on account of the harem. After we had hallooed for a long time, a half-clad Arab at length appeared. He had a huge hatchet in his hand, with which he at first most savagely defied us, but on our promising him a bakshish he employed the formidable weapon in cleaving the wooden bolt of the gate which had impeded our entrance.

The form of the palace is singular ; it is, nevertheless, adapted for every possible comfort. It consists of four isolated pavilions, built in a quadrangle, which

are united at the four corners by lofty gates leading to the inclosed garden of the harem; a gaily-painted vaulted gallery, or verandah, surrounds the whole inner court, which is paved with stones of various colours, and has a handsome fountain in the centre. A lofty pillared hall forms the entrance to the pavilion next the city; this is at present only of wood, but it is to be built of oriental alabaster, the gigantic blocks of which are already on the spot. The roofs are formed alternately in curved and straight lines, like the Chinese, which is in perfect keeping with the fantastic character of the whole.

For the satisfaction of the curious, I present to him the ground plan of the whole.

In the outer gardens of this palace, which are open to the public, and extend a great way on every side, but which, like all the gardens of the East, are nothing more than ornamented kitchen-gardens and orchards, I noticed many beautiful plants, which were in flower, and well worthy of being introduced into Europe. Among them was a sort of lupin, with large dark-blue flowers, and a very rich major convolvulus, with violet and red bells, which so completely overgrew several walls and elegantly-woven reed fences that there was scarcely the least interval left. These gardens will in time greatly contribute to improve the environs of Alexandria, which are at present very sterile and unsightly. Ibrahim Pacha, also, has done much for the city in this respect. Thus, for instance, the large, handsome square in which I reside was erected by him at a considerable expense; and the very high rent of the surround-

ing hotels, which he has built, is generously assigned as a fund for pensions to the widows of the officers of his army. In Cairo and Syria, Ibrahim Pacha does still more.

It is, however, extremely difficult to excite in the natives themselves any taste for plantations, gardens, &c.; and the endeavours of the Viceroy have frequently been defeated by the general indolence and indifference which prevail on this point. Some years ago he caused many thousand olive trees to be distributed gratis, but scarcely one of them is now alive, because, in the first place, they were planted in a slovenly manner, and, in the second, not the slightest care was bestowed upon them afterwards. Hence, too, the banks of the Mahmudie canal—that gigantic work of Mehemet Ali's, on which 50,000 men were daily employed, and which was completed in its whole length of twenty leagues in the space of a few months—are mere barren, cast-up slopes; whereas, considering the rapid growth of trees in this climate, they might, by this time, resemble the romantic banks of which Dufard el Hadad sang as follows:—

“What charms surround thee, O Canal of Alexandria! thine aspect ravishes the soul! The beautiful groves which overshadow thee, form verdant arcades above the happy shipper, who navigates thy waters. The breath of the North gently ripples the surface of thy waves, and diffuses delicious coolness over thy limpid stream. The noble palm gently bending its graceful crown, like a bashful maiden, is adorned with its coronal of pendent fruit,” &c. &c. (See Prokesch's description of this canal.)

It must have been a work of no small difficulty to dig the Mahmudie canal, since neither spades nor shovels, nor even wheelbarrows, are known in Egypt; and the workmen scoop up the soft earth with their hands; it is then carried away in baskets, a process in which both adults and children have acquired such extraordinary dexterity, that they would hardly be persuaded to adopt the European method.

On our way home, we visited Mehemet Ali's town residence. It lies at the point of the tongue of land which stretches out between the two large harbours. The passion of this sovereign for fine avenues is very characteristically manifested here; a wide path, 2000 paces in length, which leads from the city to the palace, is lined with roofless towers, eight feet in height, which said towers have no other destination than that of affording protection to the young acacias which are planted inside. The palace is truly royal, and of great extent; the halls of audience are very plain, but of noble proportions; and the grand staircase, of Carrara marble, is beautiful. But here, again, the eye is offended by the incongruity of balustrades, of ordinary wood, painted white! In one of the saloons, quite contrary to Mahomedan custom, there is a colossal bust of himself, made of plaster of Paris, which was executed with considerable skill by one of the St. Simonians, now resident here. In some respects it is a good likeness; but the artist has totally failed in catching the peculiar and striking expression of the physiognomy of the great Pacha.

The principal splendour of the Mussulman is always

reserved for the harem. This part of the palace was, however, inaccessible to us, because, unluckily, some of the ladies had remained here ; we were, however, permitted to see the large sea-bath, which must be most agreeable in the heat of the sun, and where the Viceroy sometimes gives audience.

I here parted from my amiable companions, and took a boat to go on board a Turkish corvette from Constantinople, which had lately brought hither an ambassador from the Sultan. The captain received me very politely ; he was dressed entirely in the Russian manner, with the exception of the fez (here called tarbush), and with much politeness showed me every part of his vessel, which was built in America. There was not indeed an equal degree of elegance, but, to my surprise, scarcely less order and cleanliness, than in the Egyptian fleet ; and the marines, in European uniforms, red jackets, and dark grey pantaloons, appeared to be on a par with the Arabs in point of training, but they looked more clumsy, and, in the rapidity of their manœuvres, the Turkish seamen are said to be as inferior to the Egyptian, as the latter are to the English.

During my residence at Alexandria, I was invited to a series of dinners and suppers, which gave me an opportunity of forming several agreeable acquaintances. Among those with whom I was particularly pleased, I must especially mention M. Dumreiker, the Danish Consul-General, a Bavarian by birth, who is one of the most estimable foreigners in Egypt, and who must be held in high esteem by every German, because, by the manifold services which he has

rendered to individuals of that nation, he has long since acquired the title of "Father of the Germans."

The second remarkable person is M. Hedenborg, the celebrated Swedish naturalist, who, until Russegger's visit, approached nearer to the mountains of the Moon than any other traveller, although he had not any support of the authorities; unfortunately he was attacked by a severe climatic disease, from which he has not quite recovered, and which, for a time, has reduced him to a state of inactivity. His collections of natural history, which he made in the course of seven years, and which he has sent to his own country, are said to be some of the finest of their kind. This able man, who is animated with the ardent enthusiasm of a true philosopher for his department of science, greatly delighted and attracted me.

To complete my select trio, I must introduce a totally different character—the general of the Capuchins, legate of the Pope for Hindostan, and archbishop of Adra, to which See he is now proceeding by way of Alexandria and Bombay. He is a handsome man, scarcely thirty years of age, of the most agreeable and polished manners, very cheerful, and apparently free from prejudice. He preached several sermons here, which attracted all the fashionable world, and for the time drew them away from the private theatricals; for the wily archbishop, who had a thorough knowledge of human nature, contrived to make his discourses highly piquant, by telling the ladies in his sonorous Italian the strongest and most unpleasant truths, veiled in perfidious compliments. I was greatly amused,

and really could not help smiling in listening to one of these sermons, which began in the following words: "O ye frail and thoughtless sex, who appear in this secret place only from vanity, — that your charms, which are so seductive, and your dress, which is so elegant, may be admired by worshippers still more thoughtless than yourselves," &c. In a few weeks this original apostle became the favourite orator of the fair sex of Alexandria; let no one therefore presume to say that the ladies do not like to hear the truth; all depends on the *how*—the *where*—and *by whom* the truth is told.

CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO CAIRO.

YESTERDAY I wrote to a lady who has a strong inclination to travel, but dreads its attendant dangers and fatigues, that if she had a mind to avoid both, I could not recommend a more convenient winter tour than through Egypt, where she might glide so gently along the venerable Nile in her saloon, surrounded by her own domestic and accustomed conveniences, that she would scarcely perceive that she was moving onwards unless she happened to look at the banks, which seem to pass rapidly by ; and where, I demanded, can you travel with greater safety? Certainly in no post-chaise, and on no diligence in Europe.

The worthy General Besson gave me another and a last entertainment at his country-house. An arcade of vines leads from his dining-room to the Mahmudie canal, and Night had already spread her sable wings around when I passed through this delicious avenue, accompanied by the General and M. Roquerbes, to go on board the canja, which the government had had the kindness to place at my disposal, together with a kawass (here formerly called janissary).

I slept very quietly till morning, and I left the gondola at an early hour to go shooting, because, as the wind was against us, the sailors were obliged to

tow the vessel with ropes, and we proceeded very slowly. We, however, met with nothing eatable in the shape of game, with the exception of larks, which abounded in such numbers, that I frequently brought down several at one shot, and in a trice sent thirty of these plump little creatures to the kitchen. Birds of prey and sea-gulls were likewise very plentiful, and an endless flight of cranes, which occupied a quarter of an hour in passing, flew in regular columns over our heads to Europe.

“Segler der Lüfte,
Wer mit euch schifte
Grüset mir freundlich mein Vaterland,”

I exclaimed in a sentimental humour, and shot my last lark *figuratively*, for, in the midst of my reverie, I trod into a rat-hole, and fell with no small violence on the ancient classic soil of Egypt!

The country had a rather monotonous appearance from the bare dams which enclose the canal; to the north, in the horizon, were some green fields and the sea of Aboukir, and behind us lay the sand-hills of the desert. I breakfasted in one of the greatly decried Fellah huts, where I had excellent butter and milk, and for the first time in my life tasted fresh sugar cane, which I thought excellent. The rays of the sun were scorchingly hot, but in the shade the air was pleasantly cool.

As we approached towards Atfeh, the dams were partly planted with groups of acacia, under whose refreshing foliage the banks were covered with verdure, and in the misty distance we perceived the houses and minarets of Damanhour, the ancient

Hermopolis Parva, which rose above a palm forest to the south. It was evening before we reached the termination of the canal at Atfeh, where I was compelled to pass the night, as we were obliged to unload here and take another canja, because in the hurry to finish the canal, its junction with the Nile had been made several leagues above, so that there is not a sufficient fall for a sluice, or to permit vessels to pass. However, I lost no time in making my way through the crowd of people and the piles of cotton bales, in order that I might, before sunset, reach the other end of the village, where I was for the first time to look upon the sacred Nile. Moments like these amply reward the traveller.

The noble river here spreads to the breadth of the Elbe, between Dresden and Meissen; its waters also are nearly of the same colour, for they are slightly tinged with yellow: the banks, on the contrary, with the exception of the palms, more nearly resemble Holland than any other European country. The leaves of the poplars, mulberry, jujube, and other fruit were already strewn on the ground, by which the landscape was deprived of a great part of its beauty, and in many places where there were no evergreens, it looked more wintry than I could possibly have expected. Yet I was charmed with the rich verdant carpet under the cloudless, deep-blue sky. The marks on the high banks indicated how very much the river had already fallen. A peculiar method has lately been discovered of ascertaining whether "a good or a bad Nile" may be expected in the following year. The height to which it will rise is calcu-

lated from the greater or less abundance of rainy clouds which pass during the year across the sea from the north, towards Abyssinia; and some persons are specially appointed to make the necessary observations.

The governor of Atfeh had some difficulty in finding another canja for us, and we did not get afloat till noon on the following day, so that our voyage did not extend beyond Fouah. The Nile here spreads to a very great extent, and surrounds a wooded island. The town of Fouah is very considerable, and is most enchantingly situated amid orange groves, lofty reeds, boundless plantations of the cotton-tree, covered with its woolly fruit, and rich verdant clover-fields which extend far inland. Thousands of palms, interspersed with fine groups of tall sycamores—the king of Egyptian trees, are enlivened by rows of white manufactories, which glisten amid the green foliage, and, with their flat roofs, look at a distance like Italian palaces. Immediately adjoining them in the background, rise the dark masses of Turkish houses, generally two stories high, relieved by numerous gay minarets which tower elegantly above them, in the form of obelisks and columns,—all these strange and picturesquely diversified objects presented, at the very outset, one of the most attractive pictures in our delightful sail up the Nile.

I landed not far from the city to enjoy the beautiful verdure, and finished my refreshing walk by a visit to some of the manufactories which lay on my way to the city. In one of these, such great numbers of fez or tarbush are now manufactured, that the supply

is not only sufficient to meet the demands of the country, but to admit of a considerable export trade. They are but little inferior in quality to those of Tunis. The work is executed by persons of both sexes, the children and some elderly people being employed on the lighter work, and adults on the more laborious part. I heard from their own lips, that they can earn from one to four piastres a-day; which, in this cheap country, is fully equal to the wages of our day-labourers. The work is carried on in large, airy, and cleanly apartments; the people are much better clothed than the Fellahs who work without doors, and I was glad to remark how healthy and cheerful they looked, and with what mildness they appeared to be everywhere treated by the overseers. There are no longer any Europeans in this manufactory, nor in the great cotton-yarn manufactory which I afterwards saw, and both of which are on the precise model of the English establishments of a similar kind, though it is more difficult to keep them clean here, on account of the fine dust which fills the air in the summer-time. The report that several manufactories were obliged to suspend their operations for that reason, is a mere fable of malevolent persons.

The Viceroy, who has everything on a gigantic scale, has created manufactures at a stroke, and almost as if by enchantment; just like Frederick the Great, who, in his time, was not a little blamed for precipitation, but to whom alone Prussia is indebted for its now flourishing manufactures. War, the plague, and the cholera, have indeed since compelled the Viceroy to have more hands employed in agricul-

ture, and hence many a speculation may not, perhaps, have turned out so profitable as was anticipated.

For these reasons, many operations have been suspended, but that which has been retained is all the more solid, and is preserved in a condition doubly laudable in such sudden creations, and among a people so averse from all innovations. I afterwards learned from Mehemet Ali himself, that he had not expended more than ten millions of Spanish dollars in toto upon all the manufactories which he had founded, and that he now received from them more than one million net profit, and which he confidently expected would increase still further. As far as Mehemet Ali is concerned, it cannot, therefore, be said, that the speculation has failed; and the Viceroy is certainly not the man to deceive himself in matters of this kind.

From the manufactories I proceeded to the bazars, where, in the stall of a dirty Arab, by way of curiosity, I purchased a toilette glass, made in Saxony, with the inscription "Chemnitz." In the immense crowd of this bazar I lost my Spartan Susannis (a dog given me at Mistra), and, in spite of all my endeavours, could not find him again, and I therefore had to stop for the night in order to make further search. In the morning I learned that my classical dog had again given a rare proof of his faithful attachment; taking precisely the way by which I had come, he had, so to speak, inquired for his master at the two manufactories, and, not finding me anywhere, had leaped into the water at the place where I had landed, swam across the Nile, which is more than a quarter

of a league in width at that place, and returned to Atfeh, from whence he was on the point of setting out for Alexandria, and where the messengers whom I had sent in quest of him met him, and had great difficulty in catching him. Covered with dirt, and tired to death, the poor animal arrived in the canja, where he was welcomed by the whole crew with a loud laugh at his melancholy appearance, and joy at his happy return.

In almost every book on Egypt I had read so much about the Almehs, or female dancers, who were described as inhabiting separate villages, living under their own peculiar laws, and swimming up to every bark that sailed along the Nile, that I was greatly surprised at not having yet seen one of them, and therefore, when at Fouah, I commissioned my kawass to bring some of them on board. It appeared that this amusement was put a stop to in Egypt, which for my part I regret, because it was characteristic and national. The Viceroy, for the sake of morality (which however seldom gains by such prohibitions), has substituted dancing boys for dancing girls, in Cairo; nay, he has even pronounced an anathema on these females, and, as his Highness is implicitly obeyed, none of them can venture to show themselves. I was however informed that if I had a mind, I might witness this national amusement in Upper Egypt, whither the Viceroy had exiled a great number of these dancing girls, and where the police was not so strict in the enforcement of the sovereign's regulation.

The view from Fouah is quite as beautiful as that towards it. Salaieh, a large town, rises on the

opposite bank, above the forest ; and farther on there is a massive square black building, which frowns upon a thick palm-grove and endless plains, that vanish in the horizon like a sea.

As we proceeded on our voyage, the banks were still more lovely, and the chase more and more productive. We shot snipes, wild pigeons, fieldfares, and a pretty bird with gay plumage, which is likewise very delicate eating. We everywhere found the Fellahs friendly and ready to give assistance. Only once they opposed us, in the neighbourhood of a sacred tomb, and this they did solely for our own good, because the Santon, they said, would revenge himself if we did not respect his grave. We very obediently retired.

We continued our voyage the whole night, and on the following morning had a London fog, which is not uncommon on the Nile at this season. Till one o'clock in the afternoon we could scarcely see anything, except the water of the river and our own boat. Our crew, however, only sang the more lustily. The cries, groans, snorting, and singing of these Arabs, whatever they may be doing, is sometimes amusing, but more frequently tiresome : it often sounds as if they were receiving a bastinado, or were suffering from the colic ; but they keep time in everything they do ; sometimes you would imagine that the vessel was sinking, so fearfully does the noise increase ; but lo, they are merely shifting a sail ! To-day I could positively have fancied that we were attacked by pirates ; and in fact there was a sort of combat, amidst loud and stunning cries, between our crew, who were towing the canja on the bank, which

was quite near, and several strangers who had come to the spot.

The cause was, that our reis owed a small sum of money to the villagers; and though my kawass endeavoured to exert his authority, the reis was obliged to pay, in order to redeem his men, who had already been taken prisoners. I am convinced that in this dispute more damage was done to the lungs of both parties than the whole affair was worth. These sailors are, however, very robust fellows, and can bear more, a vast deal, than others;—sometimes they row their vessel with great exertion,—sometimes they tow it along the bank—now pushing it forward in shallow places, or like squirrels climbing, with no little danger, to the top of their tall, slender masts.

We landed in the evening at the little village of Saïde Ibrahim, to purchase provisions, and found everything that the market of an European town affords; with very good beef and veal, and most excellent vegetables. A fat live sheep costs in Prussian money one two-thirds of a dollar, and a pound of butcher's meat $1\frac{1}{2}$ groschen. Vegetables were to be had almost for nothing. I mention this again as a proof how destitute of truth are the descriptions of the wretchedness and want prevalent among the country people in Egypt.

After the detestable fog in the morning, we had a remarkably fine moonlight night; and though all strangers are admonished not to expose themselves, during such nights, to the open air, none of us experienced any bad effects from it. This, like many other things, is exaggerated; and I believe that

neither night nor day is dangerous in Egypt, if people only carefully guard against taking cold, and avoid partaking of heating food, which are the chief causes of ophthalmia. It is said, too, that this disorder has very much decreased with the commencement of civilisation, and the consequent change in the mode of living, and more suitable diet, which have followed. We, indeed, still see many persons blind of one eye, and sometimes both; but that one person in twelve has some affection of the eye, as certain travellers affirm, is an absurd fable.

At this season of the year, when the country is less pleasing than at others, and consequently furnishes less matter for observation, the following circumstances, though I was well acquainted with them from books, afforded me much amusement.

In the first place, I was struck with the singularly formed buffaloes, which often swam through the river, and whose young, contrary to the nature of other animals, are infinitely more ugly than the old ones. Next, the women, who dexterously and gracefully carried large high pitchers, of antique form, on their heads, and reminded me of similar representations in my pictorial Bible; the quiet devotees, also, along the Nile, who at sunset are often strangely illumed, as if surrounded with a nimbus, attracted my notice; and so did the singular travellers, who, on a raft made of reeds, and scarcely five feet square, row across the broad river, with their whole family; a custom which is mentioned by Strabo, but is not to be recommended, except to able swimmers. Next in order come the many hundred pointed dovecotes, in the form of

bishops' mitres, which abound in the villages, and about which the pigeons fly like swarms of bees; and last, not least, the sakeyeh, or Persian water-wheels, turned by oxen or camels, the creaking of which can be heard at a great distance, and which stand in an uninterrupted row along the river. I must, however, not forget the numbers of dogs without masters, which are everywhere running about, and whose very peculiar habits were a much more interesting study to me than my poor Susannis, whom they attacked in common as a stranger; whereas they never molest man, nor make any resistance when they are struck, as though they felt obliged to every individual for the toleration granted them by all. It is also remarkable that the Turks and the Egyptians, though they treat them as they do all animals, with great kindness, never keep dogs of their own, but only cats; the reason doubtless is owing to religious prejudice, which designates the dog, like the swine, as an unclean animal. I likewise remarked, that a Turk never lays hold of a dog, except with his left hand.

As far as I can yet judge, Lower Egypt has scarcely any resemblance with Barbary. In the first place, it is devoid of the lofty mountains and rocks, but Barbary cannot boast of such a majestic river. The towns and villages in Barbary are always painted of a dazzling white; they are agreeably situated amidst verdure, or are built against coloured rocks, and even when they are surrounded with bare sand, still shine as if they were splendidly ornamented, at least when seen from a distance. Here, when on account of the inundations of the Nile, the houses are built on arti-

facial grey sand-hills, and are, for the most part, black, and built of brick, they have a solemn and rather melancholy character; even the palms, which are everywhere seen, impart to the landscape an uniformity of aspect, and the interminable green tracts, which look as if they were plains, also weary the eye in the long-run.

The palms themselves have a very different appearance in the two countries; in Barbary they are low, with wide-spreading crowns; here much higher, but often with mere tufts of leaves at the top of their bare stems. It is said that in this manner they bear more fruit. In many respects, in consequence of the advance of recent civilisation, this country, like Algiers, reminds us of Europe,—whereas Tunis, and the rest of Barbary, have still retained an entirely African character.

As the wind continued contrary, and we advanced very slowly, I remained two days in my cabin, busily occupied in writing, only looking at the passing objects through the windows, till we came to a spot where the desert extends in smooth downs to the Nile. This afforded a change, and I therefore landed. The sand was in general so hard that I walked with great comfort, and rarely enough sank slightly into it. The appearance of this very varied surface, though wholly destitute of vegetation, has nothing so frightful in it as we generally understand by the term desert; and I can assure the citizens of Berlin, for their comfort, that many places in their neighbourhood surpass this real desert.

The pleasure afforded by this barren plain did not

however last long, and immediately afterwards we were again among the most fruitful meadows, adorned with trees of every kind, which almost universally border the Nile, from Alexandria to Cairo. But as the river here makes a great bend, we walked on so far in advance of our vessel, that after sunset we were obliged to turn back to meet her. During this little excursion we shot some wild geese and ducks; and my servant Ackermann cruelly killed four turtle-doves at one shot in the summit of an evergreen tree, which is said sometimes to emit a melodious tone in the evening breeze like an Eolian harp. Our vessel, following the deeper part of the stream, had approached nearer to the opposite bank, so that we were obliged to cross in a boat. The black Arab, who rowed us over without assistance, and with herculean strength, resembled notwithstanding the celebrated French skeleton, who unfortunately met his death in England by eating a beefsteak, to which he was not accustomed, and which, in an unguarded moment, he had been tempted to partake of. The man before us really consisted of nothing but skin, muscles and bones, and we thought him an excellent representation of Charon.

A faint north wind had set in, which carried us forward rather more quickly during the night, and when I arose I descried the Pyramids of Ghizeh, which looked like the summits of blue rocks in the distant horizon. How many years had I longed for this sight! To see them at length before me filled my soul with a soothing, delightful composure; and I beg the critics to excuse me for once, for this fit of

sentimentality, without ascribing it to affectation: from the unprejudiced reader I have nothing of the kind to fear.

Having advanced thus far, we became more and more aware that we were approaching the capital. The green tract along both banks of the river is broken by isolated country-seats, surrounded with walls, and the citadel, at the foot of the dark Mokattam, glistens in the distance. We passed the splendid gardens of Shoubra, farther on, the towering chimneys of the steam-engines, with extensive manufactories, emitting volumes of black smoke into the azure sky; and thus, hastening from one surprise to another, we at length reached Boulaq, the harbour of Cairo, on the side nearest the sea. Here, in motley confusion, was the busy life of commerce, and, opposite, the most delightful contrast was presented by the beautiful island of Garante, lying in idyllic repose, with its country-seats and extensive plantations, behind the transparent screen of weeping-willows, like a lovely woman enwrapt in a gossamer veil to attract the greater attention.

Cairo itself was still hid from my view, for it was masked by several large palaces in the suburbs, which lay clustered together on the banks of the Nile; the traveller rather imagines than beholds its real existence; and only some of the tops of the cupolas and minarets, which are visible here and there between the river, and the steep rocks of the Mokattam, betray the immense city, "the sea of the world," as it is poetically called in the East.

CHAPTER X.

CAIRO (MASR EL KAHIRA).—INSTALLATION IN THE PALACE OF BAKI BEY.—IBRAHIM'S BUILDINGS AND GARDENS.

I LANDED in the island of Garante, and repaired to the vacated country-seat of Ismael Pasha, a grandson of the Viceroy, who was burnt in his tent at Shendy. Here I intended to pass the night, by the presentation of a bakshish to the superintendant, as this is perfectly consonant with oriental custom. I did not wish to make my official entrance into Cairo till the following morning, after I had enjoyed some repose. Everything necessary was accordingly prepared by my dragoman, and while some rooms were hastily being put in order for me, I made use of the interval first to look about in the parterres of the former seraglio, which were more than usually elegant, and then to take a walk in the avenue of weeping-willows, which is full half a league in length, and which I so greatly admired, as I viewed it from the water. It runs always close to the bank of the Nile, where one picturesque scene after another appears on the opposite side of the river, between the pendent branches, while on the side towards the interior of the island there is an extensive plantation of young olive-trees rising above a field of bright green clover. I and my Greek page were the only individuals in this avenue, with the exception of an athletic, naked Egyptian,

who had probably been bathing in the river, for he held a bundle of reeds in his hands.

I had just stopped to take a more accurate survey of the stately residence of Ibrahim Pasha, which lay before me, when several persons, beckoning and calling at a distance, came running after us. My projected *incognito* was at an end. The Viceroy, who intended to receive his son, who was daily expected from Syria, at present inhabited Ibrahim's palace; he had already heard of my arrival, and by his orders a gondola was sent to meet me, and convey me to Baki Bey's palace, which, as I was informed, was placed at my disposal, had been entirely new furnished, and was provided with all the necessary attendants and servants.

When I arrived there, I found a guard of honour already at its post, and several richly caparisoned horses at the door; an upper kawass of his Highness, with a long staff, the silver top of which was adorned with many rattling chains, walked before me with much gravity, followed by six subordinates, amidst the beating of the drums of the guard. The Mamelukes, servants and slaves appointed for my service, as long as I should remain here, received me in the entrance hall, and conducted me to the divan or saloon, where a long pipe, richly adorned with brilliants, and highly aromatic Mocha coffee in an enamelled cup likewise sparkling with diamonds, were respectfully presented to me.

With the considerate delicacy and politeness which distinguishes the Oriental, they left me for an hour to undisturbed repose. Then, and not before, the

master of the house, who is the chief of the council, and has the rank of general, came to welcome me as his guest. He is a Turk, born in Greece, and belongs to an eminent family in the Morea. He was accompanied by Mr. Bonfort, the brother-in-law of our consul at Alexandria, the factotum of Ibrahim Pasha, and one of the most estimable men with whom I have become acquainted in Cairo, and who acted as Baki Bey's interpreter on this occasion.

Artim Bey, the dragoman of his Highness, came soon after, and brought the most friendly greeting from the Viceroy. He requested that I would look upon the palace and servants as my property; and even added, that his Highness regretted that he was not able to lodge me in the residence of a pasha, because all qualified persons of this rank were absent on business. He at the same time informed me, that the Viceroy had commissioned Mr. Lubbert, the historiographer of Egypt and counsellor in the department of Public Instruction, to accompany me everywhere as my *cicerone*, and to show me everything that was remarkable in the city and neighbourhood. I really found it difficult to express my gratitude for so many unexpected and unmerited marks of honour, and for such magnificent hospitality; but Artim Bey, who received part of his education in Paris, most politely and indulgently relieved me in my awkward acknowledgments. Many other visitors paid their respects to me, and among them I was particularly interested in Samy Bey, the principal aide-de-camp and favourite of his highness, who enjoys great reputation here, not only as a statesman,

but also as a scholar, versed in the oriental languages, and as an erotic poet. He was followed by Muktar Bey, lieutenant-general, and head of the department of Public Instruction, who has resided seven years in Europe, and who to a dignified manner unites a pleasing style of conversation ; but he is said not to be much liked as a minister.

The palace which I inhabit is in the suburb, in an extremely delightful situation, for it is close to the Nile, being divided from it only by a narrow flower-garden ; so that from my bed-room window towards the right, I see before me my favourite island of Garante, and on my left, the eternal Pyramids, behind which, at the moment of my writing, the sun is setting like a ball of glowing fire.

This house has, besides, an historical importance. It was built by the celebrated Mehemet Bey, the most confidential companion and servant of Mehemet Ali, who, on that memorable day which decided on the sovereignty and the life of the Viceroy, conceived the plan for the destruction of the conspiring Mameluke chiefs, and undertook the execution of it himself. It was discovered by a happy treachery that, in the course of three days, on the occasion of a grand review which Mehemet Ali had ordered, the Mamelukes intended to fall on him with their whole force, and, if possible, to get rid of him and all his adherents at one blow. It was necessary to anticipate them, which, for want of sufficient force, could not be done openly, and yet not a moment was to be lost. Everybody knows the desperate means that

were resorted to ; yet there are many errors in the details which we hear in Europe.

Thus for instance, Forbin's picture, which is universally known by the engraving which has been made of it, represents the scene as if Mehemet Ali had been a looker-on, as if he had been witnessing a theatrical representation—quietly smoking his pipe. The truth, however, is, that he was not present, and, indeed, he could not have been there, as is evident from the locality. As soon as the Beys had taken leave of him and mounted their horses in the court-yard, Mehemet Bey said to him, “ Your part is now over and mine begins ; I conjure the Pasha to retire to his harem.” This he immediately did ; and eye-witnesses, eunuchs from the seraglio, have assured me that the Viceroy, quite confused and silent and in great agitation of mind, awaited the result. He spoke not a word, and several times asked for a draught of cold water ; while the noise of the firing, the tumult of the horses without riders, and the agonising cries of the dying, reached his ear from the distance.

This is nothing more than humanly probable, and Mehemet Ali is really as little blood-thirsty as Napoleon was ; but he is not a Louis XVI., and therefore does not spare blood when it must be shed ; and when, if employed at the right moment, it saves—by the sacrifice of a few victims—the lives of hundreds of thousands, and very often lays the foundation of the future welfare of whole nations ; whereas, effeminate forbearance has often caused their ruin : independently of this, every one is bound to take care of himself. If any man attempts to throw me

into a pit, I wrestle with him, and throw him in, if I possibly can ; and if I did not attempt to do this, I should be a blockhead indeed.

At a later period, Mehemet Bey distinguished himself by an equally bold act, for an envoy from the Sultan coming to Cairo, in the absence of Mehemet Ali, to bring him the bowstring, Mehemet Bey, without much consideration, or waiting for instruction, *provisionally* caused him to be beheaded.

I did not leave the house on the first day of my stay in Cairo, and devoted it merely to domestic business, to my new arrangements, the bath, and to repose, which I greatly needed. On the following morning I repaired to Ibrahim's palace, to have an audience of the ruler of the country.

The way, which is a full quarter of a league in length, led me through a part of the new promenades, which had been made within the last eight years by M. Bonfort, by order, and at the expense, of Ibrahim Pasha. They are intended to occupy the whole of the immense space between the Nile, Boulak, Cairo, and Fostat, and two-thirds of this gigantic plan are already completed—a truly princely undertaking—for, in the place of the smiling verdure under the shade of trees, which have already attained a considerable height, there were formerly innumerable masses of black heaps or rather mountains of rubbish, from fifty to one hundred feet high, all of which have been carefully levelled for the purposes of irrigation, and provided with many sakeyehs, turned by oxen, before anything could be planted or cultivated on the spot.

Ibrahim Pasha, who, in Europe, is known only as a brave soldier, is here admired as a benefactor. He is a planter and cultivator on an immense scale ; and, not content with this, he has extended his improvements to several parts of the neighbouring eastern desert beyond Cairo, all of which are under the direction of the indefatigable Bonfort, who has now above 10,000 workmen in pay for all the establishments of Ibrahim in Upper and Lower Egypt, who daily receive from one-and-a-half to three piastres, and are regularly paid in money every Friday. What European princes do as much ! And would it not be really barbarous to withhold our esteem from such conduct ?

I very well know that Ibrahim Pasha is not the man to act in this manner from motives of pure philanthropy. It is a speculation, like the houses which he has built in Alexandria, which bring him in a good interest, and at the same time improve his future capitals ; but, by this very means, he confers the greatest benefit, for, if the still rude population, who now bury their superfluous money, or let it lie dormant, see that the eldest son, and heir to the sovereignty, who is, at the same time, a celebrated warrior, appears with equal success as a promoter of the arts of peace, they will, assuredly, be induced to imitate him. We must never inquire too minutely into the motives of human actions, if their results tend to the general good. At the bottom, perhaps, we shall find in all of them, that the first germ is egotism, which conceals itself under a million of different disguises. No rule is more generally followed

in the world than "charity begins at home." But many do not perceive this, and still fewer confess it.

With the extraordinarily rapid growth of trees in this climate, (I saw some only fifteen years old, which among us would take at least fifty years to attain the same growth,) and with the uncommon activity of all vegetation; which requires only irrigation immediately to convert a desert into fruitful land, although without irrigation, fruitful land immediately becomes a desert; eight years will suffice to bring the plantations of this park to perfection, and then few capital cities in the world will enjoy such delightful environs, or more beautiful and shady promenades than Cairo. All these plantations are laid out in regular and noble forms; the only style, in my opinion, which is in character with the grandeur of this country, and of this I was immediately convinced, and will more clearly show in the sequel.

The chief tree planted is the noble sycamore, which is peculiar to Egypt and Nubia, and exceeds our oaks both in height and umbrageous extent; it has round leaves, resembling those of the alder, but they are larger, and of a more beautiful bright green colour; there are also several species of evergreen acacia, as well as the olive, the foliage of which is of a deeper blackish blue than those of Europe, and is extremely thick, but the tree does not bear such good fruit. Lastly, there are numbers of cypresses, mimosas, poplars, and some fruit-trees, all of which are planted in rows round open squares, or in quincunx, or in broad or narrow avenues, which are respectively destined for carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians; and here, where



it so seldom rains, soon become hard and level as a threshing-floor, and are daily watered on account of the dust. As no green sward will grow here, all the spaces between the plantations are sown with clover and other fodder of a dazzling green colour; and the small squares into which the ground is divided for the purposes of irrigation, have a very singular appearance, somewhat like a chess-board. Sometimes these tracts of fodder, alternate with a small kitchen garden, orange groves, and orchards, yielding various fruits. These are surrounded by hedges of flowering shrubs, and many palaces, country-seats, and other buildings give a lively diversified appearance to the promenades.

Among them is the tomb of Mehemet Bey, which he erected for himself during his life-time. It consists of two white pavilions, with iron railings; behind one of these pavilions the Bey, and behind the other his bosom friend, a derwish, repose in stone sarcophagi, which are exposed to view. The two pavilions are united by a large basin, which serves for the use of the public, for the Orientals have the laudable custom of combining all the monuments which they erect with a generally useful purpose.

The numerous sakyehs, which are here so necessary to cultivation, are covered by massive seats, the backs of which conceal the animals which draw the water, while the verandahs in front of them, entwined with flowering climbers and monthly roses, afford the most agreeable places of recreation. A grand avenue, a hundred feet broad, leads through the plantations of Cairo; and two others, of half that breadth, from Fostat and Boulak to the royal palace of Ibrahim,

before which the number of guards, the tumult of neighing horses, the many great men in splendid dresses passing to and fro, the crowds of Tshaushes and Kawasses, and 200 dromedaries, which constantly follow the Viceroy, in readiness to convey his messengers to all parts of the kingdom, sufficiently proved that we were approaching the temporary residence of the man whom Providence seemed to have destined vigorously to open the way to a more intimate union of the East and the West, and thereby to a higher degree of civilisation of both. The great powers of Europe have since checked these efforts, with superior force; and what force effects, as long as it lasts, is always well done !

CHAPTER XI.

AUDIENCE OF MEHEMET ALI.

THERE is something so great in a sovereign who holds his sway over millions that depend upon his nod, that I never approach such a one without a certain internal agitation; and how much more, then, when he is also so extraordinary a man as Mehemet Ali!

I, therefore, hope that my reader will feel obliged to me, and not attribute it to personal vanity, if I describe my first visit to the Viceroy very minutely; and in doing this, I shall, of course, be compelled, while speaking of the *great man*, to say something of the *insignificant personage*—my unworthy self, who was honoured with this interview.

Mehemet Ali is (or, at least, was at that time) a subject of daily conversation in Europe; and yet he is, in fact, but little known in that quarter of the globe. For what has been published respecting him in so many different shapes, contains too many contradictions to enable any one to arrive at a positive conclusion. I, at least, must candidly confess that I have not yet read anything of the kind which perfectly satisfied me. Many of these authors, who have had but a superficial glance at Mehemet Ali, judge of him according to unauthenticated anecdotes, and mere hearsay; and most of those who

know him better, are too often biassed in their judgments by personal motives, as I have already observed; so that they endeavour either to raise him too high, or to plunge him too low. In fact, very few Europeans have had an opportunity of observing Mehemet Ali with any degree of accuracy; for there can never be any intimacy in ordinary private audiences, however many, a person may be privileged to have; and, least of all, can it be arrived at, when business alone is to be treated of.

There are, perhaps, still fewer persons who, even if they did not lack opportunity, possess an adequate quantum of philosophical acuteness and unprejudiced freedom of character, correctly to represent a man like Mehemet Ali. Now, though I am far from considering myself competent to this task, it, nevertheless, seems to me to be a duty of gratitude, to contribute my mite towards a more correct appreciation of this prince, to whose mighty influence on the commencing regeneration of the East—of which I reckon the northern countries of Africa as a portion—futuraity will do full justice.

In the East he shares this glorious influence with Sultan Mahmoud alone, who, in many respects, may be called his docile scholar; but, in Europe, France alone can claim such glory, by the conquest of Algiers—the incalculable consequences of which, to the future condition of the world, even if the present dependence of Algiers upon France should cease in the course of time, will always be a bright page in the history of the French. In many respects, it may even, perhaps, be placed above all the

fruitless and ephemeral conquests of Napoleon, though so fraught with military renown.

When I said, therefore, that I felt myself in some measure bound to consider Mehemet Ali as a principal subject of my work, this intimation was by no means founded on party view, but simply on the fact that, during a residence of nearly two years in the countries which he then governed, and which I traversed from the frontiers of Senaar to Adanah, in an uninterrupted extent of more than 25° of latitude, circumstances so favoured me, and the opportunity of becoming more intimately acquainted with Mehemet Ali, presented itself so frequently, and under such auspicious circumstances as can seldom fall to the lot of a private traveller, that I cannot but consider myself a fair judge of the events which fell under my notice.

Yet it is certainly not my intention to delineate a character of this great man which shall exhaust the subject, nor, when I deliver my personal opinion respecting him, to set it up as a standard, but rather (as far as discretion permits) by the simple, faithful narrative of what passed between him and myself, of what I saw of him and heard from his own mouth, and what reflections this excited in me, to enable the reader himself to draw from the whole a true and faithful portrait of the individual in question. The features alone, therefore, will be found scattered throughout the present work, which, indeed, its general arrangement rendered unavoidable, but the reader will not find it difficult to put them together; and the materials are so ample, that if all were worked

up into a continuous whole, it might probably have fatigued him. This prerogative belongs alone to classic writers, whom I must be contented to admire at a distance, without being able to presume to imitate. I therefore wish my very unpretending effort to represent Mehemet Ali, to be considered henceforth in this point of view.

His Highness received me in one of the lower apartments of the palace, which was filled with a respectful crowd of his courtiers and officers of state. When I had made my way through the midst of them, I saw the Viceroy standing on the platform, before his ottoman, with only Artim Bey, his dragoman, at his side. My surprise was great, for judging by the bust which I had seen at Alexandria, and some portraits which are considered as likenesses, I had pictured to myself an austere, nay, harsh-looking man, in a splendid Oriental dress, with features very closely resembling those of Oliver Cromwell. Instead of this there stood before me a friendly little old man, whose vigorous, well proportioned frame was set off by nothing but a freshness of complexion, and a cleanliness, which might almost be called coquettish, but whose features were equally expressive of calm dignity and benevolent good-nature, and who, though his sparkling eagle eyes seemed to penetrate my inmost thoughts, yet, the grace of his smile and the affability of his manner, inspired me with involuntary partiality, without the slightest tincture of timidity. He was dressed in a plain brown pelisse, with the white trimming of which, his venerable beard of the same colour was singularly blended; on his head he

wore a simple red tarbush, without any shawl or jewels to ornament it; he had no rings on his fingers, nor, what is so usual in the East, did he hold a valuable rosary in his hand, which, by the bye, is in general so beautifully shaped, that a lady might envy it.

I afterwards found that my first impression of this great man was perfectly in unison with the behaviour of his courtiers, who, though full of respect, are very familiar and easy in their intercourse with him: and while he treats individuals with a nicety of distinction, he always manifests urbanity to all around him. Nothing is more easy than to obtain an audience of the Viceroy; it is impossible for any governor to be more accessible, or to adopt fewer measures for his personal security than Mehemet Ali, who fearlessly exposes himself every day to the attacks of any fanatic who might aim at his life.

Would he venture to do this if he were indeed the tyrant, which the laughable ignorance and the malicious views of Europe designate him! Nevertheless, in spite of the dominant suavity of Mehemet Ali's deportment, and the mild, cheerful expression of his countenance, which give him the semblance of the most good-natured of our Christian monarchs, it cannot be denied, that in those moments especially, when he fancies himself unobserved, this expression assumes the most fearful mistrust; and that at those times the ungenial Turkish element, of which the Viceroy no doubt possesses his full share, is most unequivocally manifested. Much, very much, may be read in this expression, which, perhaps, betrays the weak side of his character: I will not, however, ven-

ture to censure it too severely, for a great man has light and shade in his character as well as every other child of Adam.

After the first salutation the Viceroy seated himself, and motioned to me to take my place on the ottoman beside him, after which pipes and coffee were brought in for both of us.

I will here say a few words touching the demonstrations of respect which prevail in the East, and especially in Egypt, as they may be unknown to many of my readers, and are nevertheless not without interest. There is far more etiquette than among us, and the gradations in society are strictly determined. And first with regard to salutations, which immediately indicate the respective position of the parties. The superior makes the first salutation; if his rank is much more elevated he lays his hand on his breast, while the person immediately below him raises his hand to his breast and then to his forehead, sometimes repeating this action twice. Equals, or those who are very nearly so, mutually greet one another in this latter manner, or they merely make a slight movement, much in the same way in which we kiss our hand. Persons of a very inferior condition, as a sign of subjection, perform the pantomime of raising dust from the earth, and throwing it on their head and breast. It is no uncommon occurrence, however, for the Viceroy to be saluted in this manner by generals and pashas. In intercourse with his subjects the Viceroy lays his hand on his breast; but with foreigners, whom he wishes to distinguish, he raises it to his forehead.

A seat on the ottoman is accorded only to persons of pretty nearly equal rank; and even the method of doing this has three different degrees;—1, to sit cross-legged on the very edge of the ottoman; 2, to rest completely on the seat with both knees, though at some little distance from the superior; 3, to make yourself as comfortable as you like, which can of course only be done by persons who are very intimate, or quite equal in rank. The presentation of coffee and pipes is likewise a mark of respect; but even here the shades are various, and are chiefly indicated by the more or less costly material in which they are offered. Whoever has the privilege of a seat, has, generally speaking, likewise that of a cup of coffee,—but the pipe is a greater distinction. Except at table, however, when all ceremony ceases, neither a pipe, a cup of coffee, in short not even a glass of water, or anything else, can be received; or when empty, be returned without a bow of acknowledgment. Nay, even the host himself, in his own house, if his visitor is of higher rank than himself, gives him a salute for that which his own servants have presented to him. In like manner, the highest in rank is always served first, whether it be the host in his own house, or the visitor in that of another person.

These accurately defined and firmly established rules are exceedingly convenient, when one is thoroughly acquainted with them, and appear to me far preferable to our present European manners; for, excepting in England, where etiquette is very decidedly regulated, it is impossible to know what

are the pretensions of others, or how much is due to ourselves; and the fear of doing either too much or too little is a source of endless perplexity.

In the chief states in Germany for instance, where all great things are so admirably managed, and where still greater things may yet be expected, there is, nevertheless, a sensible deficiency in regard to the convenience of social intercourse; because the rules of precedence are strictly laid down only in the public service; and in point of fact, those only enjoy the distinction of a certain definite rank, who are in the service of the court, or of the state; while every person, not belonging to this category, never precisely knows his place, either in society or at the several courts, whether he may be entitled to it by high birth, or by rank, or hereditary wealth; since, according to caprice or favour, one place is assigned to him to-day, and another to-morrow. It is not necessary to be eager after rank and titles to find this very inconvenient, because we are as little inclined to be humbled as to humble others; which, with this prevailing uncertainty, is wholly unavoidable; whereas, whenever precedence is fixed, this is quite impossible; only a fool can be vexed if a person who has the decidedly acknowledged right considers himself as above him in the scale of society, let him originally come whence he may; but if he seems only arbitrarily to assume this precedence, it almost amounts to an affront; and if the preference given be without any foundation, or proceeds from a person in an elevated position, it is a mortification.

England is the freest and certainly the most liberal

country in Europe; yet among that practical people what is due to every one through all ranks and degrees is so precisely regulated that a dispute about precedence is unheard of. In Russia there is none but official rank; and the body-coachman of the Czar would take the precedence of a descendant of the most ancient noble family, if the latter bore no official rank. This may appear to us rather strange, but it is positively fixed, and therefore every one knows what he is about.

When Louis XIV. established an order of precedence in France several of the courtiers were affronted, and some of them ventured to address the king on the subject. His majesty turning to M. Legrand, (as the then grand écuyer was shortly designated,) said to him, "*Et vous, qu'en dites-vous?*" "Sire," replied he, "*tout ce que je sais, c'est que le charbonnier est maître chez lui.*"

And, without doubt, an absolute governor has a right to do what he pleases in the matter, but to leave it undecided appears to me to be an anomaly.

I could bring to light many very striking instances to prove that the uncertainty which exists in regard to precedence of birth, office, service, and merit, not only constantly wounds the feelings of the most humble, but, that in some individual cases, it has really had the most injurious effect; were I, however, to do so, I must unveil personalities, regarding which the Oriental proverb whispers in my ear, "If speech is silver, silence is gold." And in the eyes of the frugal, I have perhaps already been too prodigal of my silver.

By the manner of his reception, his Highness the Viceroy treated me with the greatest courtesy; and the only marked difference which was made in the attendance was, that although both the pipes were brought at the same time, his pipe was presented a few seconds before mine, and also that the pipe, though not the cup, was not quite so richly inlaid with diamonds. This distinction was the more flattering, because it had hitherto been shown to only a very few persons; for instance, to Marshal Marmont, to the returning governor of India, and to an ambassador extraordinary from the court of France, during the war with the Porte, who, strictly speaking, was not altogether invested with that character, but whom Mehemet Ali nevertheless gladly received, and considered as such.

Whenever any of the consuls-general were present, I invariably saw that they were presented with coffee in common cups, and with small pipes; whereas, not any of the Mussulmans in the service of the Viceroy, not even Ibn-el-Aun, sherrif of Mecca, whom I twice saw with his Highness, had anything whatever offered to them.

This sherrif was a remarkably handsome and energetic-looking black Arab, and, as a descendant of the Prophet, was dressed in a grass-green talax and a white turban; his deportment was very submissive towards the Viceroy, and although he took the proffered seat on the ottoman, he nevertheless remained at a considerable distance, and in the position which I pointed out as the second, namely, on his knees. The Viceroy invites none but pashas of the first rank

and special favourites, to sit down beside him and take coffee. There are, of course, exceptions, as his will is law. One of these favoured mortals was Mehemet Bey, whom I have often mentioned; and I heard an anecdote of him relative to this etiquette which amused me not a little.

Mehemet Bey had of his own accord granted an addition to the income of an exceedingly active subordinate officer; this was of course instantly retailed to the Viceroy, who was greatly displeased at it. When Mehemet Bey next visited him, he not only gave him a reprimand, but further manifested his displeasure by not having any coffee presented to him. The Bey said not a word—went home, and gave an order that the pay of the officer in question should be augmented by an annual remuneration of four bags of gold; stating that if the Viceroy did not approve of it, he would pay the money out of his own pocket. Next day he appeared as usual in the presence of his highness—and what might be the conduct of the tyrant Mehemet Ali? Scarcely did he perceive his old friend, who was perhaps rather uneasy about the consequences of his boldness, when he called, with a smile, for coffee: “Come here,” he added, “I shall take good care not to omit giving you coffee for the future, for I see that it costs me too dear.”

I doubt not that many persons will find all these details of ceremony very trifling, but in my judgment they are an essential part of the description of the manners of the country, and therefore not superfluous.

I began the conversation with the compliments respecting health, which are a part of the etiquette of the East, and then hastened to express my gratitude for the friendliness and noble hospitality with which his Highness honoured me ; but this I believe was not quite conformable to the Turkish custom, for Mehemet Ali smiled and shook his head, and then answered in a very obliging manner, that when a stranger of distinction came so far to visit him, surely the least that he could do, was to manifest his pleasure by giving him as good a reception as possible : he only regretted, he added with great *bonhomie*, that I should find everything here, in comparison with Europe, very imperfect.

This naturally gave me an opportunity to express my astonishment at the wonders which I had already seen in Alexandria and Cairo ; and I begged his Highness to pardon me, if the enthusiasm which such extraordinary improvements inspired, should give my words the appearance of flattery, for they were only the faithful expression of my feelings, and of my profound veneration for a prince who now was to the East, what Peter the Great had once been to Russia, of whose fearfully increased power by land and by sea he alone had laid the foundation.

“In how much time,” interrupted Mehemet Ali with vivacity, “did Peter the Great form his navy, and of what ships did it consist?”

I must confess that at the moment I knew neither the one nor the other ; but being well aware of the rule, that one must never suffer a great man to remain unanswered, I gave, in reply to the unexpected

practical question, numbers which happily there was no one present to correct; adding quickly, that in the time of the Czar this branch of science was much more imperfect than it is now, and therefore the results might in this respect have been much inferior to the creations of the Viceroy, which probably were unparalleled in history. And in saying this, I only spoke the truth.

“Well,” continued Mehemet Ali, “I will not deny that something more than common has been done here, and I have certainly endeavoured to follow the examples of great men, as far as it was in my power. It is certain too, that I can now continue the work with less anxiety. I am no longer quite alone as I was before: people begin to understand me; the machinery is at work; and my grandchildren, not my children, will be able to reap what I have sown. Where such infinite confusion prevailed as here, where there was such a complete dissolution of all sound political relations, and among a people so entirely barbarous, ignorant, and incapable of all useful labour, civilisation can revive but slowly. You know that Egypt was once the first land in the world—an example to all others. Now it is the turn of Europe. In time, perhaps, enlightenment may again have its seat here. Every thing in the world is in a constant state of vacillation.” (This is a favourite expression of the Pasha.)

He then inquired in what condition I found Candia, and I was able to answer, with the strictest truth, that I had nowhere found the Greeks more really free and prosperous, and, for the most part, contented

than there; but that I was convinced that the Viceroy's severity formerly manifested towards them, during a partial insurrection fomented by foreign influence, had contributed as much to produce this happy state of things, as his impartial justice and mild sway since that period.

“They had attacked me in my honour as a sovereign,” said the Viceroy, warmly; “and no prince must suffer this, who knows his duty and respects himself. For the rest I have always been ready to do everything in my power for the Greeks who are subject to me; nay, when the European powers continually made representations to me on this subject, I even offered to govern Candia on the model which European wisdom should set up in Greece itself, and only requested to be furnished, as soon as possible, with accurate information respecting the result; up to this day, however, I have never received any such information.”

The irony of this expression was not to be misunderstood; I hastened, therefore, to turn the conversation on manufactories, and new establishments of every kind the object of which was to improve the country; and this was indeed the Viceroy's hobby, and surely one not unworthy of a sovereign.

He hoped, he said, that I should be satisfied with what had already been done, although he candidly allowed that a European standard must never be used here. “Soon,” he added, “will this land be able, in case of need, to subsist for a time, without depending on other countries and their productions. For that reason, and not merely for the sake of gain—

though this does not fail me—I establish so great a number of manufactories. Besides,” continued Mehemet Ali, “these establishments are, in several respects, one of the most powerful means towards the civilisation of the people, and would immediately,” added he, with great animation, his eyes sparkling with delight, “supply me with 40,000 good soldiers, if I had need of them. Yet I desire far more, that fortune may permit me to devote all my powers exclusively to manufactures and agriculture. I have never made war except when it was unavoidable, and I am very far from being fond of it.”

It is true that Napoleon always made this same assertion: however, I profited by the favourable opportunity to refer to the glorious campaigns of Ibrahim; but though a sign from Mehemet Ali had long since caused the whole court to withdraw, and we were alone, the Viceroy expressed himself on this subject only in commonplace, or, if you will, in diplomatic phrases. He smiled, however, when I said that his Highness had probably fared like Field-marshal Suwaroff, who often affirmed that “he did not love war, but that war loved him.” And “I had also clearly perceived,” I continued, “in the dock-yards of Alexandria, how well his highness understood to procure by war the means of carrying on war;” by which I meant the timber for his ships, of which he was formerly entirely destitute, whereas Adana now supplied him with excellent materials for every purpose requisite for this object.

A cloud passed over Mehemet Ali’s countenance during this speech, and betrayed that he thought

more than he said upon the subject. It is certain that he must now be perfectly aware that his hesitation after the battle of Konieh, when he was surprised by unexpected success, is the only great political error which history can lay to his charge. Competent persons know very well that Ibrahim, if he had had his father's permission to occupy Brussa, and to advance towards the environs of Constantinople, to which there was no military obstacle after that battle, he would have been able, under existing circumstances, to dictate peace to the Sultan on his own terms, before Russia could have hindered it by arms.

The European powers, with good reason, had for years dreaded war too much, and were reciprocally watching each other with too jealous an eye, seriously to oppose a *status quo* once solemnly established, as experience has everywhere sufficiently proved since the death of Napoleon. In the case before us, diplomacy would doubtless have consumed some more millions of pens and a proportionable number of reams of paper and gallons of ink ; nay, the protocols of the conferences would perhaps not even now be closed ; but "the Great Pasha," as the strangers here call him, would nevertheless have maintained his position, and perhaps have thereby avoided the last catastrophe, and have been a self-constituted, at least partially recognised, and independent monarch, like Louis-Philippe in France, King Leopold in Belgium, and Donna Maria da Gloria in Portugal—without mentioning St. Domingo, the Spanish colonies, and Spain itself ; in which latter country, the final undisputed

conqueror will likewise not fail to be generally recognised. Even the Poles would have been so, if they had only understood how to conquer.

I believe that all parties must have gained by this result, not excepting the Sultan himself, who cannot possibly govern Syria; and who, if he were to reconquer Egypt to-day, would still be only able to retain nominal possession of it; he would therefore have acted more wisely if he had consolidated, through civilisation and gradual reform, the colossal empire which remained to him, and which is much more highly endowed by nature than other countries, than by vainly endeavouring to recover provinces which had been once torn from it. Besides, the Sultan ought in reason to have preferred, instead of having an enemy under the name of a Pasha dependent upon him, but threatening him at any favourable opportunity, to have a free Mahometan sovereign as his neighbour, whose own interest, from the moment that he had acquired his independence, must lead him to become the most natural ally of the Porte; and lastly, the Sultan ought to have considered, that Mehemet Ali, in return for such a concession, would have been ready voluntarily to offer all possible pecuniary assistance: a resource which, in the condition of the Turkish finances, would have been much more important than the recovery of rebellious provinces, which cost more than they produce.

How often may the Spanish Government have already repented of having, in a similar situation, too long delayed an arrangement with its revolted colonies! It can scarcely be doubted, that no event was

more calculated to secure for a long time the repose of Europe, and the general peace, in more respects than one. The greatest advantage would undoubtedly have been derived by Mehemet Ali's own dominions and a considerable part of Africa, if this prince, instead of being compelled by his precarious situation, to lay out such immense sums on more than fifty ships and an army of nearly fifty thousand men, including the irregular bands, had been able to expend them in promoting internal industry of every kind, and in a thorough improvement of the condition of his subjects.

Science and art, the newly-commenced civilisation of a whole portion of the globe, were equally interested, and it was ill-judged, practically and theoretically, to oppose to such manifold interests only the illegitimacy of Mehemet Ali, since this fact does not present such an obstacle in the East, as it does with us. And if his power *was* illegitimate, the best way for the future tranquillity and stability of the East, would have been to make it legitimate as soon as possible, that it might not remain internally an open barrel of powder which would be again kindled by the first spark.

Mehemet Ali required for the immutable preservation of himself, his family, and the great work of his active life, that the independence which he had acquired *de facto*, should be recognised *de jure*; and surely he might justly indulge this hope, since the powers have elsewhere constantly acted in this spirit.

Did not Greece, as legitimately and as justly, belong to the Sultan as Egypt? or is King Otho

a vassal of the Porte? Had not the Sultan the same legitimate claims to Algiers as to Egypt? and does Louis-Philippe recognise the supremacy of the Porte in that country, because it formerly exercised it over the Dey? or has not Mehemet Ali an authority as firmly established? He is, to this moment, a far more unlimited, a much more respected sovereign in the territory which he has retained, than King Otho is in Greece, the French in Algiers, or the Sultan in his own empire, are at this very time.

If, therefore, he had taken advantage of the right moment, and, after having won the battle, had, as conqueror, assumed the title as well as the reality, and, with a bold hand, had placed the crown on his own head, it is probable that neither the sword nor diplomacy would have taken it from him, or even attempted to do so. But to endeavour, by way of negotiation, what he had neglected to do by promptitude, was a sad weakness, and rendered success impossible, even if he had had all the arguments in the world on his side.

In policy, as in love, there are things "*qui se font, mais qui se ne disent pas*;" and although the European Powers, to promote the independence of the Greeks, thought themselves entitled, in a moment of chivalrous exultation, to fight the battle of Navarino in the midst of profound peace, it might be questioned whether they would show equal sympathy for the independence of the kingdom of the Pharaohs. Some antiquaries and investigators of history and geography might, perhaps, have gone to work with predilection in the matter; but such people com-

mand neither fleets nor armies. I fear, therefore, that, to the disadvantage of the tranquillity of Europe and Asia, to that of art and science (for which, with a reviving civilisation, a new dawn broke over the East), and to the final ruin of Egypt itself, the words of our Schiller will be found applicable to Mehemet Ali:—“*Was du von der minute ausgeü schlagen, bringt keine ewigkeit zurück.*”—“What you have refused to accept from the moment, eternity will not restore.”

In the preceding passage, the complexion of the time in which it was chiefly written may, indeed, be recognised; but I ask every impartial person, even now, what has the world gained by the crushing of Mehemet Ali with the weight of European superiority? Has Turkey thereby become more independent? or are Syria and Candia become more happy, more civilised, richer, or better governed, by the shedding of so much blood? Has the constantly increasing commerce of England, France, and Germany, gained by it? or, is it not rather almost destroyed? In a word, has any Power, I had almost said any individual, gained by it? But how much has been thereby lost, perhaps for centuries! and, alas! how many seeds have been sown for revolutions for future years!

In illustration of what I have here said, the reader may consult, among other recent testimonies, the letter of Mr. Wildenbruck, the Prussian consul in Syria, in the monthly Journal of the Geographical Society, at Berlin, which begin as follows:—

“With respect to the political state of the country

imagine the very worst, and you will approach the truth. Every thing, even the disposition of the people towards the Christians and Franks, is worse, more hostile, more disorderly, insecure, wretched, and hopeless, than at the time of my first residence here. Every thing is falling to pieces and dissolving, with a rapidity which I had never thought possible in the East, which is otherwise so stationary. Only the revenue of the pashas, and of the European merchants, who equal them in rapacity, prosper. This unhappy country has had for centuries but one benefactor, Ibrahim Pasha, and he has been expelled. I see with surprise that not a man, of whatever religion he may be, wishes for anything but the return of the days of Egyptian sovereignty. The only exceptions are fanatic Mahomedans, who are now greatly encouraged and favoured by higher powers, and who rejoice at being able to shoot a rajah for fifty piastres (a dollar and a half). This took place shortly after my arrival, in spite of the fair words of Gulhaneh. Ibrahim had established perfect security in the country, had done inconceivably much for agriculture, and had checked the inordinate plunder practised by those in office; of all this, however, scarcely a trace remains, and ere long even Lebanon itself, the last bulwark of a better and a more free state of things, will be drawn into the general ruin.

“The Turkish government (which once for all I desire to separate from the estimable Turkish people as individuals,) by instigating the Druses against the Maronites, has, in a great measure, broken the power of these people, who have maintained their liberty for

centuries ; and now that both parties see with dismay the possible and probable consequences of this feud, and that the regulations for settling the state of the country, expected from Europe, seem more distant than ever, there is a want of mutual confidence to enable them to act in common," &c. &c.

Mehemet Ali, who is perfectly aware of this state of things, may therefore well entertain sanguine hopes for the future.

During my stay in Egypt, I could only be convinced, after his repeated assurances, that he had desired an amicable settlement of his affairs by the intervention and support of Europe, in order that he might devote all the energies of his mind to the weal of his own territory, as ardently as he was on the other hand deeply convinced of the truth, that the attainment of his recognised independence had now become, in every point of view, a vital question, perhaps even a condition of his own existence ; at all events, that of the permanency of his labours, both for the present and the future. His *recognised* independence I repeat, for more than that he never sought for ; and nothing is more absurd, or betrays a more profound ignorance of the Turkish constitution, religion, and of the deep-rooted convictions there maintained, than the apprehension so frequently brought forward, that Mehemet Ali desired to dethrone the Sultan, and put himself in his place. Mehemet Ali can no more do this in Turkey, than Prince Metternich, for instance, with all his influence, would find it possible in Christendom, to become Pope. To compel the Sultan to make him Grand Vizier, and so to govern the empire in his

stead, might perhaps have been possible for the Viceroy as a victor, and was *perhaps*, though I do not in the least believe it, one of his wishes: it is certain at least, that the fulfilment of it would have been more advantageous to Turkey than Mehemet Ali's overthrow.

That Mehemet Ali's endeavour to civilise his country to the best of his judgment, has been, for the most part, seen and ridiculed in our point of view, appears to me as short-sighted as it is inconsistent with the lessons of history. Egypt cannot at once become a civilised country according to European notions, even were it to fall to-morrow under the dominion of the French or of the English.

Only look into David Hume, and you will be convinced, that in England under Henry VIII. and even under Elizabeth, the state of things was nearly the same as it is now under Mehemet Ali, and in many respects, for instance in religious intolerance, infinitely worse. Thus we find the system of monopoly, which was one of the chief subjects of complaint, the corruption, and immoralities of the authorities, the reckless despotism of the sovereign (for the parliaments had then no more influence than the Turkish divan), just the same at that time in England as it is now in Egypt.

Yet from these defective beginnings the English have gradually become one of the first, most enlightened and powerful nations in the world; a fact which sufficiently proves, first, that every organic formation, though it may have been called into existence through the impulse given by great individuals, must always have a small, uncertain, and de-

fective commencement, and subsequently, through its own experience, and after many errors, find the right course : secondly, that for this reason, it is in the highest degree absurd to continue to apply to the condition of Egypt the actual standard of Europe, and to require from the civilisation of that country, with respect both to the government and the governed, the same results as from ours.

Let us rather compare the medieval state of Europe with the present condition of Egypt, and then this state of things with that which existed in the country before, the time of Mehemet Ali, namely, under the dominion of the Mamelukes. Mehemet Ali's efforts, as long as they were not impeded, indisputably called forth, for the first time, the most important fundamental conditions in the East (of our days), viz., order, security, and a spirit of superior industry. Hereby, in spite of a hundred failings and defects, he has well merited the gratitude of history.—But I return to my Audience.

The last subject of my conversation with Mehemet Ali on this day, was a second favourite topic of the Viceroy—the education of youth ; and he described with so much animation what he had already done in this respect, that any one hearing him speak on this subject, and then seeing with his own eyes the beneficial effects which have already resulted in so short a space of time, must be wilfully blind not to perceive that this man has, in the main point, often brought upon himself the appearance of a reckless egotism, only that he might be able to be the benefactor of his people for ages to come ; and that at all events he has

taken and still takes, from incompetent hands, he gives back with well intentioned views to an improving population, which is advancing, if slowly, yet surely, to a new and regenerated life. He has certainly neither an overflowing exchequer, nor has he an expensive court; nay, notwithstanding his rapidly increasing revenues, which have become greater than those of the Prussian States, he is often scarcely able to defray the current expenses, because, being always engaged about something new, he lays up little or nothing.* As I have said, he gives as he takes. There is no country where the civil and military officers are half so well paid in proportion as here, so that they can very easily get on without being so regularly paid; which, however, as it is for the most part done with design, and from a petty interest, I consider to be a very bad and impolitic measure. Besides a vast number of manufactories, canals and other great hydraulic constructions, hospitals, schools, and establishments of all kinds, there are at this moment in Cairo and its immediate vicinity, ninety-five public schools in the course of erection, where eleven thousand children and young people, in the progressive establishment, will, with a munificence utterly unknown among us, be clothed, boarded, instructed, nay even PAID, by the Viceroy.

* The *Courrier de Smyrne* says the same thing:—"Mehemet Ali's revenues are in a very bad condition, and he has already spent them for a whole year in advance." If this were true, which it is not, Mehemet Ali must be considered, notwithstanding, as proportionably the richest prince in the world; for where is there a civilised state in Europe which has not spent its revenues—not for one, but for twenty, thirty, nay, even a hundred, years beforehand!

The arrangement of this educational plan, which, in point of the grandeur of the scale on which it is conducted, is unparalleled, is as follows:—In every province there are several primary schools for elementary instruction, where the children, as well as in all the other seminaries belonging to the Viceroy, receive free lodging, board, clothing, and from fifteen to thirty piastres a month. From these they go to the large preparatory schools, one of which is in Cairo, and the other in Alexandria, where their pay is raised to from thirty to fifty piastres.

When they have studied here four years, they enter the upper schools; the polytechnic school at Boulack, that of the foreign languages in Cairo, that of artillery in Toura, that of cavalry in Ghizeh, that of the infantry in Damietta, that of the marines in Alexandria, and that of medicine in Abou-Zabel, in all of which the pay of the scholars varies from 100 to 150 piastres per month.

Many teachers, and the greater number of the present statesmen of Egypt, have issued from these schools, to which an academy of music has been recently added. Independently of this, many individuals are constantly sent to Europe by the Viceroy, to complete their education. Those pupils who wish to be handicraftsmen, and have evinced some dexterity in that line, not only receive from the Viceroy a capital of 12,000 piastres, but he also pays for their whole outfit, including their work-rooms and shops. These may be seen all over the city, and new ones continue to arise every day; and they may be easily distinguished from others by their elegant

appearance, and the solidity with which they are erected. I have already spoken of the extreme generosity with which the Marine is furnished, and of its peculiar institutions of every kind ; and I might subjoin very many isolated facts of the same nature.

Thus the Viceroy is just now introducing vaccination ; and as the people are opposed to it, he pays the parents one piastre for every child which is vaccinated. The hospitals, too, which are superintended by the indefatigable Clot Bey, though originally destined for the military only, nevertheless receive any patients whatever who request admission, and this without the slightest remuneration, and if there should be no room for them, they are supplied with medicines gratis. The natives, however, have such an extreme aversion to hospitals, that they will seldom make an application to be received into it. "I have always been compelled," said the Viceroy, "either to *force* the people, or to *pay* them for their good."

On taking leave, Mehemet Ali at my request shook hands with me in the European fashion, (which of course is not customary here), but he received my request as cordially as it was made, for he was manifestly pleased with the evident respect with which he had inspired my enthusiastic nature. He added very courteously, that he should very soon set out on a journey for Upper Egypt, and that as he had found that I proposed a similar tour, he would be very happy if I would accompany him ; and at the same time, during my stay here, pay him a daily visit at whatever hour and place might be most convenient to myself. After this gracious invitation he dismissed me with

an expression of dignified kindness and conscious greatness, which is as vividly impressed on my remembrance as his courteous words. Although after we became better acquainted, and Mehemet Ali felt confidence in me, and, consequently, my subsequent interviews with him embraced subjects of far deeper interest, yet this first impression remained dominant, and formed the sketch, so to speak, from which his whole form was eventually portrayed.

I believe that it will not be unwelcome to my readers, if I subjoin some extracts from a MS. which was given me of an official report of Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, unquestionably one of the most distinguished men of England, which likewise treats of an audience with Mehemet Ali, a few years anterior to mine, and a most remarkable document it is. Sir John Malcolm thus begins:—

“I will now attempt to repeat what passed between Mehemet Ali and myself on this occasion.

“‘ You have been in Egypt before,’ said the Pasha, ‘and from what happened at that time, and the communications which have since taken place between us, I consider you in the light of an old friend. No one will be better able than yourself, to judge how far I have persevered in pursuing my plans, with which you are well acquainted, and how far I have been able to carry them into execution. *Your* accurate knowledge of India, Arabia, and Persia, and of the spirit of those countries, makes you more capable than others, of judging of what has been done in Egypt; and at the same time you will judge accordingly how far the present state of Egypt makes it

worthy of a political connection with England. Now, an event of no small importance seems to be pending in the East, and I wish to communicate to you my views on the subject; I shall do so with entire confidence as to a friend, and I hope that you, though not now here in any official capacity, will take an opportunity of communicating this to the British cabinet.'

"I replied to the Pasha, that since he knew that I did not at this moment fill any public office, and he was yet desirous merely from motives of the friendship with which he honoured me, to make these communications, I would indeed readily comply with his wishes; but I could promise no more than that, if my opinion were asked, I would give it sincerely, though I could not answer that it would be approved.

" 'Your government,' replied Mehemet Ali, 'in all its negotiations with me, betrays much coolness, not to say indifference, while I am doing everything to please it. This is a remarkable contrast with the conduct of France, which embraces even the most trifling occasions to express its wishes, and to gain me over by the most flattering attention.'

" 'This difference,' said I, 'arose more from the construction of our administration, than from want of friendship, or from neglect of his Highness. That our character was, besides, quite the reverse of the French; and if we did not, like them, watch for every favourable opportunity to make ourselves agreeable to him, I was nevertheless convinced that, *in all important cases, he would find that we were as sincere, and far more useful friends to him than the French.*'"
(Sic!)

“ ‘ Well, I will believe it,’ continued the Pasha: ‘ but if I wish for a change, in the want of warmth towards me on the part of England, it is for other reasons than my personal gratification ; I wish also to be favoured, in the eyes of the world, by a nation *on which I well know that I am entirely dependent* in everything that relates to the prosperity of my country, and the success of my present and future plans ; but I also believe that these wholly coincide with the real interests of England. Before, however, I continue to open my whole heart to you, I must go back for a moment to what has lately happened.’

“ He then detailed to me the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Cradock, and the negotiations of Mr. Barker, to induce him to join in the conquest of Algiers ; his refusal ; the satisfaction of the English ministers with the free and frank statement of his mode of action, and the motives by which he was guided.

“ ‘ I fear,’ he continued, ‘ that the dissolution of the Turkish empire, sooner or later, is unavoidable. My intention is to form a line, behind which those who are of my religion, and do not wish to bear the yoke of Russia, may unite ; and which may be attained by my extending my authority over all Syria, and advancing to the frontiers of Persia. This may appear to you to be a fantastic plan ; but I have the means, (and can create those which may still be wanting,) which are sufficient to ensure success. My possession of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the consideration which I already enjoy in Arabia, will promote this plan in an extra-

ordinary degree; and I hope that it will be seen in Constantinople itself, in a right point of view, since, in fact, the Ottoman empire can be only strengthened by it. I do not despair of being able to make the Sultan sensible of this, in a friendly manner; as he must at length see that, with the present state of things, this wretched, jealous policy, which has so long ruined all the provinces of the Turkish empire, by a continual succession of new governors and new insurrections, must be given up.

“ ‘All I want, all I wish is, that England may assure me of its friendship; that my mind may be set at ease, in order that I may positively know, that, while I withdraw from the other Christian states, I may have no hostility to dread from that nation, whose true interests, I am convinced, fully coincide with the plans which I have already executed, and propose to execute in future. England must wish that Egypt shall remain undisturbed as it now is; first, on account of its near communication with India; and secondly, that there may be barriers which cannot be very easily broken down, against the advance of Russia in Asia. The Turkish and the Persian thrones are both threatened from that side; more efficacious means are necessary than either of those sovereigns possess, to arrest that deluge of conquest, and you may judge from what you have seen whether I am the man to effect it.

“ ‘I know,’ he continued, ‘that the policy of England acts upon the principle of non-intervention; but I ask for neither money, nor auxiliary troops, nor engagements. I ask only the assurance of the friend-

ship of England, and of its *sincere* sentiments, and these are essential; for I feel that I am paralysed till I can depend with *full confidence* on your country, as one that sees with pleasure the increase of my power, because it is convinced that this power goes hand in hand with the reform and civilisation of a part of the globe which has hitherto been the theatre of prejudice, ignorance, and barbarism.’”

Not to be wearisome, I pass over many parts of the conference, which lasted a long time, the contents of which are of less importance, and merely tend to elucidate what has already been stated.

At the conclusion of the audience, Sir John again assured the Pasha that he would accurately communicate to the English ministry, not only what he had heard but what he had seen.

“Do so,” replied Mehemet Ali; “*and make your report freely and truly as you believe that I deserve.* Your life has been spent in intercourse with Eastern princes, and more employed in Asia than in Europe. You were ambassador and governor; you came to Egypt ten years ago, and saw everything as it was. I then communicated my plans to you; you have now returned, and are yourself the best judge whether I have kept my word. Say nothing but the truth, and nothing but what you judge to be agreeable to the sound policy of your country.”

I pass over all the flattering remarks which Sir John makes respecting Mehemet Ali as superfluous. In this conversation Mehemet Ali speaks for himself, and I leave the reader to judge which was the more noble-minded man, which the greater politician—

Mehemet Ali, who afterwards fell, or Lord Palmerston, who crushed him with the power of England.

I, too, found the Viceroy full of confidence in England, and inspired with the ardent hope of enjoying its favour, although he already began to incline to the French side. Since then he must often have thought how I warned him to hope neither for the friendship of England, nor to trust to the faithfulness of France; in one respect, however, I must confess that I was mistaken, inasmuch as I thought that the Austrian policy was most inclined towards him, as it appeared to be only compatible with the interests of that state, if a powerful empire were founded in Asia, as the commercial intercourse of Austria with Egypt and Syria was on the increase, and in this respect, therefore, no private interests would clash with those of Mehemet Ali. I, however, deemed that the principles of a chivalrous legitimacy were still less applicable to the East than to Greece, where there never was any question about them. The burden of my song was to tell Mehemet Ali, "our first rule of right in Europe is, *beati possidentes!*" It was only necessary to be victorious, and take firm possession, and friend and foe would acknowledge his undoubted right. And this would unquestionably have been the case, if he had not twice failed in making use of his victories, and, if subsequently, as well as formerly, he had *negotiated* less with European powers.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CITY. — THE CASTLE.

AFTER the audience, I rode to the city, through other parts of the beautiful promenades, at the termination of which—where they are not yet completed—we still see in parts the chaotic heaps of ruins, rubbish, and the like, which formerly covered the whole area of these extensive plantations.

Shortly after reaching the causeway, which is bordered by an avenue leading in a direct line from Boulak to Cairo, we passed the western gate of Bal el Guenéné, and entered the celebrated Esbeykeh Square, which has lately undergone as many alterations as its environs, which I have already described. It was formerly inundated by the Nile during a part of the year, by which all passage by land was impeded. All this has undergone a complete change. The whole surface of the square, which is, perhaps, half a leagu in circumference, has been inclosed in a regular dyke, which, during the inundation, forms a large lake; but in the remainder of the year incloses a verdant clover-field, and, being planted with trees, forms a shady promenade. On the outside of the dyke there is a canal, twenty feet broad, which runs all round and communicates by sluices with the lake, into which it conducts water, and divides the dyke from the street round the square.

This street is 100 feet in breadth, and is bounded on the outer side by houses, and on the inner side by rows of acacias. Under this cool avenue you may at any time enjoy an agreeable prospect over the surface of the lake, and, when that has disappeared, over the verdant carpet which covers its bed. The Esbeykeh Square is surrounded on three sides by handsome palaces in the oriental style, several of which are historically interesting; and the fourth side is occupied by a row of lofty and gloomy, yet picturesque wooden houses, belonging to the Copts.

Of the palaces, I must first mention that which was inhabited by Napoleon, and which is still in good condition; next I was particularly interested by that where Kléber had his head-quarters, and in the garden of which that brave native of Alsace was murdered by the fanatic Soliman. A woman belonging to the next house betrayed the murderer to the soldiers who were in search of him. He had descended in a sakyeh close to the scene of his crime, where the French would probably never have sought him but for the information given them.

Soliman undertook the murder of Kléber in order to obtain the release of his father, who was a prisoner, and whose liberty the Pasha of Damascus had promised for this price. This man was so exalted in his fanaticism, that even when placed at the stake, and shortly before his death, he spat, with a look of contempt, when M. Boki, now the Prussian consul at Cairo, who himself related the circumstance to me, approached him with another Frank.

The palace of Kléber is now occupied by the

Minister of Public Instruction ; but the garden belongs to the splendid palace of his Highness's daughter—the widow of the notorious Defterdar, whose unparalleled cruelties are still fresh in the remembrance of both foreigners and natives at Cairo.

At first I took many things for fables, invented by ill-will, until the most incredible facts were confirmed to me, by the most respectable and impartial eye-witnesses. Doubtless there are tiger-like, not to say satanic, dispositions, as well as lamb-like characters. No one ever exposed his own nature with more *naïveté* than did the Defterdar. In the course of conversation with the French consul, he once complained of the invincible obstinacy of the Bedouins. "Only think," said he, "what lately happened to me ! Two of these fellows boasted to me of their father, and called him a bull. 'Well,' said I, 'if your father was a bull, your mother must have been a cow ;' and, would you believe it ? I could not make these obstinate rascals agree to this very plain argument. Nothing could bend their obstinacy.

"To make them a little more compliant, I gave orders in the first place to cut off their right hands, and again put the question to them. As this did not avail, I ordered the left hand, and then one foot, and then the other, to be cut off ; and the villains still persisted that their father was a bull, but that their mother was not a cow. At length I lost all patience, and caused what remained of them to be thrown into the Nile, where, till they sank, they insolently exclaimed, with their last breath, '*not a cow !—not a cow !*'"

Other anecdotes of this monster, equally cruel

and, unhappily, equally true, are related in many books of travels. This Defterdar was notwithstanding, as everybody affirms, a man of very noble carriage and great dignity of manner; full of bravery and prudence, and so well informed for a Turk, that we are indebted to him for a, not wholly incorrect, map of Senaar, which he took by actual survey, and drew, during his vengeful campaign to punish the murderers of Ismael at Shendy. He was generally found accompanied by a tame lion and tiger, and used to be much amused by the dread evinced by the Europeans at such an extraordinary sight.

Sometimes he set the animals against each other, which on one occasion caused the death of one of his Mamelukes, whom he ordered to separate them. The Viceroy endeavoured to make his son-in-law's savage disposition as harmless as possible; but the effects of the civilisation just commenced by Mehemet Ali had at that time made but little progress. In nearly every respect, however, things went on as before. The Defterdar was too powerful and influential, and Mehemet Ali was too deeply indebted to him, to be able to use vigorous measures towards him. In the present state of things, this would soon have been remedied; and a report was long in circulation, that Mehemet Ali had caused the Defterdar to be secretly executed for his intolerable cruelties.

Important recollections are attached to two other palaces: the first of which belongs to Khosref Pasha, the mortal enemy of Mehemet Ali; and the other, which is now converted into a lazaretto, was inhabited by the Viceroy himself, when he was far from having

attained his present power. It was here that Mehemet Ali, who at that time held only the post of commander-in-chief in the army, tired of his unquiet position, which was daily rendered more harassing by an accumulation of fresh dangers which oppressed him like threatening thunder-clouds—or, perhaps, he only pretended to be weary of it—declared to his faithful adherents that he had resolved voluntarily to leave to Khosref Pasha the government of Egypt, and to retire, far from all political influence, to private life. For many days together his friends, especially the Albanians and the Arnauts, formally urged him to renounce this intention, doubly incensed against Khosref Pasha, because the latter had, with very bad policy, withheld part of the pay from them, while he spread among them the report that Mehemet Ali had already received it, and intended to keep it for himself; the contrary to which, however, Mehemet Ali easily proved to the troops, by sending for the Defterdar (paymaster). After he had long suffered them to entreat him to act with more energy, Mehemet Ali at length exclaimed, leaping from his seat, and drawing his sabre, “Well, I will comply with your wish; but swear here, on this weapon, that you blindly promise to do whatever I shall command; and that none of you will abandon me while I live, happen what may.”

All enthusiastically took the oath required; and in the same night Mehemet Ali, with a few hundred men, boldly attacked Khosref Pasha in his own palace, who, seized with panic-terror, escaped through

his garden, and fled to Damietta to claim the assistance of Khourshid Pasha.

In this engagement Mehemet Ali personally exposed himself to the greatest danger ; two balls passed through his clothes, and several of his enemies fell by his own hand.

As I received these and the following details from the Viceroy's own mouth, in the presence of many witnesses, they may thereby, perhaps, be more interesting to the public, though I can here give, as it were, only the skeleton of that which was full of life and spirit, in the long and very detailed narrative communicated by Mehemet Ali.

A certain Tahir Pasha, who commanded the city and citadel, joined the victor ; but two days afterwards he was murdered in consequence, during an insurrection of his own troops, who entertained other sentiments—a piece of intelligence which spread such consternation among Mehemet Ali's adherents, that many abandoned him, and even his most faithful partisan and countryman, Soliman Aga, declared to him that he saw no hope left, and therefore advised that they both should flee to Albania. “I shall not stir from this place,” said Mehemet Ali ; “but I will not keep you ;—recollect, however, that, perhaps, when you arrive in our native country, it may do you no honour to have forsaken your friend and countryman in the hour of danger.” Soliman Aga felt ashamed ; gave him his hand and remained.

Mehemet Ali now assembled the troops who had remained faithful. “Let him among you,” he ex-

claimed, "who wavers in his confidence in me depart at once; but let me tell you that you are grossly mistaken if you suffer yourselves to be discouraged by Tahir Pasha's death. He was of little moment. I am your real chief; and so long as I am not wanting to you, you have nothing to fear." When these energetic words had in some degree raised the courage of the intimidated men, he divided them into two bodies, under his own and Soliman Aga's command; committed to the latter the half of the little ammunition that he had still left, and marched against the rebels. Partly by his sword, and partly by persuasion, he soon became master of the city and citadel after a severe engagement. But scarcely had this storm happily passed over, when an envoy of Khourshid Pasha came from Damietta, to summon Mehemet Ali to that town, to account for what had happened. Mehemet Ali returned for answer, that he would appear immediately, and bring all his accomplices with him. The envoy ventured only to deliver the first part of the answer; but when the Pasha, who was astonished at this readiness, insisted on hearing the exact truth, and thus learnt the second part of the reply, he was seized with such panic—and the more so because the Mamelukes, with whom Mehemet Ali was at that time on terms of friendship, had just obtained as great a victory over the Turks—that he immediately sent back his envoy with rich presents, to assure Mehemet Ali that he had entirely misunderstood him; that he should henceforth consider himself as his son, and might always depend on his protection and most devoted friendship; that he, the Pasha himself,

would very shortly come to Cairo, and there, in conjunction with Mehemet Ali, would set everything in order according to his wishes.

The crafty partisan received the Pasha with the highest honours, caused him to be proclaimed as the faithful Governor for the Porte in Khosref-Pasha's room, gave up to him the city and the citadel, and quietly retired to his palace of Esbekyeh, but without dismissing a single man of his troops. Khourshid Pasha, for whom it was of the utmost importance to get rid of such a dangerous protector, promised to use all his influence for him in Constantinople ; and left to him, in a manner, the choice of any Pashalic in the empire that might suit him.

But Mehemet Ali turned a deaf ear to all these promises, and it was not long before the relations between the two rivals were overclouded, and ended in the violent expulsion of Khourshid Pasha. Being pursued by Mehemet Ali, he was at length compelled to quit the field altogether, and to embark with Khosref Pasha for Constantinople. The Porte, as usual, putting a good face upon a bad game, found it most advisable definitively to give to Mehemet Ali, by its official firman, what was in fact already in his power, and appointed him Viceroy of Egypt. Thus, from that time he had no further rivals, except the Mameluke Beys, who in the sequel, as we are well aware, were all overthrown in another more tragical catastrophe.

Even the many years' attempts to ruin him made by Khosref Pasha, who was all-powerful at Constantinople, only tended to raise Mehemet Ali still higher, till he

has lived to see the removal and the disgrace of his old enemy at the court of Constantinople, which it is true was soon followed by his own humiliation. Yet he has always remained of good courage, considering himself as one of the men who is protected by Allah, and he has often expressed himself with proud confidence to this effect.

I roamed for many hours about the streets of the interminable city, and cannot better describe my feelings than by saying, it always seemed to me as if I were reading the "Arabian Nights;" or, rather, as if their gay scenes were placed in living pictures before me. No traveller, in my opinion, has drawn a more faithful picture of Cairo in a few pages than M. Von Prokesch, which I can warrant to be the most faithful portrait, and to which I can add but very little.

Cairo is not in any respect to be compared with any of the oriental cities that I have yet seen. It bears only the impress of its own stamp; but this is in the highest degree grand, and for him who has any vein of romance in his composition, truly seducing and attractive, in spite of all its defects, disorders, and inconveniences. There was much that awakened lively recollections of our own middle ages. The many half-fortified castles, in a heavy, motley style of architecture, have quite a feudal appearance. Thus, too, the richly-ornamented fountains, the narrow, irregular streets, with lofty overhanging houses, covered with balconies and latticed windows, as in the oldest cities of Europe, reminded us of former times; but above all, the many inexpressibly-fine mosques in

the ancient Arabian style, with their lofty minarets, their pointed and arched windows, their colossal masses, and the wonderful richness of their innumerable ornaments *à jour*, strikingly resembling our Gothic churches, represent to us at once the West and the East, the heroic ages of the Crusaders, as well as those of the Crescent. Since I have seen this style of architecture, I am more and more confirmed in my opinion, that like many other misnomers in Europe, what we call the Gothic style is derived only from the Arab-Moorish ; or, at least, that both have their origin from one and the same source, although they may have varied materially in their development in the different quarters of the world.

Thus, singularly enough, my first impressions in these fancy-existing scenes were such, that they *instanter* placed before me images of adventurous chivalry ; of a rude but genuine piety, and of a fantastic but genial direction of art ; a by-gone age of violence, which was nevertheless more deeply imbued than our times with good as well as with evil. The pure oriental addition to such European impressions, was soon furnished by a hundred other objects : for instance, the shady bazars, fifty feet in height, with a covering of painted wood or linen, which is attached to a mosque or to the parapets of a palace, crowded with the most splendid productions of Asia and Africa, which are perfumed with all the spices of Arabia ; the dignity and composure of the Mussulmans in the midst of all this bustle, which exceeds that of the most populous city in Europe—and how striking is the diversity of groups which animate these scenes !

Here we see a company of horsemen, heedlessly forcing their way between the shops and the workmen, who are plying their trade in the open streets, their steeds richly caparisoned in trappings embroidered with gold, with riders in highly picturesque and splendid dresses. There, again, is a harem who are hastening to the bath, the females closely enveloped in black garments, with white linen masks, which leave only the sparkling black eyes uncovered, and who glide noiselessly along on their swift asses, as though they were phantoms. Then follow interminable rows of camels, which every now and then completely block up the way, so that there is often a good squeeze before the pedestrian can make his way among them; it is a never-ending, ever-changing bustle, of men of every complexion and dress on the face of the earth—from the most closely-enshrouded Oriental to the completely denuded child of nature—from the woolly-haired Negro of Africa, the fire-worshipping Parsee, and the ultra-marine modern American, down to the London dandy, whose species, to judge by the sample we met to-day, with red hair and bushy whiskers, has a closer affinity to the tribe of apes than any of the other numerous races that we encountered here. Suddenly a European carriage, with a Greek coachman, driving six in hand, flew like lightning through the densely-crowded street. It unfolded its shining length like a boa-constrictor; the people made way as if by magic, and in the twinkling of an eye it had disappeared round the corner. It was the daughter of the Viceroy, who was driving to the Citadel.

The castles of the ancient Mameluke Beys, in the

heart of the city, with the streets of which] they communicate by a broad and nearly always closed *porte cochère*, generally possess gardens and courts within the walls, and some of them still retain much of their ancient splendour. Nevertheless, I know a foreigner who has hired one of these palaces, which is in the best possible condition, for 25 years, for which he pays only 30 piastres a month (about 5s.). In the miserable hotels, however, which have been established by Europeans, the charges are quite exorbitant: indeed, it is notorious and lamentable that, in the East, the stranger must be chiefly on his guard in his transactions with European and Greek Christians, less so with Jews, and least of all with Mussulmans, who are unquestionably the most honest and the most solid of the whole population.

After I had visited the stud of the Viceroy, which is just as *médiocre* as that of the otherwise luxurious Governor of Candia, where the horses are not in the least better tended, though each of them has its own seïs—I rode to the Castle, which is generally called the Citadel, and which is erected at the end of the city, close to the Mokkatam. The greater part of this fortress is occupied by the Governor, who has fortified it very strongly towards Cairo, in which position alone it can be available, and has planted a very imposing row of cannon all along the wall.

At its southern extremity, the Viceroy is now erecting a mosque, just opposite to the ruined Saladin mosque, which in some respects will be the most superb edifice in the world; for not only are all the columns made of massive, polished alabaster, but even

the inner and outer walls are completely covered with this costly material, which has hitherto been employed only in making vases, watch-stands, and little knick-knacks of that kind ; and I should not be in the least surprised if the entire quarry of Sheh Abade were to be exhausted in the creation of this temple.* The effect of the whole is quite astonishing ; but it is very much apprehended that this delicate stone will not be able to withstand the effects of the climate. It would have been more judicious to have built it of granite ; but to have it well cemented in this material it would be necessary to call up the shades of the ancient Egyptians : the moderns are incapable of such stupendous works.

I ascended the yet unfinished walls of the mosque, that I might select the most advantageous position for overlooking the renowned view, which extends over “ the sea of the world,” its hundreds of minarets and domes, its innumerable mosques and palaces, backed by the lofty pyramids of Ghizeh, Dashour, and Sakkarah. In the midst of this sublime landscape flows the majestic Nile, bordered by the richest green ; and in the Delta, in the north, seems to lose itself in immensity ; while the golden sand of the illimitable Desert hems in the verdant vegetation in decided lines.

Immediately below, the most incomparable foreground is formed, by that gem of all the buildings of Cairo, the Mosque of the Sultan Hassan, which is scarcely surpassed by any Gothic temple in Europe.

* According to Lepsius, a new alabaster quarry has been discovered at Siout.

Close to this, a motley crowd is always assembled on the Roumelia Square, where the public executions take place; while innumerable details throughout the whole extent of the city unfold themselves on every side. At the left extremity of this mass of houses, we see in the south the Aqueduct of Saladin, which issues from the Nile between Cairo and Fostat, and conducts its waters to Joseph's Well, when the eye, almost fatigued with the "sameness of splendour" of this transcendent scenery, turns to the right, and rests upon the complete town formed by the Tombs of the Chaliphs.

I have since climbed to the highest point of the Mokkatam, where, it is true, a much greater extent of *terrain* may be overlooked; but as from thence the Citadel intercepts the view of the greater part of the busy, bustling town, the scene from that spot loses half its attraction. The happy moment for beholding its beauty in all its fulness is shortly after the rising of the sun, when its rays surround the Pyramids as with a golden nimbus, and when, notwithstanding their considerable distance, these colossi appear to approach so closely, that the Sphinx which stands in front of them can be clearly distinguished with only the additional aid of an opera-glass.

The Mosque of Sal Eddin (Saladin) is also a fine building, wrought in massive materials, crowned with a dome, which has now fallen in (for the Turks have no notion of repairs), and ornamented by a very lofty minaret, which is inlaid with coloured glazed tiles, many of which are still in good preservation. The interior, where the paintings and gildings are actually

peeling off, is now used as a dirty magazine. In front of this mosque, and facing the town, stood the palace of Saladin. To judge by its remains, it must have been erected on a very grand scale, and ancient Egyptian granite columns were introduced, most of which are lying prostrate and broken in the sand. On the under side of one of their loosened, antique capitals, I found hieroglyphics of the most ancient style, and which incontestably prove that, even at that time, when the later Pharaohs were erecting the columns, stones of a yet more remote period, and which had been employed in other buildings, were used. Immediately behind the mosque, on the declivity of the Mokkatam, is the so-called Joseph's Well, the origin of which is unknown; but the Arabs maintain that it was made by Saladin, who was also called Youssuf.

A telegraph has lately been erected by Mehemet Ali close to this mosque, on one of the towers of the palace of Saladin, and which seemed to me to gaze down full of astonishment, from its ancient elevation, upon the modern creations below. I should assuredly have thought that it was a ghost, if at this moment it had begun to manœuvre. The well, which is 42 feet in circumference, and 280 in depth, is a great work, and is quite original, inasmuch as it is surrounded on all sides by a gallery, hewn in the solid rock, which gradually slopes down to the bottom, and the walls of which, between the rock and the well, are scarcely an inch and a half in thickness, and actually look as if they were made of pasteboard.

After leaving this Citadel, and descending to the Square of Roumelia, I passed through the celebrated

rocky street in which the Mamelukes met their deserved, but nevertheless awfully fearful death. There the whole of that tragic scene comes before one in the most lively colours. Let the reader picture to himself a long winding passage, inclosed on both side by rocks, crowned with lofty walls and houses, and, paved with smooth stones, sloping down the declivity of the hill. The gates at either end have already closed in the unsuspecting Beys—above 100 in number—who, mounted on their fiery steeds, are seen crowded together along the narrow path. All are attired in their festive martial dress, and ride along in high spirits, without the least foreboding of what awaits them ; while every terrace, every rocky projection, and the galleries of the upper houses, are lined with armed soldiers, as if in demonstration of respect, ready to give the salute of honour.

At this very moment, each of these proud Beys may, perhaps, be dwelling with delight on the treachery which he himself is meditating, or revelling beforehand in the inevitable fall of his secure foe ; and, as if struck with blindness, none seems to doubt his own safety. Suddenly, every weapon is levelled against the gilded, glittering host, and a shower of musketry is poured down upon them from above. The very first discharge must convince the Beys of their utterly desperate and hopeless state ; neither flight nor resistance, nor revenge, is possible ! The tumult of the unhorsed riders, the madness of the wounded steeds, the frenzy and curses of the dying, the incessant, irresistible, and cold-blooded slaughter, the overwhelming sight of so many princes, the arrogant

ords of the land, whose frown would yesterday have made a stout heart tremble, now suddenly despoiled of their glory and pomp, weltering in their blood, and writhing under the hoofs of their own battle-horses, breathing their last amid the jeers of the low, heartless, Albanians; and, even in death, firmly grasping their faithful weapon — a cruel mockery in their defenceless hand. Truly it must have been a scene of awful and terrific aspect !

Near the place of this bold deed, the Viceroy has since built his arsenal, a cannon foundry, and a manufactory of small-arms, where some of the machines employed have been made in Cairo itself. The establishment furnishes, on an average, two or three guns in a week, and 20,000 muskets in a year, which are all of very good quality ; but I thought the muskets rather too heavy, and the locks were very stiff.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GARDENS OF SHOUBRA—AN ALMEH—

SOCIAL EVENING.

IT will scarcely be believed in Europe, that the necessary visits, and other duties of society, took up half my time at Cairo, as completely as in a European capital. The gentlemen whom the Viceroy had appointed to attend me, urged me to give frequent dinners; which, when Baki Bey himself was present, reminded me of the time when the French were in Germany, when so many a Prussian landowner had daily the honour, in his own house, and at the table provided at his own expense, to be the guest of the foreign Marshal or General, who, for the time being, played the part of his host.

I was, however, indebted for more than one interesting acquaintance to these social festivities. Among these are Mr. Saurin, the Austrian Consul-General, a well-known lover of the fine arts, and a most delightful companion; and Mr. Champion, the Austrian Consul, both of whom loaded me with kindness, and deserve my most grateful acknowledgments; the Russian Consul-General, Colonel Duhamel, an able diplomatist, who speaks all the current languages of Europe, and is versed in every branch of knowledge; Mr. Bokti, the Prussian Consul,—a real dictionary of all the details of modern Egypt, from

the arrival of the French down to the present day ; Captain Cavillia, who is acquainted with every discovery relative to the antiquities of Egypt ; Mr. Lambert, the St. Simonian, who is most profoundly versed in the doctrines of "the Father," who has unfortunately already left ; and, lastly, our excellent Schubert, whom I was so happy as to meet in this distant country, and who is a man—I had almost said, so imposing, though so humble-minded,—to whose mild, evangelic spirit, we readily yield affectionate homage ; and many others, with whom I subsequently often came in contact, for which reason I will not mention them more particularly in this place ; and will also pass over, as is reasonable, all who were tedious and uninteresting,—for, alas ! there are some gigantic bores in Cairo, as well as among ourselves.

Requesting my readers to accompany me to the Gardens of Shoubra, I must again, on account of the tiresome critics, beg them to observe that I am not a book-maker by profession ; and that, consequently, they must never expect a systematic arrangement of my materials. I relate what I have a mind to relate, how and when it comes into my mind. Whoever thinks this wearisome, may seek better amusement elsewhere, which he will have no difficulty in finding.

Shoubra, which is a country-seat of the Viceroy's, and where he usually resides, has surprised me no less, than the many other new creations of Mehemet Ali, for hitherto I had never seen an oriental garden which was more than a better kind of kitchen garden and orchard, and betokened an invariable inattention

to elegance and cleanliness. Here I found a garden which George IV. would have been delighted to have had at Virginia Water, and which his English gardeners could not have made more elegant, or kept in better order. Such admirable arrangement and care produce a doubly agreeable impression in the East—the land of dirt and decay; and to this must be added the pleasing sensation experienced by a son of the North, at finding himself at the end of January, in the open air, surrounded by an uninterrupted parterre of flowers, which alone covers from 12 to 15 acres of ground. And what a noble road, likewise a work of Mehemet Ali, is that which leads from Cairo to this garden!

I first rode half a league through the plantations of Ibrahim, which I have already described, and then came to a clover-field, the brilliant verdure of which cannot be surpassed by our most luxuriant meadows. A very closely-planted avenue, which has not a single break for the extent of a whole league, traverses these fields. This avenue, consisting of evergreen sycamores, and of a dark-leaved species of acacia (which loses its leaves for a few weeks only in the hottest season of the year), form with their spreading crowns a continued arcade, from thirty to forty feet high, wholly impervious to the rays of the sun, and which is only cleared between the trunks of the trees, just high enough to afford continued change of the most charming prospect; for, on the left, the Nile flows at a short distance, now broken by islands, and now with its bright mirror glistening in the sun for a quarter of a mile together.

The banks on this side are ornamented with country-seats of the great men, or manufactories, looking like palaces, lying detached in gardens and fields; while the opposite banks display in front of the gently undulating line of hills of the Desert, palm-groves, or villages, surrounded with the richest vegetation, which lie scattered like choice bouquets on the golden sand. The whole has an idyllic appearance, except that in the back-ground, the eternal summits of the Pyramids, majestically commanding the entire scene, rise mysteriously above the palmy groves.

On the right hand of the road, at a shorter distance, are the smooth sand-hills of the other side of the Desert, driven together by the wind, and frequently changing their form, but set with a broad border of olive and fruit plantations, which lies before them, and in which there are many isolated, pretty dwellings. The Desert appears, on this side also, in its romantic, and by no means desolate character. The figures that animate the landscape are, during the whole day, as full of life and character as can be desired; for, just as in the city, you are constantly surrounded by a motley crowd of men and animals which exhibit every peculiarity of the country. Often while I was amusing myself with the view of this unbroken series of foreign images, and then cast my eyes on the lofty, cool, leafy roof above me, which seemed to me to belong much more to the north than to the south, I could fancy that I was still in Europe, and was only looking at a painted diorama of Egypt from an avenue in the Prata of Vienna, or the Park at Berlin.

Thus, almost imperceptibly, I reached Shoubra;

and, after passing a handsome fountain of white stone, alighted from my horse at a pavilion of lattice-work, covered with blue-flowering creepers as with a thick tapestry. Passing through a long shady passage of similar trellis-work, covered with the same kind of climbers, I came to a painted kiosk, in front of which there is a regular parterre of flowers in very tastefully-arranged beds.

The beds, which contain tulips, geraniums, and roses, are bordered with myrtles, and other fragrant plants, cut short; and young citron-trees are so ingeniously trained and cut, that they form the most graceful arcades with pendent festoons, bending sometimes at the side, and sometimes across the path, with their flowers and fruits; while the walk itself, which is paved with coloured sea-pebbles, looks like a mosaic of elegant arabesques.

This romantic garden is succeeded by several others, which are separated by dark masses of cypress and lofty walnut-trees, all differing in character and decoration, and interspersed with fountains, couches, flowery pyramids, vases, and pavilions, richly ornamented and gilt. In one orange-grove, laden with golden fruit and snowy flowers, the whole ground was covered, as with a carpet, of narcissus and *tacettes*, the perfume of which was almost overpowering. I next came to a lake with splendid marble baths, the water of which was ejected from the mouths of crocodiles. Beyond it is a wilderness, surrounded by an extremely elegant bamboo fence, where many of the rarest animals have ample space to roam about at will. I remarked, among these, the very singular antelope

from Darfour, which, though the very smallest species, has the complete shape of a buffalo with a fine hump. It is an Addar, as a naturalist informs me, the *Strepsiceros* of Pliny.

The beautiful antelope which often recurs on the Egyptian monuments, called by the Arabs Abon-Harb, Father of the Whites (the *Oryx* of the ancients), was likewise roaming in this wilderness. As a particular curiosity from England, we were afterwards shown, in a separate division, a common northern bear, which is as interesting here as a giraffe among us.

The head gardener, a Greek from Chios, invited me to rest, after my long ride, in one of the kiosks, which I gratefully accepted. I found the Turkish summer-house fitted up with much elegance, entirely in the European taste ; and, among other articles of furniture, was a London patent arm-chair—that luxurious piece of furniture, the inventor of which is worthy of being immortalised in Westminster Abbey !

I had scarcely stretched myself upon it, in voluptuous ease, when some black slaves came in, bearing ornamental palm-leaf baskets from Senaar, full of delicious fruits, of which the garden of Shoubra produces such abundance, both in winter and summer, that the entire households of Mehemet and his harem are supplied from it ; and when the Viceroy is on a journey, a fresh stock is sent to him every day. Mehemet Ali is a great friend to fruit, and, like Frederick the Great, is particularly fond of cherries—which, however, do not now thrive here, and must be procured from Candia ; and that fine steamer, the “Nile,” has

seldom any other employment than that of fetching them from Candia, preserved with abundance of ice.

The fruit which, in my opinion, most distinguishes Shoubra, is a peculiar species of orange, the pulp of which is of the most beautiful crimson, and which, though perhaps derived from the red oranges of Malta and Portugal, surpasses them as much by the beauty of its colour, which shines even through the peel, as by its aromatic smell and taste.

The mansion forms a remarkable contrast to this princely garden; for, in Europe, it would scarcely satisfy the pretensions of a rich country gentleman. It is another proof of the simple taste of the Viceroy, that he resides in it the greater part of the year.

As I had still some time at my command, I went on for about a league further, to see the Greek stud, which, in fact, looks like a little town, and which the Viceroy, with his usual munificence, employs M. Hammont, a skilful veterinary surgeon, to form in the midst of a boundless plain.

This, however, is so ample a subject, that I must reserve it for a separate essay: I will therefore content myself with one observation, which here again occurred to my mind. It always appeared to me to be a remarkable circumstance, that, though the Viceroy formerly willingly listened to strangers of all nations, and encouraged them in every way to serve him (I say formerly, for he is now beginning, to his no small detriment, to be persuaded by the half-civilised Turks about him to follow a very different system), yet, with very few exceptions, which I shall specify in the sequel, none but Frenchmen have been

of essential service to him and to Egypt. In this respect, it may with great truth be said, that next to his own comprehensive genius, he owes the existence of his navy entirely to the two Frenchmen, Cerisy and Besson, as well as the organisation of his army to Soliman Pasha (Sève), without whom, the issue of the war with the Porte might have been very doubtful. All the sanitary establishments in his dominions were founded by Clot, a physician of Marseilles, now Clot Bey, with the rank of general, who has likewise had the greatest influence on all the schools and the civilisation of Egypt, during his long and influential residence in the country.

This ingenious and benevolent man has only one fault—that of being too hasty, and too precipitate in siding with or against a party ; and this precipitation, as well as an occasionally too restless and indiscriminate activity, which would interfere with everything, weakens his own powers. Colonel Warin, one of the most respectable characters in Egypt, has the great merit of being the chief instrument in the special instruction of the cavalry, the officers of which are almost exclusively natives, educated in his school. The reader may have learnt, from my description of Candia, how highly indebted Mehemet Ali is to the beneficial labours in that island of another distinguished Frenchman, M. Caporal ; and that if Candia is admirably governed, and, without doubt, better than any other province of the Egyptian domains, this is mainly owing to the influence of that able man, under the good sense of Mustapha Pasha, who has constantly followed his wise counsels.

M. Linant is also on the list of distinguished Frenchmen of the first rank in the service of the Pasha, for there are many in inferior situations who are useful to him. He has already done much for the civilisation of the country, but if he succeeds in accomplishing the gigantic project on which he has been engaged for many years, and for which he has himself prepared all the plans, drawings, and estimates—namely, erecting a dam in the Nile at the entrance of the Delta—an enterprise, the effects of which will be incalculable on the prosperity and wealth of Egypt—his name will deserve to be placed above all others in the list of the benefactors of the country who have come from foreign parts.

The revival of the improvement of the breed of horses in Egypt, as well as many of the most judicious arrangements for promoting the breeding of cattle in general, and the organisation of the veterinary service for this purpose, even to the most distant province of Senaar, are also the work of a Frenchman, M. Hamont, of whom I have already spoken, and who, notwithstanding, was very nearly in danger, in the midst of his beneficent career, of falling a victim to the intrigues of one of the most incapable favourites of the Viceroy, called Muktar Bey—one of those Turks educated in Europe, who have learnt nothing there, save adding our vices to their own; and who, having sprung up like mushrooms in the sunshine of Mehemet Ali's favour, are impelled by stupidity, and puffed up by arrogance, and daily endeavour to persuade the Viceroy that he has no more need of foreigners, because the Turks now know everything

which, in former times, was perhaps to be learned from them. Mehemet Ali must not be too much blamed if, misled, perhaps, by the consciousness of his own power and by what he has achieved, he is sometimes disposed to entertain this view ; for with all his great qualities, he is still in the main a Turk ; and, besides, has been so often and so scandalously deceived, and has been so frequently treated with base ingratitude by Europeans, both high and low, that he cannot possibly love them. Yet, for his own interest, he ought not to throw away the kernel with the shell, and ought to consider (as he himself has said), that all the detriment which an hundred adventurers have caused him, is often outweighed a thousandfold by the honourable conduct of one man like those above-named. Their services and those of persons like them, are still as essential to preserve, as they formerly were to create ; but a slight glance at the condition of the above-mentioned eminent Europeans will show that this truth is no longer duly appreciated by the Viceroy.

Cerisy left Egypt thoroughly disgusted by the intrigues which were constantly thrown in his way. Besson died insolvent at Alexandria, without any honour being paid to his memory ; and his widow has not yet been able to obtain her pension. Sève is a Pacha, it is true, but he is only employed when the most imperative necessity calls for it, which was lately the case in Syria ; and being an object of the constant jealousy of Ibrahim Pacha, he has, as I have said, but little influence, except in times of need ; yet, it would have been precisely in Syria most important to Mehemet

Ali, to give to a man like Soliman Pacha the most unrestricted sphere of action, with unlimited confidence.

Those who are acquainted with the state of things in that country, and especially with the late insurrection, which threatened to be most dangerous to Mehemet Ali, are well aware that if Soliman Pacha had at that time had the command in Syria, that insurrection would never have taken place; and how many other most lamentable circumstances, which are now in full vigour there, would then have speedily passed over! Clot Bey is in a nearly similar situation. Harassed by the envy and hostility of innumerable persons, he is constrained to tack right and left, and dares not neglect any opportunity of performing for his superiors the most arduous services as a physician, notwithstanding his own shattered state of health. Yet, except an admission to the occasional familiarity of the Viceroy and Ibrahim Pacha, and a good salary—about which, however, he is the most indifferent—the credit and influence of Clot Bey, beyond his purely professional circle, is extremely small.

I have already said that M. Hammont was on the point of resigning his post, in order not to be forced to submit to the brutality of Muktar Bey; and Colonel Warin, whose cavalry school is placed under the same absurd ministry of Muktar Bey, in which there is not a single military man, sees its most essential regulations subjected to one obstacle after another, by perfectly ignorant men, though he enjoys in the highest degree the personal favour of the Viceroy*.

* This above ministerial department, under the title of "Department of Public Instruction," has made itself master of almost all

M. Linant is no better off; for after all the necessary preparations for his great work are completed, at a very considerable expense, it has remained paralysed for above a year by the keeping back of all funds, and by tiresome indecision; he is uncertain whether his whole undertaking may not be even now thrown aside, for he is still kept in suspense with empty promises.

M. Caporal, whom his great distance and the unshaken favour of Mustapha Pacha have indeed secured from prejudicial obstacles to his operations, has not yet been able, notwithstanding his eminent services, to obtain even the rank of a Bey, which is daily thrown away upon the most wretched Turkish individuals.

All this clearly proves that Mehemet Ali does not sufficiently appreciate the eminent men in his service, nor derive from them that advantage which he might easily do; while his Turkish counsellors, in part designedly, and in part from incapacity, destroy the greater part of his judicious plans. As a real friend and admirer of Mehemet Ali, and being invited by himself freely to express my opinion, I have not concealed this from him, and have seen by some proofs that it was not without at least a momentary effect. But the greatest disadvantage under which this extraordinary man labours is, that he could not seek his early education in foreign countries, like Peter the

branches of the administration; so that Muktar Bey directs, as their chief, all the civil and military schools, public institutions and buildings, roads and canals, the studs, economical establishments, medical and veterinary affairs, the manufactories, arts and trades, the formation of new museums, the flocks of sheep and the conveyance of camels and oxen from Senaar. It would be fortunate for the Viceroy if Muktar Bey were employed in this last business only.

Great, whom he resembles in many points ; and that he does not even understand any foreign language. Thus, in the unavoidable continued conflict with Europe, he is compelled to depend too much on counsellors of his own nation, as well as on his interpreters, and must act, more or less, conformably to their views ; because the clearest eye can see but imperfectly through a darkened glass. I know only two of his Oriental great men who may be said to be fully worthy of Mehemet Ali, and these are Boghos Bey, his Minister of Commerce ; and Menichi Pacha, now Minister of War. Artim Bey, the Viceroy's dragoman, is a Jew, whose nation will undoubtedly one day act a great part in Egypt, and deserve to do so ; he has the most complete European education among the Orientals.

All these have nothing to do with the administration of the interior ; and, in Syria, where the shoe pinches most of all, nobody has any influence except Ibrahim Pacha and his creatures ; what *they* are, will appear in the sequel.

I found numerous visitors in the house of Mr. Hammont, and here, for the first time, I saw an Almeh who was then the most celebrated beauty in the capital, notorious for the power of her charms, which so completely fascinated an Englishman that he went so far as to offer her his hand, which, however, she refused. In short, it was Saffia, who, unfortunately, had been too long celebrated, though still deserving of her reputation. She has become too rich, and too much of a lady, to be included in the general proscription of her companions ; but, like the eminent

gamblers at Pfarò, in Europe, she is obliged to beware of the police. She is tall and slender, fair as an Englishwoman, of a noble carriage, with mild and engaging manners, and was, indeed, a very advantageous representative of her class.

The style of her dancing was similar to that which I had seen in Algiers and Tunis, with the exception of the war-dance, which she executed with her female slave, almost a prettier girl than herself, and in which she wielded her sabre like one of the famous Mamelukes ; of whose costume she reminded us, by her immensely ample red pantaloons, and her bright green vest, embroidered with gold. Her profusion of black hair, mixed with as much false, hung in innumerable braids below her waist ; and I certainly do not exaggerate when I assure my readers that above a thousand large and small pieces of current gold coin were braided into it. After she had danced a quarter of an hour, she drank coffee and smoked with us, with all the gravity of a Pacha : but afterwards, when some glasses of liqueur were handed to her, of which these Almehs are in general very fond, her assumed composure was changed to the ravings of a Bacchante, which seemed to me more original than agreeable. When I left the company, however, several of the gentlemen appeared to be of a very different opinion.

After seeing this Houri of the Paradise of Cairo, the same evening showed me, in the Avenue of Shoubra, the Egyptian Heaven in all its splendour ; and this scene was of a more elevating nature. It is almost impossible to describe a scene like that which presented itself here at sunset on this day, without

being accused of exaggeration ; and yet I can say, with truth, that while it lasted I became acquainted with entirely new shades of colour never seen before, and that I had no previous notion of the ethereal delicacy of this sky. With us, the clouds in the heavens play only in manifold and burning colours ; here there were no clouds, but the entire firmament and the whole earth were veiled in soft, glowing tints, of indescribable loveliness. From the brilliant gold colour on the extreme horizon, a transparent, magic, sea-green mist spread over the pure ether, and bright rose-coloured streaks passed from this into lilac and silver stripes, which melted, in the east, into pale azure. Thus the whole vast canopy of heaven glistened in sublime delicacy and splendour, while the verdure covering the earth, clothed in the brightest lustre, and, as if illumed with a glory, often appeared, like the breast of a dove, to shine at the same time in green, blue, and gold. Add to this, the long arcade of the Avenue, gradually diminishing in perspective, shone before and above us in such a magical golden light, as if a thousand lamps were concealed behind, till the lower portion of the immense dome began to be veiled in twilight, and all objects grew indistinct, and faintly illumed, as in the conflict between light and darkness.

Suddenly, at the place where the sun had just gone down, a dark red sprang up from the deep ; the glowing verdure of the crowns of the trees above me vanished in an instant ; a strong perfume, as of roses and violets, filled the air, and before I could rightly analyse what I had seen, the oriental night, with a rapidity peculiar to this climate, had already dropped

her sombre veil, and all vanished, as if it had returned to the uncertain region of dreams.

The tone of mind which this had awakened in my breast was perfectly adapted to the company that expected me at home, where, besides my constant companions, the Ministerial Counsellor Lubbert, and Dr. Koch, I had invited Messrs. Lambert and Cavillia to dinner. The two latter gentlemen have that tinge of romance of which I am so fond, yet they are extremely different in their application of this turn of mind. The first is a St. Simonian, body and soul; but with all his enthusiasm, and his strange doctrines, is so decided and so clear, that he has here obtained, in jest, the nickname of the "Jesuit of the St. Simonians." It cannot be said of anybody that he better understands *de prêcher pour sa paroisse*, and he knows as well how to set forth the truth as to support the weak sides by the dangerous arm of sarcastic irony, which brings the laugh on his side; but he is very far from obtruding upon people, *bon gré mal gré*, the subject of his belief, like many injudicious Christian missionaries; and as he has a large fund of understanding and knowledge of the world, his conversation, even when not confined to the St. Simonian doctrines, is interesting and agreeable.

Mr. Cavillia is one of the *illuminati*, and is persuaded of the truth of many things which in Europe would pass for fables; for instance, the existence of white and black magic, and also of mysteries from the school of the Egyptian priests, still preserved by the elect, and still efficacious; these priests, according

to him, being far more profoundly versed in animal magnetism than we now have any notion of; likewise the vicinity of spirits, superior to human nature, with whom, under certain circumstances, we may have personal communion, &c. &c. On my observing to him that I wished very much to witness one of those scenes of which English and French travellers speak, where, by some unknown charm, an innocent child is enabled to see in the palm of its hand, and to describe, any person that you please, respecting whom information is desired, however distant he may be, or even belonging to ages long since past,—he answered, that nothing was more easy, and that Lord Prudhoe, like many others who were before incredulous, had been convinced to demonstration of the literal truth of the matter; only it was necessary, he added very coolly, in case I wished to make this experiment, to consider whether I would previously agree formally to do homage to the Evil Spirit.

I asked him, laughing, whether he thought the nobleman whom he mentioned had complied with this condition? “There is no doubt of it,” he replied; “for without this formality, the thing is only possible in the opposite way, that is, by white (*holy*) magic; but for this a long, painful life of preparation is required.” After Mr. Cavillia had made all kinds of equally strange mystical allusions, in which, in his own manner, he mixed up Christianity—which, not without reason, he calls the Word that was from Eternity, and had already filled the initiated among the Egyptian priesthood—he not very unequivocally inti-

mated that he was himself one of these initiated of the first class, who had explored the ground of all things. In the course of the conversation, he affirmed that his familiar spirit had announced to him the late French Revolution six months before it took place, which he had at that time immediately communicated to several persons.

The manner of the revelation was not a little singular; for the spirit appeared to him of gigantic stature, enthroned in the clouds over Alexandria; on the left side of his nose grew a tri-coloured flag, and on the right the colossal image of Louis-Philippe. "More things of importance may be expected in the world," continued Mr. Cavillia, "for the phantom has very recently appeared to me again." He did not, however, inform us what kind of revelation this was. But I suppose time will show.

Captain Cavillia had been lately engaged in a new examination of the Pyramids, in which he had united, by a contract, with Colonel Campbell, the English Consul-General, the English Vice-Consul at Alexandria, and Colonel Howard Vyse: so that, as he expressed himself, "Englishmen were bound to furnish the money, and he the head" for the undertaking. A dispute, however, between him and Colonel Vyse dissolved this union a few days before the meditated investigation; and the gallant Colonel Vyse undertook to prosecute the business alone, "without the assistance of the head;" of which Mr. Cavillia complained bitterly, as a violent, arbitrary dissolution of a formal contract. In the sequel, however, when

I met with Colonel Vyse on my visit to the Pyramids, he produced many plausible reasons for his conduct, so that a third person, without an accurate knowledge of the matter, cannot venture to give an opinion upon it. *

Mr. Cavillia was filled with the most sanguine hopes of the possibility of great discoveries, of which, as he affirmed, he already possessed manifest indications. He hoped soon to disclose to the world, a yet unknown wonder of Egyptian architecture in the interior of the Pyramids. Though he always spoke very enigmatically, I thought I understood so much that, in his opinion, the whole of the upper part of the Great Pyramid, above the sepulchral chambers that have been discovered, is hollow, and forms an immense hall. This led to some remarks on what are called the "chambers of the King and of the Queen," and I quoted the text of Herodotus, according to which, the royal founder of the Pyramid is buried, not in it, but in the rocky basis below, which is surrounded by a subterraneous canal of the Nile;—upon which he exclaimed, vehemently, "No! no! there lies the great sacred crocodile, which contains in itself the quintessence of everything past and to come;" and he then commenced a most strange narrative, the tenor of which he, however, managed so dextrously, that it was always uncertain whether he was speaking allegorically or ironically, or in sober earnest—whether he was joking with us, or was himself in a waking dream.

For my part I believe, however, that there was something of both elements in it, and that Mr. Cavillia,

like all other prophets of our days, is half inspired, and half in his wits; half a believer, and half a deceiver. No one, however, can be so in a more entertaining and more unpretending manner than this original man, when he is in a humour for it; which, however, is of rare occurrence; since, as he is constantly engaged in mysterious studies, he is, in general, anything but communicative.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PILGRIMS TO MECCA—THE TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS.

ON the following morning, I was awakened by the firing of the cannon which announced the departure of the Hadjés of the great caravan to Mecca.

My young friend, the French Consul Lesseps, a Parisian dandy in the Desert, with whom my reader became acquainted at Alexandria, came on his Tunisian charger to fetch me, and we hastened past the overturned monument of Désaix and the splendid gate of Victory, Bab-el-Nasr, to reach an open place where the procession had to pass. Several regiments are encamped there in huts, and daily exercise; but on this day we found them, in honour of the Holy Carpet, drawn up with the irregular cavalry, and lining both sides of the street. We took our station on an eminence near this spot. The procession was already approaching:—First came a detachment of cavalry, the officers dressed in their state uniforms in scarlet and gold; then several single camels adorned with coloured ribbons, upon one of which was seated a very dirty saint (santon) quite naked; next to him, also surrounded by cavalry, appeared a sort of richly-embroidered litter with a canopy, all of a green colour, which contained the carpet sent every year by the Sultan to the Holy Kaaba; other adorned camels

followed these, and some cavalry and the long train of the Hadjés brought up the rear.

The great body of the caravan collects one stage further in the Desert, where a halt of several days takes place, till all are assembled and set in order. A crowd of people accompanied the procession, and many fired their muskets in token of joy ; some of them did so close by us. Only a few years ago Christians, in the European dress, would have been exposed to great danger by being present at this scene ; but now the people appeared scarcely to notice us, and we were not even menaced with a hostile look ; on the contrary, they invariably everywhere drew back respectfully before my kawass, whenever he thought fit to clear a place for us ; and some naked Mahometan wrestlers, of athletic form, begged even, during the ceremony, to be allowed to exhibit to us infidels, *en passant*, a specimen of their art : which, however, I found wretched, the whole being confined to mere show, and no real combat taking place between them.

As soon as the little silk temple, with the holy carpet, which was to pass the night here, had been set down, and closely surrounded by a body of cavalry to keep off every profane eye, we hastened half a league further, to the imposing, now alas ! half decayed, Tombs of the Caliphs ; which present to the architect almost inexhaustible models of the most diversified, equally tasteful and original ornaments of old Arabian architecture, and again clearly proved that this style is most intimately connected with the Gothic, and that both are often almost perfectly similar.

Situated amid the sand of the Desert, and in such

dreary, solitary contrast with the tumults of the neighbouring capital, these comparatively-modern ruins, these numerous palaces of departed greatness, in the decay of art and splendour, produced a more melancholy impression on me than the far more ancient sepulchres of the old Egyptians. The first dome which we entered was the tomb of the hero Melek-el-Adhel, who was so celebrated in Arabian song, and has furnished Chateaubriand with a subject of one of his most charming poems.

The arabesque paintings, or elegant writing of this monument, are considered as the most perfect of the kind in Cairo. The cupola is bold, light and airy, of a striking effect, replete with bright colours and gilding; but, as the whole has been wantonly injured in many places, this beautiful mausoleum, if not speedily repaired, (which can never be expected from the Turks), is threatened with speedy destruction. One of the grandest and most splendid tombs, part of which most probably, has served for a palace, is that of a Caliph of the first dynasty and of his Consort, whose name I have forgotten. It is in the form of a quadrangle, with two lofty towers and two cupolas, surrounding a large court-yard, in the centre of which there is a fountain.

The noble pair are buried under the two cupolas which are at the extremities of a spacious hall, and are surrounded by walls inlaid with coloured marbles and with most admirably-wrought transparent gratings of metal and wood. The hall, too, is of grand dimensions, and its elegant stone pulpit would be a suitable ornament to the finest of our cathedrals. The whole

was open, abandoned to destruction of every kind, without protection, and slowly mouldering into dust, like the bodies which it conceals.

For the sake of the prospect, we ascended one of the towers on the side next the city, though several steps, and, in many places, the balustrades, were wanting in the stairs, which were partly built on the outside. We had scarcely reached the first story when a strong perfume of ambergris met us, and immediately afterwards a pretty girl came upon us, like an apparition, from a low side door; she was gaily ornamented, bowed very low, and humbly asked for a baksish; we were at first not a little surprised at her unexpected appearance, but the enigma was soon cleared up. Two of the Almehs, lately expelled from Cairo by the law of Mehemet Ali, had taken up their quarters here, in order, under the protection of abandoned tombs, to continue in secret, uninterruptedly, their calling, so peculiarly heterogeneous in this place. The poor children, one black and the other white, excited our pity too much not to reap, this time in all innocence, a rich harvest.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCHOOL OF KASR-EL-AIN—THE ISLAND OF RHOUDA.

THOUGH strangers are usually assured that it never rains in Cairo, we were overtaken, on our return, by a violent thunder-storm, followed by a heavy rain for two hours, which thoroughly drenched us; but I did not suffer this to deter me from paying a visit to the school of Kasr-el-Ain, the first establishment of this kind by the Viceroy that I saw, and the admirable arrangement of which must inspire every impartial person with sincere esteem for its founder. Several continuous fine large buildings, two stories high, in the European style, inclosed a garden and a large court-yard planted with avenues of trees, in the centre of which stands the Mosque.

These buildings contain dwellings, dining-rooms, sick-wards, and school apartments for two thousand pupils, with residences for the teachers and servants, a large bath, the kitchens, store-rooms, &c. Each division has its own servants, who are well dressed and who wait at table; and the strictest order and cleanliness prevail from the threshold to the roof.

The scholars are all in uniform, and are new-clothed every year. Each of them has a separate bed and iron bedstead, a cupboard for his effects, a mat and carpet, and a cushion to sit upon. The employment of their time is regulated in the military manner;

and, to keep the young people well disciplined, they are obliged to march like soldiers both to school and to dinner. I was present at one of their meals, of which there are two every day, which I found to be better and more abundant than in any of our German schools; at least, in those with which I am acquainted, and especially in such as are supported at the expense of the Government.

The pupils dined in two halls, at round tables with benches, in squads of ten at a table; they are extremely well-behaved, though left perfectly unshackled in their conversation, and not in the least disturbed by the presence of any visitor, even of the Viceroy himself; for it is a very rational and humane regulation of Turkish etiquette, that no one is to rise, nor salute, nor be bound to any other mark of respect, while he is at dinner, whoever may happen to come in. This rule extends to all servants, and even animals are not disturbed during their meals except in cases of the greatest necessity.

The view from the lofty open windows of these halls on the new plantations of Ibrahim, the city encompassed by palms, the citadel, and the dark Mokattam, with its many small forts, glowing in full splendour in the sun, which now again broke forth, was enchantingly fine; a real picture-gallery for these boys as they sat at table: and the Arabic teacher proved to me that people here are not insensible to these beauties of nature, for he immediately drew my attention to this prospect. The instruction which the boys receive is conformable with the objects of the institution, which is intended as a transition from the

primary to the higher schools. Military education goes hand in hand with it: a circumstance which I frequently heard blamed; but it appears to me that a two-fold advantage arises from this system—for the youth to be educated, and at the same time to promote the private objects of the Viceroy. Mustapha Bey, an Egyptian, a very intelligent, excellent young man, who received his education in Europe, is at the head of this establishment; and the zeal which he himself felt was expressed in his countenance, certainly the surest guarantee of a proper discharge of official duties in any department.

As the weather had cleared up, I thought I would take advantage of it, and pay a visit to the Viceroy; but I was informed that he had ridden to Fostat. I accordingly turned my horse's head in that direction, in the hope of meeting him, and seeing in what manner he appeared in public. It was not long before a kawass, who rode before, announced his approach. I drew up with the by-standers to let his Highness pass; but as soon as Mehemet Ali saw me, he beckoned me to come up to him, and I rode by his side to the palace. He was without any state, and had but few attendants, among whom Menikli Pacha was conspicuous by his lofty stature, and warlike deportment. Achmed Menikli Pacha is a general of cavalry, celebrated in Egypt, who had lately been appointed minister of war, and by his brilliant charge with the regiment of guards, which he then commanded, greatly contributed to the success of the battle of Konieh.

The Viceroy himself was distinguished from the

rest only by his greater simplicity ; but the looks of the people, who respectfully ranged themselves when he appeared, seemed to follow him with affection and admiration, without any marks of slavish fear. This assertion may surprise many persons in Europe, but I was convinced a hundred times that Mehemet Ali, notwithstanding all his despotic measures, is really popular in his own country with the high and low : the best proof possible that his government cannot be so utterly unsuitable to the country as some of our wise theorists conceive. He saluted the people to the right and left, without pausing for a moment in his lively conversation with me. Thus we reached the palace, where I took leave, in order to enjoy the fine evening, which was deliciously refreshed by the rain, in the neighbouring island of Rhouda.

This delightful, richly-wooded island has unfortunately been lately much spoiled by the unhappy idea of laying out what is called an English garden or park. I have already observed, that gardens in this taste, the chief ornaments of which are verdant woods, meadows, and lawns, and are less suited to sublime than to pleasing and rural scenery, are not adapted to this climate, or to the imposing gravity of Egypt. This idea, which I had conceived *à priori*, I here found completely confirmed upon inspection ; and the result was the more deplorable, because a most ignorant man, a true John Bull gardener, such as there are even now too many of in England, had accumulated the most tasteless absurdities at an enormous expense. Among these absurdities I include a ridiculous building, in the style of genuine English nonsense-

architecture, where all kinds of styles are mingled together, but where the Greek is intended to predominate; to which it is so admirably suited, that one of the *façades* represents a shell grotto with natural rock! and a most clumsy imitation it is.

Added to this is the perfectly useless inconvenience that you cannot find your way through the low winding entrance, which is scarcely a foot broad, without stooping almost to the earth; and when you have reached the interior dark part of the grotto, which is the culminating point, a signal is given, and a small cascade falls for a couple of minutes, the water for which is supplied by a cistern upon the roof! In front of the entrance of this absurd toy, are seats raised one above the other, from which there is a view over a lake formed in an irregular winding line, the abrupt boundaries of which, to make them still more unnatural, are inclosed in very neat stone walls, surmounted by a heavy round coping. Further on, this piece of water ends in a small canal, often so narrow that one can easily leap over it; which however is still inclosed in similar walls, and winds its tortuous course throughout the whole park, full of filthy mud, like a disgusting reptile, and terminates at length in a small basin, exactly resembling a certain piece of furniture, which cleanly persons use at their morning and evening toilette.

The green water of this canal is bordered by crippled and dried shrubs, or clover-fields, and, for the sake of irrigation, which is here indispensable, appear in many small raised square beds, like a kitchen-garden, instead of being spread out in a

smooth velvet surface. Even the groups of trees, which are scattered about the garden, produce a disagreeable effect; much the same as if, in our country, they were planted, not in a meadow or a lawn, but in a potato-field or a cabbage-garden. We here see how important the *à-propos* is in everything, since in the rectangular figures traversed by straight avenues in the Promenades of Cairo, which I have extolled so much, these same regular free squares of clover, which are there used merely to fill up, resemble a colossal chess-board; and being in harmony with the equally regular walks that surround them, produce a pleasing and original effect to the eye; but here, where they are meant to represent plots of wood and meadow, imitated from nature, they only have a most awkward effect.

The attempt to give the ground more variety by artificial eminences and single hills, has proved equally absurd; since the first, by their unnatural shape, only resemble dams, and the other tumuli. Even in the plantations, this insular artist has proved himself a block-head; some gigantic venerable sycamores, which, if properly taken advantage of, would have given him an opportunity of making some grand pieces of scenery, are either quite hidden by planting before them fluttering poplars and willows, or their striking effect is entirely destroyed by other incongruities. The shrubs are for the most part so thinly planted, that more black earth than green foliage is to be seen. Firs are everywhere planted close to the paths, which they completely overrun, and the groups are distributed so abruptly, stiffly, and out of place, over the clover-fields, that the

Greeks, if they compare the noble gardens of Shoubra laid out by Greeks, with this salmagundi of pretended English gardening, must unquestionably conceive a most lamentable idea of the latter. On this account, probably another part of the island has been left to a second, I believe a French, gardener, who has retained more of the style of Shoubra, so that some portions are much prettier, but, by the way, far from equalling that admirable garden; for, in spite of his better judgment, he has suffered himself to be seduced by the bad example near him, and has introduced, here and there, into his regular design, some of the unhappy errors of his colleague, which are neither nature nor art.

In my opinion, an entirely new *genre* must be invented for the Egyptian art of gardening, in which regularity should indeed be the fundamental principle, but without excluding the greatest diversity. As constant irrigation is a *conditio sine quâ non* here, and cannot possibly be concealed, this must form the basis of the design; which, if well considered and cleverly executed, might produce very highly original effects: and a large as well as a smaller scale affords the most pleasing pictures,—comparable on the whole, in some degree, to an arabesque picture,—in which the contours of the indispensable channels, the filling up, and the gradations by vegetation of every kind suited to the climate, from the gigantic sycamore to the smallest flower, would be found. As Nature differs in every climate, and gives a peculiar character to the countries situated in it, the art of gardening must everywhere follow different principles; for Northern

Europe I am convinced that the principle of English landscape gardening is better suited than any other, with a few individual local exceptions. The villas of Italy require totally different environs: and for Algiers and Barbary, for Greece, and for Egypt, I amuse myself with framing new systems, differing from each other, which I intend to publish by-and-by as a supplement to my little work on Landscape Gardening, which has been received by the public with an indulgence beyond its merits. Thus much may suffice at present for this subject.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SLAVE-MARKET—FOSTAT—TOURAH.

THE succeeding days were entirely absorbed by company. I was obliged to give a *dîner* to the Consuls, and afterwards to some Turks of distinction, who were supplied with pipes during the repast; then too I had to pay some visits, which I ought to have done before; and, lastly, to make purchases. Many things of great interest are met with at Cairo in this department. Indian goods of various kinds, stuffs, articles of curious and elaborate workmanship, and rare fruits, which are highly prized by the *gourmand*; and, comparatively speaking, they are very cheap here. Many precious stones, and especially emeralds and turquoises, are sold at moderate prices.

The products of Jemen are grotesque and absurd; and, among the goods from Central Africa, are some great curiosities; for example, the very singular riding-whips, made of hippopotamus-skin, which are called "Kurbatch" in Arabic, whence, without doubt, the word Karbatshe was introduced into Germany after the Crusades. Articles of Turkish and Syrian manufacture are very dear, and there is not much variety.

I visited the black slave-market, which, however mildly the slaves are in general treated here, nevertheless inspires the European with far other sentiments than it does the Oriental; and it is a lamentable fact that,

notwithstanding the universal sentiments respecting slavery felt at home, Europeans mix themselves up in this disgraceful traffic, and even treat their slaves worse than the Mussulmans. If it were by any means possible to overlook the dark side of this picture—and, indeed, *here* it would be utterly useless to make any lamentations about it—it must with all candour be confessed that this slave-market, save the degradation of the human species, (which, however, is often seen in gilded halls, amid stars and orders, and where it appears in more disgusting colours, because there it is *voluntary*,) presents a singular, nay, I had almost said, a comical appearance.

In the first place the slaves themselves evince not the slightest indication of grief or sorrow in their manner, which is certainly the most varied and original in the world. They are seated in scattered groups, in the open apartments and in the large court, laughing and talking, their countenances either expressing the most stupid apathy, or brutish recklessness. Female slaves, who have but just arrived, are usually clothed in the costume of their country, that is to say, they are scarcely clothed at all; but if they have been previously slaves, they are dressed in the Oriental style; and these latter are generally distinguished by their ill-humour, and a certain audacious, impertinent manner, mixed with a degree of coquetry. They often make a great fuss if they are desired to unveil their faces, and pretend to be enraged and disgusted with the purchaser; while the new-comers, who are still in a state of nature, not only uncover their faces, but, with the quietness of a lamb, whose wool is being

examined, they patiently submit to the coarse handling of the dealer. We were accompanied by a Levantine, who was attached to the French Consulate, whose remarkable routine and grotesque unrestrainedness, in the trade of examining and manipulating the slaves, connected as it was with the technical terms of his profession, made me laugh in spite of myself.

But I must at once change this disgusting subject, which has a black side in more respects than one, and I will, therefore, conduct my reader through Old Cairo, or as it is now called, Fostat, to the Academy of the Artillery in Tourah, a town which is said to have been erected on the site of ancient Troy, just as the ancient Egyptian Babylon is sought for, on the mountains beyond Fostat. I think, however, that the latter once stood on the spot where Mehemet Ali erected the present citadel.

We commenced our investigation of Fostat (Old Cairo), with a visit to the Coptic Church, beneath which an apartment, just like a cellar, is pointed out as the grotto where the Virgin Mary, with Joseph and the infant Jesus, took refuge in their flight into Egypt. Of course, we were obliged to give our monkish guide a good Arabian bakshish for pointing out to us this Christian curiosity; though, verily, the bricked cellar had not the remotest resemblance in the world with anything approaching to a grotto. In the chapel itself, however, there were some very costly and elegant arabesques of wood and ivory.

We next proceeded to the Mosque of Amru, the Conqueror of Egypt. It is quite in ruins, and is surrounded with dreary and desolate mounds of

débris and rubbish; but it was built in a splendid and noble style. A large court, which is surrounded by triple and quadruple colonnades, would not have been a disparagement to an antique Academy in Greece. In the middle of this court is a small, neatly-ornamented building—a standing monument of the justice of Amru; just like the Mill of Potzdam, for it belonged to a poor Jewess, who was unwilling to dispose of it to the Sultan; upon which he merely built his splendid erection around it, instead of pulling it down. Very many curious things are shown in this mosque; which is, independently, still so far distinguished, that every year, on the last Friday of the Rammadan, the Viceroy, attended by all his *grandees* and officers, visit it in state.

The most singular objects are, first, a column, which the great Amru, I know not on what occasion, attempted to hew in pieces; but only made a deep indenture with his Damascene blade—an effort which is pointed out as represented by a vein of the marble; secondly, a double pair of other pillars, which are said to possess a quality equal to that of the two celebrated pillars in the Holy Mosque el Kerouan, namely, that only a *just* person can pass between them without danger, while the *unrighteous* will remain wedged between them. They gave rise to a droll intermezzo.

The kawass of his Highness, who, whether I will or no, accompanies me everywhere,—a tall, shrivelled old man, with a very long nose and a wide mouth,—carries, as I have said, a badge of his dignity—a staff as high as himself, surmounted with a silver ornament with many bells, exactly like those on a child's-rattle;

for which reason I have given him the name of my Rattle-snake Obligato; by which he is now generally called by my European acquaintance. Now, my rattle-snake, after long resistance, suffered himself to be persuaded to stand the test between the fatal pillars; when, lo and behold!—such is the power of imagination—he stuck fast, notwithstanding his leanness; turned first as red as a rose, and then as white as a lily; and, at the end, might, perhaps, have been struck with apoplexy, had not Ackermann taken hold of him, and violently pushed him through. Ackermann, hereupon, hastened bravely to follow him, though half as stout again, and probably not much superior to him in morality; but, then, he is a truly orthodox Roman Catholic, and the other is only a poor infidel Mussulman, which makes not a little difference! My remaining Mussulman attendants, after this unhappy trial, would not make the attempt, and so I proceeded, laughing, to Tourah.

Beyond Fostat, the river, which is more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, is bordered by a row of ancient sycamores, and affords a very fine prospect of Ghizeh and the long suite of pyramids on the other bank, to beyond the palm-groves of Memphis. After having stopped a few minutes in the workshop, where the costly blocks of oriental marble were preparing for the Mosque of Mehemet Ali, we continued our way over a desert tract along the Mokattam, while M. Lesseps, who is one of the best and most elegant horsemen of France, and was mounted on his fine Barbary steed, amused us by his skilful imitation of the various manœuvres of the Arabs. The sober grey

horse of the Viceroy which I rode, if I had been ever so much inclined, could not have performed anything of the kind, so that I was obliged to content myself with riding straight forward in a short gallop, which soon brought us to the immense Quarries, and where many royal cartouches and hieroglyphics and elaborately hewn gates still indicate the former works of the ancient Egyptians. Immense arched vaults run far into the rocks, but they are light and free, not connected with each other in the manner of the Greek quarries, by long dark galleries and tortuous passages. The sandstone breaks in strata, which very much facilitates the working of them, and in some degree already indicate in the quarry the form of the colossal stones which have been employed in building the pyramids. Even now work is actively going on for the collection of materials for an equally gigantic undertaking, and which are to be conveyed to the water-side by railway.

The work of which I am speaking is the throwing of a dam across the Nile at the entrance of the Delta, projected by M. Linant, and approved by the Viceroy, and of which I shall hereafter give fuller particulars; and with which, if it succeeds as is hoped, no construction of ancient or modern times would deserve to be compared, as well in regard to its consequences as to the boldness of the plan. It was, therefore, doubly agreeable to me, that M. Linant himself, a man as much distinguished for his modesty as by his active genius, was likewise among my kind companions on this occasion; the reading world is well acquainted with his *Travels to Arabia and Meroe*,

of the ruins of which he gave the first authentic drawings. During this time he made himself master of the language and manners of the Arabs, among whom he mingled as often as he pleased, and was always looked upon as one of their own people; he so thoroughly enjoyed the free independent life of this remarkable race, that he frequently assured us he had passed the happiest days of his life in the parcel of ground which he possessed near Mount Sinai, and that he intended to close his days there. An engaging exterior, great suavity of manner, a fund of scientific knowledge, an ardent enterprising spirit, combined with great composure and perseverance, make Mr. Linant, a man who must, indeed, reflect honour on any nation to which he may belong, either by birth or by choice.

M. Linant was literally at home in the stone quarries; for he, who has so few wants, lived here for several months together in a cave, so that he might direct the workmen in person, and encourage them by his constant presence; yet, in spite of all the pains which he took, he could never induce them to work—like their colossal predecessors, the ancient Egyptians—deep into the rock, instead of clearing only from the outside, which is their present method, and which is ill adapted to the purpose. The dread of evil spirits has such an influence over them, that they declare they would rather die than expose themselves to coming in contact with such associates; for they take the hieroglyphics, which are here and there cut in the stony wall, for the cabalistic signs of the spirits. We ourselves were not so happy in our investigations

as to be troubled by any of the spirits, unless they were in the shape of wild pigeons, and bats, numbers of which flew about us flapping their black wings.

The Artillery school at Tourah, likewise one of the grand establishments of the Viceroy, is the only one of the kind which was not organised by a Frenchman, but by General Sequerra, a Spaniard. It seems, however, to have undergone many injudicious changes, and to have lost much by his departure.

Sequerra, who served with great distinction as Colonel of Artillery in the Spanish war against France, and, as I was assured, most thoroughly understood his branch of the service, is to be considered as the creator of the whole Egyptian Artillery service; and his loss has not been supplied. The Artillery school itself, like all other military establishments of this kind, has fallen into the hand of Muktar Bey, who is certainly the most ignorant, arrogant, and, in a word, inefficient man in the service of the Viceroy; who most unaccountably places confidence in him, because he is a compatriot, has all the qualities of a good courtier, and has, besides, studied seven years in France, at the expense of the Viceroy, without, however, bringing anything from that country, except its language, and tenfold increased arrogance, with the vice of drunkenness to a most degrading excess. The departure of Sequerra is chiefly owing to Muktar's intrigues: one of the many wounds, which, less perhaps from ill-will than from capricious stupidity, he has inflicted on the interests of his too indulgent master.

Sequerra was a man of the old school, who performed his duty to the utmost; but with great harsh-

ness and without indulgence, required all others to do the same. His manner may certainly have been too haughty and blunt, and, as he spared no one, whoever he might be, he could not fail to have many secret and open enemies. He repeatedly declared that he would take orders from nobody in Egypt except from Mehemet Ali himself, as there was no one here except him who understood his business as well as he did himself. In fact, he more than once sent commands to this effect to the Minister, with the admonition that he had better become acquainted with the subject that was being treated of, before he issued commands which were absurd and impracticable, and, consequently, would receive no attention from him. If, however, he were threatened with the sovereign authority of Mehemet Ali, he would leave the school, and demand his discharge. During one of these *fracas*, which were not of unfrequent occurrence, after having sent back the Colonel's commission which had been granted him, he extorted, as a public satisfaction, that Mehemet Ali should pay a state visit to the Artillery school, and, after an examination of the pupils (which came off with great *éclat*), to receive his nomination as Egyptian General. However, he at last grew tired of these repeated chicaneries, and declared decidedly and irrevocably, that he would no longer remain in the service; and in spite of all the endeavours of Mehemet Ali, who well knew his worth, he immediately returned to Spain, where he now fills a high post, and is one of the most influential adherents of the Queen.

Notwithstanding the great strength of his character,

Sequerra appears nevertheless to have had *one* weakness, which contributed not a little to the termination of his career in Egypt, for the Turks stood too much in awe of him to have so pertinaciously continued their persecutions without foreign aid. This weakness was an irrational hatred of the French, which showed itself on every occasion ; and though he was otherwise full of generosity, and ever ready to serve strangers of every other nation, it led him into manifest injustice as soon as a Frenchman was concerned. This placed him in a state of enmity with Soliman Pacha, upon whom he could not bear to be in any way dependent, any more than upon the Turks, saying of him, "That Soliman Pacha might be one of the old, but by no means one of the good soldiers of Napoleon ; and, at all events, he understood nothing about the Artillery, though he might be able to command a regiment of Hussars."

What would poor Sequerra say, if he knew that the best of his scholars have lately been taken from Tourah, to be employed as clerks under the administration of Muktar, while perfectly ignorant favourites of the minister have been placed as officers in the Artillery in their stead ; and that M. Lubbert, the historiographer of Egypt, is appointed director of the examination in the same Artillery school ; a man who, at Paris, in the capacity of *gentilhomme ordinaire de chambre*, had the superintendence of the theatres, where, it is true, much gunpowder is still expended, but where, I imagine, the study of the Artillery is still less to be acquired than tactics, from the seven girls in uniform ? Such are the new arrangements of Muktar Bey, and though Sequerra's spirit still breathes

in the institution, which was founded and so long admirably directed by him, it is very evident that, under existing circumstances, every trace of it will soon disappear, unless Mehemet Ali speedily adopts other measures to restore it.

The present superintendent at Tourah, who fills the post in a far inferior degree to Sequerra, and who, on receiving injudicious orders, has nothing to do but to obey, with a silent shrug of the shoulders, is Commandant Bonneau, a Frenchman of merit; and associated with him in the work is Nazir Mustapha Effendi, who was educated in France.

The buildings are plain, roomy, and well adapted to the purpose, but they are not yet completed; that is to say, the stables are still in the course of erection; but the locality for the school itself, with all the necessary dwellings, are finished. From what I have already stated, it may be taken for granted, that no less order, cleanliness, and completeness prevail here than at Kasr-el-Ain. Here, too, the court-yards are agreeably ornamented with shady trees, and a noble exercise-ground extends behind the institution to the foremost hills of the Mokkatam. After looking at some foot exercises, which the pupils performed in the great court-yard, with much credit to themselves, we proceeded to the above-mentioned ground, to witness the practice with cannon mortars. The effects of the high degree of training to which Sequerra had brought his pupils were here manifest; I have seldom seen any better practice, for at a distance of 700 paces, out of 48 cannon shot, 28 hit the mark, and several of the bombs fell very near the mark, at the distance of 1200 paces. The institution is calculated for 330 pupils,

but at the present time there were only 180, the minister having taken away a great number of them before the completion of their studies, to place them in situations of various kinds, but only a very few of them in the Artillery.

There are six professors and teachers, and the sciences in which they chiefly give instruction are, military drawing, of which I saw excellent specimens; simple and practical algebra, geometry, mathematics, mechanics, fortification, and the Oriental languages. The provision made for the pupils is more munificent here than in Kasr-el-Ain, for they have rich and tasteful uniforms, like the troops of the line; and, according to the latest order of Mehemet Ali, are in future to receive a monthly pay of 100 to 150 piastres each. The real progress which the pupils now make in the sciences which they are here taught, cannot be satisfactorily shown without a regular examination. To some casual questions which I put to them, they gave appropriate and quick answers; and, with respect to their department and military carriage, the young people, to do them no more than justice, certainly fulfilled all reasonable expectation. I have said before that Tourah (as is supposed) stands on the site of ancient Troy, which probably derives its name from a Greek military colony.

M. Linant had had the kindness to send for his gondola for our return, and we accordingly all embarked in it, after enjoying a good *déjeuner à la fourchette* in the refectory at Tourah. It is an exquisite enjoyment to sail down the Nile, on an Egyptian winter evening, in a canja so admirably fitted up as that of M. Linant, in which even a small select library is not

wanting. Not a breath stirred the pure golden air, and we glided gently and slowly along the unruffled waters, carried, by the current, past the Coptic convent, where, it is affirmed, that Moses was taken out of the water; glanced, *en passant*, at the house of the derwishes, which is devoted to another religion, and where they charm the devotees of their faith every Friday with their giddy, whirling dance. We afterwards passed a small palace belonging to the last of the Mameluke chiefs, whom Mehemet Ali pardoned, and now suffers to enjoy his old age in peace. This Bey saved himself, in the tumult, by pretending to be dead, and suffered himself to be carried out as such, and then, though severely wounded, took the first favourable opportunity to escape, which he happily effected. Only one besides himself was saved, by the extraordinary spirit of his horse, which leaped over a wall seven feet high, and just at a place where the abyss formed by the rock is at least eighty feet deep. The noble animal broke his neck in the fall, but brought down his rider unhurt, so that he was able to conceal himself before his pursuers had time to approach.

The masses of trees in the island of Rhouda stood out beautifully in the glow of the setting sun, and cast their long shadows across the Nilometer, over which M. Linant, by order of the Viceroy, is now erecting a light, Moorish, protecting temple. The rapidly-advancing night soon hid every prospect from our eyes, and, in the last moments of our little voyage, made each one of us retire within himself, for profound silence prevailed, when, at bright starlight, we reached the little garden of my residence, and ascended the solitary flight of stone steps which leads to it.

CHAPTER XVII.

MILITARY EXERCISES AT GHIZEH.

THE next day was even more splendid than its predecessor, and not less rich in enjoyment. His Highness had invited me to be present at the exercises of the pupils of the Cavalry school at Ghizeh, under the direction of Colonel Warin, who was formerly first aide-de-camp of Marshal St. Cyr, and who has done so much for Egypt.

I set out in Baki Bey's gondola at seven o'clock; and, on my arrival at Ghizeh, I found all the consuls, a considerable portion of the *beau monde* of Cairo, and a large assemblage of spectators, already on the spot. Colonel Warin conducted me into an upper apartment of his residence, where I found several strangers, as well as the amiable family of M. Bonfort, whose society I seek daily, in preference to any other. Madame Chianti, a sister of M. Bonfort, is known in the European circles of Cairo by the name of the "beautiful widow;" and her younger sister vies with her in the freshness of her charms. M. Bonfort's cousin, however, Mademoiselle Maritza, carries off the palm. She is a surpassingly enchanting woman, a lovely being, in whom are exquisitely combined the graces of the East and the West; for her voluptuous and perfectly symmetrical form, raven hair and bril-

liant eyes, are Asiatic, while her delicately formed mouth, thoughtful manner, refined intellectual expression, her melodious voice, and, whether gay or grave, her feeling, impassioned, deeply sympathetic soul, bears indisputable stamp of European birth. Independently of this, there is something about her which cannot be defined; I might almost say a tragic glory, which perceptibly arrays some individuals with a magic transparent veil, that invests the remembrance of them with an indescribable something that can never be forgotten. Let me not, however, be supposed to mean the presentiment of some tragic end; no, it is the unequivocal indication of the tragic power of the mind: it is a rare possession, and of all the women I have ever seen, this peculiar charm was expressed by none more forcibly, than by that most incomparable of all actresses, Miss O'Neill.

It is indisputably true, that no qualification is more advantageous to a dramatic career, or more certain of success, than this magic halo; and often when I listened to the song of the enchanting Maritza, who has the voice of a Pasta, and who possesses all the pre-requisites which, under good training, would make her an equally celebrated and scientific *artiste*—and when I gazed upon her faultless form, and her beautiful, deeply expressive face—I could not help deploring that so singular a combination of qualifications should be confined within the limits of the daily routine of social relations, and thereby be diverted from their evident destination—that of contributing to the delight of thousands. The Saint Simonians and their visions were in my mind, and it is in some

respect a pity that they are so wholly incapable of realization.

My entrancing reveries were interrupted by the arrival of Mehemet Ali, who was received by the deafening acclamations of the crowd and the music of the military, supported by Muktar Bey and the newly-appointed minister of war; his Highness hastily ascended the steep shore, boldly threw himself into the saddle of his horse which was in readiness, and which, on this occasion, was richly caparisoned, and instantly proceeded to the exercise ground, where a raised platform had been prepared for him. I received an intimation to follow him. As usual, he gave me the kindest welcome, invited me to sit down on a *fauteuil* at his right hand, to look at the manoeuvres, which immediately commenced. M. Lesseps sat on the left hand of the Viceroy, in a cane-bottomed chair; for the Orientals are as punctilious as Spaniards in point of etiquette, though they do not at all apply it according to our notions. No stranger was admitted besides us; but all the Viceroy's courtiers stood round, so that we had only an open space just in front of us.

M. Lesseps, whose graceful manners and great popularity I have before mentioned, is considered almost as a son by Mehemet Ali, because the father of the young consul was his faithful friend in weal and in woe; and when Mehemet Ali first began his career in a narrow sphere, he was often his wise counsellor, and not unfrequently his protector. At that time, indeed, as at present, a European consul-general in the East (through a remarkable voluntary submission

of the Turks, under European civilisation, as it is chiefly manifested to them in mercantile affairs,) possessed much more opportunity and power than an ambassador at the European courts. We must, therefore, not censure too severely a little self-conceit which is, perhaps, not quite unjustly ascribed to these gentlemen in the East, who, though so insignificant in Europe, are so important here: the fault lies not in the consuls, but in human nature, which always fashions itself according to circumstances. It is therefore the more delightful to find in a young man, who combines with his consular dignity eminent personal qualities, and enjoys into the bargain the most unequivocal favour of the sovereign of the country, not a trace of arrogance, but, on the contrary, the most lively desire to please everybody, to oblige many, and, with refined tact, to seize every opportunity to unite and conciliate the many conflicting interests.

This is the part which M. Lesseps plays here; and I must equally do justice to his judicious deportment in regard to the paternal kindness of the Viceroy; for it is delightful to see the just equilibrium between a man's own dignity, his duty, and his personal gratitude, so completely preserved. I am likewise fully convinced, that though M. Lesseps would be qualified for any other diplomatic post, yet that so long as Mehemet Ali lives, no consul-general can render so much service to his country in Egypt as he. An anecdote has been related to me, which not only most strikingly characterises the adroit frankness of this young man, but acquires general interest

on account of the highly respected person to whom it relates. When M. Lesseps was in France last year, the King, who is too quick-sighted not to entertain a high opinion of Mehemet Ali, asked him in a confidential manner, "What do you say of Ibrahim?" "Sire," replied Lesseps, "I will not venture to give any positive opinion respecting him, because I know too little of him; but so much is certain, that no man understands better than he does how to manage his own private property; and experience teaches, that those who understand this are likewise eminent as the governors of great states." I fancy I can see the significant and winning smile with which the King of the French must have received this answer, which far outweighs an entire examination in Berlin diplomacy, and might be envied even by a Russian.* *Apropos* of anecdotes! I will add one respecting Mehemet Ali himself, which is one of the most original, and places in the clearest light the extraordinary, unsophisticated character—nay, I might justly say, the primitive innocent simplicity, of this great man.

Conversing one day with M. Lesseps on the services which his father had rendered him—a subject on which he often dwells with gratitude and delight—he continued, smiling, "I was once placed in no small embarrassment in his house; I had dined with him together with some other Turks—unpolished guests, ignorant and licentious men, as we all were at that time, when soon afterwards it was perceived that some of

* The brilliant part which M. Lesseps has since acted in Spain confirms what is here said of him.

the plate was missing. I never in my life felt in such distress, nor more anxious to discover the thief; for I was incessantly tormented by the thought that my friend might imagine that I myself had stolen the plate. Happily, however, the real thief was soon afterwards discovered, which was an immense relief to my mind." I refrain from any farther comment on these words, but pity him who does not feel their *noble naïveté* as coming from the mouth of Mehemet Ali.

The manœuvres now arrested our entire attention, and I shall sufficiently characterise them, when I say that, both in regard to outward military deportment, and the elegance of the uniforms, (green dolmans, with yellow lace, and scarlet trousers,) and to the precision of the several evolutions, these four squadrons of the cavalry school could not be distinguished from European regiments, except by the great superiority of the battle-horses on which they were mounted. This was particularly manifest in the brilliancy of the attack, whose lightning-like rapidity was truly marvellous, and by their instantaneous, sudden halting, as if petrified. The Viceroy told me, on this occasion, that he had, in Syria, a brigade of cavalry all mounted on Nedshdi, for which he had spared neither pains nor expense, but that he expected from those regiments twice as much as others were able to perform. "I, too," he exclaimed, with an enthusiasm that well became him, "was formerly an excellent chevalier, and not the worst horseman in the world; now, since we have adopted European exercise, more attention must be

paid to the *ensemble*; yet, even now, a good and well-trained horse is the most indispensable element of a good chevalier." "Your highness," said M. Lesseps, "is indeed still but too good a horseman, for we lately saw you riding so furiously on the smooth pavement of the Citadel, that we all felt alarmed."

Mehemet Ali smiled, and stroked his beard, but replied, "No, no, that is mere child's play; I am now old, and leave such pranks to young fellows like you."

He then related many *tours de force* of the Mamelukes; and affirmed, that, whatever might be said, he was convinced that their cavalry was unrivalled, and that if the French boasted that theirs, in equal numbers, and without the assistance of infantry, could ever be a match for that of the Mamelukes, they told an egregious falsehood. This assertion, I, for one, had before heard from some French officers of that period. "But," continued the Viceroy, "to create any such anew is impossible. Everything has its day, and when that is past it gives way to something else. What is dead cannot be recalled to life." It would be well, thought I, if many of our Christian rulers would take to heart this practical doctrine of the Mussulman.

We were here interrupted by a strange occurrence. The heat was so oppressive, that one of the servants in the suite of Mehemet Ali had an epileptic fit; on a sudden, we heard, close behind us, the most fearful noises, such as persons in those attacks often utter, and which really made us tremble with horror. Mehemet Ali appeared not to pay any attention, though there was much difficulty in silencing the

screaming sufferer, but continued the conversation, as if he heard nothing. As soon, however, as order was restored, I observed that he twice inquired after the state of the patient, and gave orders that he should be properly taken care of. I was extremely pleased with this considerate benevolence, and the dignity of his preceding composure, which is not at all conformable to our European manners.

When the evolutions were over, we rode, accompanied by a band of music, to the Great Riding School, which is inclosed between high walls, open to the sky, but a spacious gallery furnished with divans had been erected for the Viceroy. His Highness seated himself in the Turkish fashion, and again assigned me a place near him, while the military and courtiers as before remained standing round him. Sometimes one and sometimes another of these took the fly-flapper to drive away these troublesome little insects. After pipes and coffee had been introduced, those of the European consuls who were present paid their respects to his Highness; but, before this took place, a little episode intervened, which I must not pass over, though certainly it is not very flattering to my vanity. The great affability of the Viceroy, and a momentary absence of mind on my part, betrayed me into one of those deficiencies in tact which may sometimes happen to men otherwise most cautious in this respect, and which nevertheless are a culpable impropriety. I entirely forgot the persons around me (for in truth, in an oriental court, one is more easily accustomed to look upon them as mere dumb-show figures than in a European court), and equally forgetful that it is

quite against the rule to speak to Mussulmans of the fair sex, I very thoughtlessly told the Viceroy that almost everything in Egypt pleased me greatly, and that much excited my highest admiration; but that, on my journey hither, I had found one thing which his Highness had done which did not please me, namely, that he had so strictly and suddenly forbidden the poor Almehs, who represented a peculiar feature of Egyptian nationality, from continuing their profession of dancing and singing.

The deadly pale countenance of the interpreter, and the terrified looks of those among the company who understood French, instantly made me aware of my blunder, and I felt the blood rush to my face, but there was now no help for it; and the less so as Mehemet Ali, whom nothing escapes, immediately perceived that something extraordinary had occurred, and, turning to Artim Bey, he demanded to know what I had said. Artim Bey (who would otherwise perhaps have made some modification of my words, though it is dangerous for the interpreter to misrepresent the sense of a phrase addressed to the Viceroy), with an embarrassed look, stammered out my unfortunate speech, which I would have given a good sum of money to recal. Yet now I no longer repent of my awkwardness, for but for it I should not have had an opportunity of admiring Mehemet Ali's truly princely behaviour, at a moment which, judging by the manners and customs of the Turks, might really be called critical. Without the slightest change in his countenance, turning to me with his usual friendly smile, he said, "I do not understand this question;

who and what are Almehs?" There was a dead silence. "Ah! ah!" exclaimed he, suddenly, as if recollecting himself, "you doubtless mean the public musicians.* Well, that is a matter which concerns my director of the police, and if he has been harsh towards these people they have probably given him sufficient cause. However, I will inquire into the matter; for I do not recollect that this affair has ever been brought before me." And then he passed, without the least appearance of restraint, to another subject; and, with equal forbearance and delicacy, chose for this purpose my own journey hither, of which I had spoken, earnestly inquiring after various particulars, in order that the offensive impression of what had passed might be the more quickly forgotten.

I have seldom received a more impressive lesson, or one given in a more gentle manner, and, in the sequel, I could never observe that I had lost anything in the favour of Mehemet Ali by this awkward but involuntary error. On the contrary, I had even reason to believe that had I mentioned the matter to him in private, with no witness but the interpreter, an answer would have been unreservedly given; for Mehemet Ali has long since raised himself above many prejudices, not only of his own, but of other nations. Nay, I was perhaps indebted to his noble soul that, after this little humiliation, which he must have seen that I felt, he immediately did me an honour, which I have been assured was never shown

* The Almehs are usually attended by male musicians, who are often summoned, without them, to amuse the company at Turkish entertainments.

to any stranger before me, on a public occasion like this.

When it was announced to him that dinner was served, and I rose to retire with the consuls, he asked me whether I preferred a European repast, such as was dressed for us, or whether I could resolve to try the Turkish manner, and dine *tête-à-tête* with him. It may be easily imagined with what readiness I seized this opportunity gratefully to reply and to observe, in reference to it, that I must, however, fear that I was still too ignorant of Turkish manners, not involuntarily, perhaps, to offend more than once against them, but that the honour offered me was too great for me to decline accepting it at any risk.

I had scarcely said this, when, with the exception of Artim Bey, all the persons who had hitherto stood round us, disappeared. Two servants hung over the breast of his highness and of myself muslin napkins, embroidered with gold, and then, kneeling down, spread similar ones over our knees, other attendant spirits presented large silver basins, full of rose-water, for refreshing ourselves with ablution, while others brought in the table, which was covered with rich gilt plate and many various kinds of dishes. We had some finely carved wooden spoons inlaid with mother-o'-pearl, but neither knives nor forks, and I was obliged to use my fingers in the Turkish fashion. I had no resource but as far as possible to imitate the Viceroy in everything he did, and with the perfect nicety with which he performed this delicate task I should never have imagined, what I afterwards learnt, and indeed had frequent opportunities of seeing, that,

for many years, he has always dined in his palace in the European manner, and only on public occasions follows the old Turkish fashion.

The dinner was admirably dressed, and the Viceroy himself ate with the appetite of a young man. Iced water was presented to us in golden goblets, and excellent claret handed to me. There was a very great variety of dishes, with a singular alternation of sweets, bitters, and animal food, besides a number of cold *hors d'œuvres*, which were placed round the table. An embroidered napkin, besides those which had been before given us, lay near each of us, to wipe our hands upon. In half an hour the pillau, which is always the last dish, announced the end of the Turkish dinner, and was followed by the dessert, for which Shoubra supplies the Viceroy's table with the choicest fruit. A private secretary now entered the room, and presented to the Viceroy a letter from the governor of Soudan, just received from Senaar, which he then read aloud.

The contents related to an expedition ordered by Mehemet Ali in the direction of the still half-fabulous mountains of the Moon, following the course of the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White River, and another along the Bahr-el-Azrak towards Fazoglia, where it is supposed that there are rich gold mines. In order to obtain accurate information respecting these, Mehemet Ali has applied to the Austrian government for ten skilful miners and naturalists, to whom he has granted most generous conditions, and who are already on their way to that distant country; but on account of the difficulties which Europeans experience from the

climate and the foreign mode of living, they have not yet made any great progress. Mehemet Ali manifested a little impatience at this delay, and when coffee was introduced, and the consuls came in again, he took the opportunity urgently to ask M. Laurin, the Austrian consul-general, for his assistance to accelerate an affair which he had much at heart. I remarked, that Philip of Macedon was indebted in a great measure for his success in war, to gold mines which had been discovered, and that the same was the case with the successor of Alexander the Great; and that I heartily wished that his Highness, who inherited so much from his celebrated countrymen, might, in this respect, have the same good fortune as they had. "We must see," replied the Viceroy, "what God will give us. I do not place too much confidence in it, but the favourable indications are not to be neglected."*

We were here interrupted by the renewal of the equestrian exercises, which were executed at intervals before and after our repast, by the most select scholars of the institution, and which were performed in a masterly manner, under the direction of an able riding-master, M. Bier, a German. These exercises consisted of running at the ring, pistol-firing, fencing, leaping, &c. I expressed my surprise at the extraordinary dexterity and precision of the pupils of the school, and asked the Viceroy whether there were any Arabic Fellahs among them? "Oh no," replied he, "they are all Turks;" though he very well knew

* The subsequent result has imperfectly fulfilled the hopes of Mehemet Ali with respect to gold.

that the contrary was the case, and evidently gave this answer to flatter his Turkish courtiers, who stood around, and who, like himself, looked down with contempt upon the Arabs, who, though by far the best soldiers of Mehemet Ali, have not till lately been raised, from sheer necessity, to the lowest rank of officers, but have not been promoted any higher. This is a weak side of Mehemet Ali, which, in some degree, resembles the pride of nobility among us, and has perhaps alone hindered him from acting a far greater part than he has done. If he had, from the beginning, considered himself as a prince, a future caliph of the Arabs, and had known how to unite these immense masses by entire deliverance from the long-endured Turkish yoke, and to fill them with a new-born enthusiasm for his person, his power would have been colossal ; whereas now, the Turks, to whom, though a smaller number, he subjects the Arabs, are still half adherents of Constantinople, and, correctly speaking, only follow him in prosperity ; in case of a reverse the fidelity of many of them would probably be very questionable.

The institution at Ghizeh has attained such perfection under the indefatigable care of Colonel Warin, and has at the same time acquired such a perfectly European aspect, that, when there, you might really forget that you were in Egypt, and be tempted to yield to the assertion that education and training alone determine the character of nations as well as of individuals. This, however, is indisputable, that here rude Turks and Fellahs, recently taken from slavery, have been transformed into perfect French-

men, at least so far as outward appearances go, and closely resemble them in the minutest national and military manners. And it is very remarkable, that this is even far more the case with them, than with those Egyptians who have been brought up in France, and have received their education while young men in that country; however, it may unquestionably be affirmed of Colonel Warin, that he is made for the post he fills. Even in France his comrades used on that account to call him "*le type de l'officier de l'état major,*" and afterwards, in a word, "*le type.*" Everything which I here saw convinces me, that however strictly he may respect the form, and perhaps consider it as the main point, he yet by no means neglects the spirit. Many of the plans of situations and positions made by his pupils, which he afterwards showed me, representing engagements, some of which had actually taken place, and others which were imaginary, could not have been more correctly given by the best officers; and I everywhere observed that the mode of instruction followed by the Colonel was calculated to make the pupils not only good horsemen, but excellent soldiers, so far as individual abilities give reason to hope for the attainment of the object.

The Viceroy himself is sensible of this, and it was a delicate attention on his part that he bestowed on Colonel Warin, not *after* the examination, but the day *before*, the dignity of a Bey, which confers not only higher rank, but a considerable increase of pay, and sent him the insignia in large diamonds, expressly stating that this distinction by no means related to any services which the Viceroy still *expected* from

Colonel Warin, but was only the reward for those which he had already performed, and a token of his sincere esteem. Sovereigns who know how to confer favours in so graceful a manner have become rare among us, and for the same reason the pleasure of serving them is diminished. Wasil Bey, for this is now the name of Colonel Warin, has a singular resemblance in his fortunes to the celebrated Allard, now generalissimo in the kingdom of Lahore. They are both natives of the same place, sons of parents in a low condition; both embraced the military profession on the same day; both fought the first duel on the same day; both received the rank of officers on the same day, and had afterwards a long-continued courtship with twin sisters; both were wounded together on the same day; both were obliged to leave France after the fall of Napoleon; and lastly, both found distinction and fortune, though not in an equally brilliant manner, in the service of the two greatest princes of the East now living, Mehemet Ali and Runjeet Singh.*

There is a Frenchman in the institution who has embraced Islamism; he is a man of great talent, and who has kindly undertaken to give orders for a picture which shall in future times recal this day to my mind. It was a remarkable day to me in many respects, and fortune smiled upon me to the very last, for in the evening when the three ladies, of whom I gave a slight sketch at the beginning of this chapter, were about to return home, they found that, by some

* Allard is since dead, and, I believe, Colonel Warin also; whether again both on the same day I do not know.

mistake of the servants, their bark had not been sent for them, so that I could venture to offer them, and some gentlemen in their company, the use of mine. What a scene did my cabin present at this moment ! Three sides were occupied by divans, and on each reclined in seductive grace one of the houris of Mahomed's paradise of the faithful : it was not easy to decide which of them had selected the most fascinating attitude.

As the twilight began to steal over us, Maritza took her guitar, and sang the touching *romance* of *La Folle*—once so popular in the *salons* of Paris—at one moment raising the full silvery tones of her voice to the highest pitch of excitement, then slowly melting into painful anguish and pensive grief. She ceased ; and it was long ere we ventured to break the stilly silence even by a breath. Soon after we landed at the stairs of my garden, and, as I offered my arm to support the beautiful Maritza, I could not refrain from whispering in her ear : “ *Ah de grâce, ne chantez plus La Folle, j'ai trop peur d'en devenir fou.*” At five-and-twenty my fears would perhaps not have been groundless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IBRAHIM PASHA. — POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL. — MANUFACTORIES.

IBRAHIM PASHA had arrived at Cairo a few days after me, but he was suffering from a fistula, which, though it had been skilfully operated upon by Clot Bey, confined him to his bed, and prevented him from receiving visits. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to pass the day upon the sofa of one of his summer-houses, he gave me permission to pay him a friendly visit, free from any ceremony. The hero of Konieh scarcely awakens less curiosity than even his illustrious father. Ibrahim also was unlike the ideal I had formed of him from the representations of others. Yet all are agreed that his intercourse with Europeans has had considerable influence, and softened his former somewhat savage character.

He still bore traces of his recent tedious illness, yet everything bespoke the simple, hardy soldier, who knows but few wants. He has a fine eye, full of character, and a pleasing cheerful manner; but, though free from coarseness, he does not possess the polish and kingly bearing of his father, nor yet his marked and winning courtesy. It is said that he does not like Europeans, but that he most admires the English for their distinguished solid qualities, which are more congenial to his own practical taste than mere outside appearances. In his public conduct

he appeared to me to act as most befits the warrior of renown, observing a due sense of importance without vanity, and a manly modesty as regards his own achievements.

When I told him, that of the most recent military events, none had excited a more general topic of conversation in Europe than his last campaign in Syria against the locusts, he related the circumstances with much humour—how he had opened the attack in person by filling his tarbush with these formidable animals, and throwing the contents into the sea. The whole army, provided with sacks, followed his example, and by bivouacking for three days in the neighbourhood under aggression, they completely attained their object in destroying them. In fact, the preservation of an entire province, which would have been desolated for years, is solely owing to this novel attack of Ibrahim. The accumulation of the locusts thus destroyed amounted to several ships' cargoes.

Ibrahim understands how to employ his soldiers in peace as well as in war, and notwithstanding considerable opposition, in the first instance, on the part of the Turkish officers, he has ordered them to be employed upon roads, canals, and other public constructions. I have already alluded to Ibrahim's passion for agriculture and every species of cultivation, which he pursues with the utmost avidity upon all his own estates. He is also very liberal in helping others to carry on these plans, although he is, on the whole, far more particular than his father, and is what we should call a good landlord. I have often heard him reproached, both in Europe and in Egypt,

with being addicted to drinking. This was certainly true at an earlier period of his life, but he is entirely reformed in this respect ; and I know from undoubted authority that, although he is fond of good wine, he is not more so than every wealthy Englishman, and that champagne is his favourite nectar ; and in this respect his taste resembles that of the fair sex. He is at present restricted to the water of the Nile, which I much lamented, as he is said to give capital European dinners, and to keep one of the most distinguished French *artistes* in his kitchen. I am not without the merit of rendering some service to his cellar, by furnishing, at his request, his *factotum*, M. Bonfort, with the addresses of the most famous houses for procuring hock, Hungarian wines, champagne, and Bordeaux—an act which was not altogether without some little egoism on my part, as I hope to enjoy the benefit of it when I visit Syria next year.

Ibrahim was very anxious to understand the organisation of the Prussian *Landwehr*, or militia, which is so erroneously represented by foreigners as a mere national guard ; while, in truth, the *Landwehr* constitutes our actual army, for which the lines, if I may so speak, only serve as the preparatory school ; for to it are attached all the permanent teachers, as well as the ever-varying recruits, till the whole nation, after passing through this wholesome discipline, attains to the finished soldier.

He at once caught at my explanation, however imperfectly conveyed, and seemed to approve the system ; but he clearly discerned that it was not

adapted to oriental modes of government, and that its adoption, even in many European states, would be attended with risk. He expressed his surprise that, notwithstanding this arrangement, the expenses of our army amounted to nearly one half of the revenues of the state; but when I explained, that we were thus enabled, in the event of a war, to take the field in a few weeks with 300,000 to 400,000 men, whereas a standing army of this strength would cost infinitely more than could be raised by the whole country, he did not consider the result purchased at too dear a price; for it seems that Ibrahim Pasha is not one of those who look for an unbroken peace.

His description of the siege of Acre was animated and full of interest, and I was much struck with some of his remarks. Though six or seven of his Turkish generals and superior officers were present, he was exclusive in his commendation of the Arab soldiers, and said:—"It is impossible for any troops in the world to display a spirit of more enduring bravery than mine, and whenever an instance of indecision or cowardice occurred in the army, it was invariably on the part of the Turkish officers; I know of no such example among the Arabs." These words are remarkable as indicating what I had previously heard asserted, that Ibrahim inclines decidedly to the policy which regards the dominion and dynasty of Mehemet Ali as Arabian, a revival of the ancient caliphate; from which alone it expects permanence and greatness, and not in any way as a branch of the Turkish sovereignty.

My own individual opinion coincides with his view

of the case, for the Arabs appear to me a nation endowed with perpetual youth, at any period as capable of the most lofty elevation as of relapsing for centuries into a state of nature; while the Turks may justly be denominated a withered nation, whose part in the history of the world is come to an end. Under these impressions, Ibrahim has advanced some of the Arabs in his army to the rank of subaltern officers; yet he has not ventured to proceed any further, though he would doubtless do so at once in the event of a new war. I hail this *penchant* of Ibrahim as a happy omen for the future prosperity of his dynasty; which, I am firmly convinced, cannot be identified too closely with the Arabian nation, in order to give a solid basis to its authority. The Turkish Mamelukes, deriving their descent from various nations, will long continue to be indispensable, as they are, both from power of habit as well as from personal interest, bound by the securest ties to their sovereign; yet a point will be gained if the natives are not excluded from public offices.

After an animated conversation, which lasted an hour, I took leave of the presumptive heir of the kingdom, who saluted me with the utmost good nature in the European fashion, and laying his open hand upon his tarbush. Yet, at the commencement of the audience, a circumstance occurred which threatened a speedy and less agreeable termination to our interview.

As soon as I had taken my seat upon the ottoman, by the side of the prince, coffee was served, and a

pipe presented to the Pasha, but none to myself. In the first flush of conversation this escaped me, but when it suddenly occurred to me I instantly felt myself called upon to notice it, and endeavoured to express in my countenance my sense of the slight. I was silent, and returned no answers to the questions which were addressed to me. The undisguised surprise manifested by Ibrahim at once convinced me that the blame of the omission rested not with him, but solely with his attendants, yet I remained silent, and was about to rise and retire from the kiosk without taking leave, when he perceiving the cause, immediately called aloud for a pipe for me. I at once resumed the conversation where I had broken off, as if nothing had occurred. I was not considered guilty of arrogance or ridiculous vanity—I claim but little as an individual, but whatever distinction had been conceded to me by Mehemet Ali, I had a right to demand from every one of his subjects, even though he were the heir to the throne. In fact, there is no nation to whom we can apply more justly than to the Turks, the sentiment which Goethe puts into the mouth of the worldly-wise Mephistopheles—

“Mein Freund, das wird sich Alles geben;
Sobald du dich vertraust, weisst du gut leben.”

You quickly become, in the opinion of others, what you are in your own bearing and estimation, and in none more so than in that of the Turks.

I left Ibrahim at eleven in the forenoon, which gave me ample time to visit various manufactories and the Polytechnic-school during the remainder of

the day. This name, as an imitation of the Parisian institution, is too assuming, and what in itself is commensurate and laudable acquires an air of the ridiculous, as a copy after such a model. It is under the direction of a young man who was educated in England, and he has so thoroughly acquired the language and manners of an Englishman, that I at first took him for a native. This extreme facility in assuming foreign cultivation, learning foreign languages, and making rapid progress in hitherto unknown sciences, is in fact a characteristic quality in the Egyptians; but they must beware lest they too soon regard themselves as having learned their trade. The former beautiful palace of the ill-fated Ismael Pasha is fitted up for the Polytechnic-school, and, like all similar institutions in Egypt, its internal arrangements and management are admirable. I do not pretend to be a competent judge of the studies that are carried on there, nor indeed had I sufficient opportunity for close inspection; I saw, however, some capital drawings, especially in the branch of mechanics, but I was less satisfied with those belonging to the class of the fine arts.

Of the manufactories, some may truly be termed colossal, and no expense has been spared in their erection. Even in England I have scarcely seen more beautiful iron foundries; and one of the cotton factories formed a perfect little town within itself, constructed with the most laudable attention to the health and comfort of the work-people, to which so little regard is had in England. All the most recent improvements have been adopted here, such as dye-

ing by steam, the preparation of steel patterns on the premises, &c. I was astonished at the perfection of the models in brass and wood, which are executed in the factory by native workmen, under the auspices of an Italian, without the assistance of foreigners; but I was yet more astonished at the effrontery with which Europeans had formerly imposed upon the Viceroy, for many models, which are now furnished for a few dollars, have at one time been charged at as many hundreds. The directors showed me one of the most notorious memorials of this imposition—three folio volumes, splendidly bound in morocco, containing nothing more than a number of patterns of printed calico, pasted on paper, such as may be obtained in Europe without the slightest difficulty, either for the mere asking, or at the very lowest possible price. Yet did a house of business not scruple to charge the Viceroy 24,000 francs for these *échantillons*, as a collection of extreme scarcity and value! Can we be surprised if, after such experience of the honesty of European Christians, Mehemet Ali should manifest some repugnance to commercial intercourse with Europe? That he did not allow himself to be deterred by such a commencement, nay, quietly suffered himself to be cheated a hundred times, only that he might the sooner attain his end, which was dearer to him than the money which he sacrificed, was truly magnanimous; and it was, at the same time, the only way in which he could hope to realise his plans of reform during his life-time.

The cloth factories produce a coarse cloth, more durable, cheaper and better dyed than our own; the

finer qualities are inferior to ours ; but as they come less within the original intentions of these factories they are only made in small quantities, and this rather for the purpose of showing what they can accomplish if required.

The paper-mills manufacture but one good description of paper, which is strong and highly glazed, such as is universally used by the Turks, and is, therefore, suited to their wants. Europeans are no longer employed in any of the numerous cotton spinneries ; and even the most complex of the machinery is either repaired on the spot or replaced by new works : an almost incredible advance in a comparatively short period.

As I am nothing of a merchant, these observations on the factories must suffice.

CHAPTER XIX.

ABOU ZABEL.

I SHALL now proceed to another institution, which is, perhaps, the most extraordinary of all those which owe their origin to the Viceroy. Yet I must first give some account of the remarkable man, without whom it would never have been called into existence.

I was furnished with letters of introduction from the worthy veteran, Sir Sidney Smith, and our celebrated surgeon, Tiefenbach, to their mutual friend, Clot Bey; to this favourable circumstance I am doubtless indebted for much of the polite and cordial attention which I received from General Clot Bey, the head of all the medical institutions in Egypt.

Clot Bey had already offered, in the most obliging manner, to take me over the various departments of his institution at Abou Zabel, but he had hitherto been prevented from fulfilling his promise by his close attendance upon Ibrahim Pasha. The 10th of February was at length fixed for our visit. Accompanied only by my obliging *cicerone*, Mr. Lubbert, and Dr. Koch, physician-general to the staff of the fleet, I repaired at an early hour into the city, to the residence of the General. He conducted us into his library, which contains many objects of natural history; among others a fine specimen of the ibis, whose identity with the ibis of the ancients seems

now to be completely established by the discovery of several very specific hieroglyphic drawings. The court-yard of the house, which opens upon a large garden, contains a very pretty little menagerie of the graceful gazelle, and other rare animals and birds, which may be obtained here with so much facility. We chatted away an agreeable half-hour in looking over these curiosities; and when, in the course of conversation, Clot Bey learned, to his great astonishment, that I had never yet travelled with a portable medicine chest, he politely presented me with one, well stored with everything needful in Egypt; it has since been my constant companion, but I am happy to say without being called into much requisition.

We set out at eleven o'clock; Dr. Lubbert and myself in a carriage belonging to the Viceroy, drawn by four horses, Dr. Koch on horseback, and Clot Bey, in order to show us the way, in a small neat gig, built at Cairo by a German saddler. We were soon in the desert, and drove rapidly over the solid sand, without road or track. On our right hand, a portion of the Mekkattam assumed the form of a royal sarcophagus; on our left rose the verdant plantations which M. Bonfort had rescued from the desert. The minarets of the proud metropolis were already merged in the clear azure of the cloudless sky, and before us we beheld nothing but an ocean of sand, which was drifted by the wind into blanched hills of every shifting form.

In about an hour we reached a café, kept by an old Arab, who carried on the noble trade of pillage at the time of the battle of Heliopolis, which was

fought in the vicinity. In this character he took part in the fight—that is, he and his party were stationed near the Mokkatam to plunder friend or foe, as might happen. Nothing could exceed the poetical language of this Arab. “Our leader, Hassan Abassah,” said he, “was the lion of the desert. Before the first ray of the sun, his noble steed carried him each morning to combat and danger. Bark, (lightning) of the purest blood of the Nedshdi, bore his name with the deed. As he departed we no longer beheld a horse, we saw only sand: in an instant—and we saw nothing.” Is not this Lord Byron?

He recollected Murat at the head of the “French Mamelukes,” spoke with reverence of Désaix “the Just,” with admiration of Kléber, whom he yet thanks for the booty which he made that day; but his enthusiasm reached its utmost pitch when he spoke of “Abou Napartee.” “Sultan Kebir,” as Buonaparte is styled in Egypt, “loved the Mussulman, and with the point of a bodkin he might have thrown down all the Mosques. We have heard that he is dead, that he died in the midst of the ocean, and that the Pashas who surrounded him beheld his soul, like a spark of fire, glancing along the edge of his sword.”

I pass over the remainder of the enthusiastic relations of this poetic Arab, as every one knows the issue of the battle of Heliopolis, in which Kléber, with his six thousand Frenchmen, defeated seventy thousand Turks. In any case they would have made the old bandit's bad coffee more palatable, and being now sufficiently recruited, we proceeded on foot to the village, which lies on the edge of the Desert, at the

distance of a few thousand paces, with a grove of citron trees in the back-ground. The grove is well called Sacred, for beneath its shade, by the side of a refreshing spring, are the remains of a very ancient sycamore, under which, tradition says, the Holy Virgin rested with the infant Saviour, on their flight into Egypt. The tree is decayed, partly from age and partly from the depredations of the pious, which have been committed for centuries. We could not resist collecting a few of its relics, and cutting some very elegant walking-sticks from the young citron trees, which closely encircle the venerable tree.

We then wandered to the yet more ancient city of Heliopolis. The walls which surrounded the extensive buildings of the Temple of the Sun, may be easily traced; within their inclosure, in a field of barley, rises a beautiful obelisk, sculptured with hieroglyphics, in good preservation, and the cartouches of Osirtesen, who reigned 2000 years before the birth of Christ; — the only remains of this once all famous sanctuary. Near it lies the unpretending farm of Boghos Bey, the Minister of the Viceroy. The whole aspect of the country is barren and dreary, and its uniformity broken only by a few palm trees.

We had ordered our carriages to meet us here, but as we could not find them, we were forced to spend a most fatiguing hour in looking for them. We however, amused ourselves in collecting many beautifully marked pebbles, which have been carried hither by some vast inundation; we also came unexpectedly upon the encampment of the caravan from Tunis, proceeding to Mecca. I was pleased to see once

more the rich costume of the Moghrebines, as they are called here ; and by a singular coincidence, I met among them a Moor of my acquaintance. As the proverb says, " Mountains and valleys quit not their places, but men may meet : " such recognitions in far distant lands are always attended with a degree of pleasure, however indifferent the person may be to us in other respects.

We were much retarded by the long search after our attendants, and it was night, with a cloudy European sunset, ere we reached Abou Zabel. For to-day, therefore, we could think only of repose and refreshment, which Clot Bey had provided in the greatest profusion.

On the following morning the General introduced to me the masters of the institution, many of whom have been educated in the school ; after the pupils of the adjoining music-school at Kaukah had saluted me with an agreeable musical treat, I commenced my *tournée*. Nothing can be more complete and appropriate than the whole of this institution, to which the only drawback is its distance from the capital. This, however, was indispensable at the commencement, as the whole undertaking, especially the departments of anatomical dissections, midwifery, &c., were so utterly abhorrent to the religious prejudices of the Mussulmans, that it would have been impolitic to bring them too immediately under their notice ; and even now, probably nothing but the stern will of Mehemet Ali, and the unwearied exertions of Clot Bey, can gradually reconcile the nation to that which is the most repulsive to their feelings. Hopes are

entertained that the time is not far distant when the government can venture upon more decided measures; in that case, it is surmised, that an exchange will be effected between Abou Zabel and Kasr-el-Ain. Such a step would be attended with considerable advantage to both institutions, whose respective localities are greatly in favour of this arrangement, because the Medical Academy and hospital are certainly more appropriate and useful in the capital, while the rural retirement and distance from the distractions of Cairo are better suited to the schools. Yet years must elapse before Kasr-el-Ain can attain that perfection in medical science for which the institution at Abou Zabel is already so greatly distinguished.

Abou Zabel stands upon the site which was occupied by the head-quarters of the Grand Vizier, during the battle of Heliopolis, the spot where it was finally decided. Its clean and neat buildings contain several court-yards, planted with trees; the university buildings, properly so called, form a large quadrangle, the centre of which is appropriated to a magnificent botanical garden, abounding in fountains of gushing water.

The kitchen occupies an isolated position in the middle of this square. I did not learn the object of this arrangement, whether for the purpose of excluding unpleasant culinary odours from the dwellings, lecture-rooms, and sick wards, or broadly to mark the distinctions between the animal and the intellectual; or, possibly, it may have originated in the practice of the well-known French physician, who,

on his first summons to the house of a wealthy patient, was wont, as a preliminary step, to give a liberal fee to the cook, as his best purveyor to the sick.

Yet, whatever my ignorance may be in regard to the kitchen, I must not neglect to bestow the higher encomium upon the dispensary—the most elegant, fragrant, and complete which I have ever seen; it has a large laboratory connected with it, and various collections, which are interesting even to the uninitiated; for instance, specimens of every description of tea and coffee, arranged in richly cut glass cases, and an assemblage of such delicious perfumes, and costly essences, that a confectionery itself could scarcely offer greater attractions. Only drugs of the finest qualities are permitted to be used; and the same strict attention to order, cleanliness, and discipline prevails here, as in the wards of the hospital. An attendant who is found guilty of the slightest omission is instantly punished; and on a repetition of the offence, he is put in chains—a mode of punishment which has been substituted by Clot Bey, as more humane and efficacious than the kurbatch, or bastinado upon the soles of the feet, which is customary in this country.

The institution contains a small cabinet of natural history, and a fine collection of anatomical preparations, which represent with the utmost fidelity the minutest detail of the wonderful fabric of the human body; and the magazines for stores of all descriptions are amply provided. Many of the arrangements appeared to be new, and worthy of imita-

tion; thus the walls of the various lecture-rooms are carefully painted, not with useless ornaments, but with a chart of the heavens, the planetary system, mathematical figures, an immense map of the world, &c., which must produce a lasting impression, from being always before the eyes of the pupils.

Our eyes, however, encountered in the same saloon a far less attractive spectacle—the dissection of a very offensive body. No Mussulman could have turned away in more thorough disgust from this nevertheless useful subject than I did; and the sight haunted me up the stairs into the dormitories. In lieu of the tables and bedsteads used at Kasr-el-Ain, Clot Bey has fitted up niches and cupboards against the walls, which occupy less space and are at the same time more secure and durable. I noticed that the beds were regularly covered in the alternate dormitories with white and gray blankets. On my asking whether this had any meaning, Clot Bey answered, laughing, “None, save my love of order. I was supplied with the coverlets of the two colours, but felt annoyed by the want of uniformity which they occasioned; hence the present arrangement; but,” added he, “I had a good deal of trouble to make my Arab inspector understand it. He was perpetually saying, ‘Why this useless trouble?—will the young people be more warmly covered?’” A very national reply.

The whole of the quadrangle has a broad, flat, terrace roof, which forms a delightful promenade in the cool of the day; the interior overlooks the varied foliage of the botanical garden, while the farther side commands other planted court-yards, with the

white, shifting sand-hills of the Desert beyond them. The lectures are often delivered on these terraces.

We next repaired to the neat amphitheatre, which is not inferior to the one at Montpellier, to attend the lecture on experimental physics. The seats were occupied by Arab students, dressed in uniform, and wearing broad white straps round the waist, fastened with large metal plates. I think it must be owing to these plates, combined with the humidity of the atmosphere to-day, that not one of the electrical experiments proved successful. The instruction was carried on very ingeniously, in the following manner :—

The lecture was given by a French professor in his own language, and translated, sentence by sentence, into their native tongue by an Arabian professor, who had been educated at Paris ; this was a task of no ordinary difficulty in subjects of pure science, as he was required to render many technical expressions into a less cultivated language ; indeed, it seemed to cost the young man some trouble, to judge by the perspiration which flowed down his face.

At one time the Arabs could boast of the most renowned physicians in the world—they will be indebted to Clot Bey should they ever attain a second epoch of fame. He has himself set them an example, and performed several operations, in which no one had hitherto been successful. At the same time, it must be recorded to his honour, that he does not derive pecuniary advantages from the majority of these operations—nay, sometimes he even pays his needy patients. One man, whom he relieved of an

enormous tumour, weighing 120lbs., brought an action of damages against him. He was a sort of buffoon, and employed his monstrous deformity as a means of raising alms in the coffee-houses and other places of amusement. He accused Clot Bey of depriving him of this source of gain, and demanded a pension, which the generous surgeon did not refuse.

Near Abou Zabel, and connected with it, is a repetition of nearly a similar arrangement of buildings, for the purposes of a veterinary school. It was again my misfortune to stumble upon the dissection of a putrid horse, which was yet more intolerable than the human subject. Instead, therefore, of waiting for the completion of the toilette of the worthy director, who hastily plunged into the waters of a fountain, that he might do the honours of the institution, I hastily retreated to the department of midwives, in another section of the establishment.

This institution of Arabian midwives, among whom were many very pretty young women, is under the direction of a Parisian *demoiselle*, who fills the office of professor. To one of the unlearned, there was something excessively ridiculous in the precision and confidence with which this *demoiselle* explained the mysteries of her art; but the subsequent examination of the Arab peasant girls proved that they possessed quite as much learning *in puncto puncti*, far beyond what I could ever have hoped to attain. One of them, who was scarcely fourteen, placed herself on a stand before a large skeleton, first explained every bone, then the circulation of the blood, finally, the various gradations of the embryo, and all this with

more readiness than most girls of her age in Europe would read off a washing bill. Clot Bey was so enraptured with her erudition that he presented her with a gold coin. After a long examination in the theory, they concluded by giving practical proofs of their skill upon an artificial preparation ; and, to the honour of the institution, it must be confessed that the accomplished experience of the Parisian *demoiselle* was but rarely called for, even in the most critical moments.

With so much of the ludicrous in these exhibitions, at which M. Lubbert's stealthy *bon mots* raised an ill-suppressed laugh, it would be unjust to deny their extreme utility, or the beneficial influence of Clot Bey, to whose superior understanding even the Ulemas have cheerfully yielded their deep-rooted prejudices. "*Il n'y a que des mauvais sujets comme nous, qui rient de tout,*" said I to M. Lubbert, quoting Voltaire, and entreated him not to get me into a scrape, for Clot Bey, who is as fiery as gunpowder, and the Parisian *demoiselle*, who did not understand a joke, began to perceive our stifled mirth with evident displeasure.

Well, all life terminates in death, and every day with a dinner. Though Clot Bey, when he dines by himself, is never more than a few minutes at table, yet he knows how to act the patient and courteous guest when he entertains *gourmands*, and to give zest to his excellent fare by the most agreeable conversation. The arrival of the venerable Archbishop and Patriarch of the Catholic Greeks, from Damascus, attended by four priests, added another and interesting guest to our party. He is a very fine hale old

man, possessing the corpulency of a *bon vivant*, and the animated good-humoured look of a wily Italian. While discussing a bottle of champagne, in which he pressed me to join, he explained to me the points on which the Greek schismatics dissent from the true Greek Church. I think he said there were five articles, all of equal importance. For instance, purgatory; which the schismatics, as the venerable Patriarch justly observed, deny only in words, for they recognise it practically by reading mass. Then they will not tolerate saints, either male or female, which he deemed impious; and thirdly, they prefer leavened to unleavened bread, which must be very nauseous. I do not recollect the two other controverted points, but we may judge from those that have been cited, how utterly impossible it is that two such diametrically opposite sects should ever live on terms of peace!

I received great honour in the course of the conversation, for I was the first person who apprised the Patriarch and his suite of the existence of the sacred Tree of the Virgin, which this prelate of the church, mounted on his white palfrey, had passed in the utmost unconsciousness. Immediately on hearing of the tradition from my secular lips, he resolved to atone for his omission by extraordinary devotion on the morrow.

We parted from our obliging host with many good wishes.

CHAP. XX.

DEPARTURE.—THE PYRAMIDS.

BELOVED and much honoured German reader!

Permit me to avail myself of this favourable opportunity to send thee a respectful salute from the summit of the loftiest Pyramid at Ghizeh. Beyond the boundless verdant Delta, which now glows in evening twilight—beyond the azure main, which in the far, far distance laves this Delta—and in fine, beyond all the other sunny lands which are washed yon side by this beauteous sea, where thou art rejoicing in thy fruitful, temperate clime—think of me with the same complacency with which I think of thee, and cease not to manifest thy wonted magnanimous leniency towards the many short-comings of thy faithful correspondent, although an English-Scottish review has assured thee, with profound gravity, that I have only once been worthy of appearing in an *English* dress. And across this desert waste, which so drearily and wearily embraces the loveliest verdure, I greet you also, ye valiant champions who have voluntarily broken so many a lance for that distant friend whom the East has for years held in tender, pleasing thralldom.

Yet, as a true Christian, I greet you too, ye unrelenting foes, who are so nearly akin to the scorched and arid waste around me. Both well-known and

anonymous, I greet you, ye highwayman critics ; and more especially you, ye demure souls on the sterile banks of the Spree, who would so gladly throw its dust into the eyes of the worthy German public, and have hitherto been defeated in your purpose, only because they have always been so uncivil as to turn their back upon you. And now, having made peace with my native land, I turn towards the east, and permit my enraptured eye to rest on Old Father Nile, and Cairo's innumerable palaces and towers, surmounted by the Mokkatam's gorgeous, frowning castle. And there I greet thee—thee, Mehemet Ali—the mighty, the restorer of the civilisation of Egypt, the creator of a happier futurity for millions, and the most enlightened son of the East.

And just below my feet I salute the Sphinx,* which, though mute for thousands of years, still speaks so loudly to us of past glory and greatness—of wonders which are too incredible for our times—of enigmas which nobody has yet entirely solved ; though an inspired Frenchman, whom death has too soon snatched away, commenced so victoriously to raise the veil.

And looking up to the stars, which begin slowly to penetrate the coming twilight, I lastly salute thee, Posterity ; thou wilt know more than we do, at least of the past, if not of the future, and perhaps wilt establish one of thy professional chairs at the foot of the same pyramid, from the summit of which, as Napoleon expressed it, “ forty centuries look down upon us.” “ The world is a wheel,” as Mehemet Ali

* Herod. ii., 175.

says, and he who can maintain his place upon it as long as the Pyramids, may, perhaps, when the revolution is accomplished, see the same relations again, as nothing is to be apprehended for the material preservation of these strange monuments for centuries to come, unless, indeed, the English antiquary should finally blow them up, out of love to art. We have just seen one of the most zealous amateurs, who daily employs some hundred Bedouins to bore the patient monuments, at all corners and angles; even the Sphinx is pierced by the help of a rod, in order to discover whether it is solid or hollow in its body, as unhappily too many living statues are in their head. The instruments, however, prove too weak; one of them breaks after another, and at present the advantage in this violent conflict is on the side of the victorious monuments. They lose, indeed, a few stones on the field of battle, but the enemy still stands impotent, and their secret recesses are closed against him. But joking apart, I have confidence in the gallant and worthy Colonel Howard Vyse, and that by his perseverance and acuteness, he, sooner than many others, will at length make important discoveries; every stranger must certainly be grateful that he employs a portion of his workmen in clearing the rubbish out of the passages in the two largest Pyramids, and thus renders them in some degree accessible to the antiquary. He has found some hitherto unknown small chambers, and even hopes that he is not far from discovering a large apartment, under the supposed royal tomb. It will, however, now be better to begin my narrative at the beginning.

His Highness the Viceroy had already set out on foot the night before for Upper Egypt, where he had the goodness to say he would expect me, as I was not quite ready to accompany him. I could not, however, venture to delay any longer, and therefore reserved, till my return, the inspection of everything that I had still to see in Cairo. On the 21st of February I left the capital, accompanied by Dr. Koch, nephew of the celebrated physician of Munich, of the same name, and physician to the general staff of the Egyptian fleet, whom Mehemet Ali had had the goodness to give to me as my travelling Esculapius. Dr. Koch and I were both very conveniently quartered in two good canjas, with which the government had, with its usual munificence, furnished me. My small suite consisted, besides the Doctor and his servant, of a kawass of the Viceroy, my dragoman Giovanni, my valet de chambre Ackermann, a Greek page from Candia, named Jannis, an Arabian cook, who understands something of the French culinary department, and a young Abyssinian slave; and in order to render the inevitable *ennui* attending on a long journey by water, even along the classic banks of the Nile, rather less monotonous, I took care not to go unprovided with objects of interesting study and amusement with me on board.

Colonel Warin having very kindly invited us to partake of a cheerful farewell repast at Ghizeh, we accordingly set out thither.

It was not till the following morning that I took leave of the most friendly of all hosts, in a garden planted by himself; for Colonel Warin loves, like Cincinnatus, to gain with careful hand from the

earth its most precious and innocent treasures; and is, besides, as learned a botanist as he is an able soldier. I here admired a number of plants with which I was entirely unacquainted, such as a young specimen of a gigantic tree from Kourdafan, which had grown from the seed in one year to the height of several ells; the sensitive acacia, with its fine flavour; the crimson orange, from Shoubra, a shrub, the flowers of which, resembling the rose in their form, are white in the morning, pink at noon, and blue in the evening;—like the state coat of the late conjuror Beyris, at Brunswick, and many other characters.

Amidst these flowers I took leave of my kind and intelligent *cicerone*, M. Lubbert, which was equally painful to me. Truly, if the word amiable did not exist, it must be invented for M. Lubbert's sake. Young and Old France are blended in him as we do not often find them; and though he is out-and-out a Frenchman, he displays only the agreeable side of that nation. The most flattering politeness, and even, cheerful spirits, an inexhaustible fund of conversation, the art of relating as well as of listening, a sprightly wit, without gall or too much *médiance*, united with the most delicate tact, and the self-possession of the great world, render M. Lubbert one of the most agreeable companions that I know; and I heartily regret that I am not a great man, to attach him for ever to my person. M. Lubbert, who occupies an important sphere of action here, and has lately been appointed historiographer of Egypt, filled in France, as I have

already said, the office of a *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi*; but at the same time had the direction of the royal theatres, under the nominal minister, as long as Charles X. reigned; an office which frequently brought him into familiar contact with the royal family and with the whole court, and gave him opportunities which furnished him with an ample fund of the most piquant anecdotes. A person who can at pleasure stand behind the scenes of a court and of a theatre, sees much in various points of view; and no person is better aided by his memory and versatility than M. Lubbert, continually to season his conversation with reminiscences of this sort. The sudden transition from the manager of a theatre to the post of historiographer and councillor, in the department of the interior, seems rather a venturesome leap; but as the theatre is the mirror of the world, and the world itself is only a theatre on a larger scale, he will be able, as an able man, to make his way in his new sphere, and likewise as director of the military school at Tourah.

Before we finally quitted Ghizeh we crept into a hot oven, in order to see eggs hatched by art (I beg the reader not to be apprehensive that I shall give him a description of it); and, after viewing this chicken manufactory, we inspected another in which sal ammoniac is prepared, and then went into the boundless fields of clover, which were waving in the fresh wind; the fields were animated by all the horses and asses of the neighbourhood, which are sent at this season to grass for many months, and there with

their feet tied together are left to themselves to eat without interruption: this is one of the most injurious and foolish customs of the East, of which I shall say more hereafter. The way appeared long, for the pyramids deceive one in a remarkable manner in regard to their true distance. You imagine, even at Cairo, that they are close at hand; and when you are at Ghizeh, you must travel for several leagues further before you reach them.

At the border of the Desert we were received by half-a-dozen Bedouins, who importuned us to take them for guides; and though we assured them that we did not want more than two of them, it was impossible to get rid of them. My eyes at once eagerly sought for the colossal Sphinx, which was entirely cleared a few years ago, but has since been again buried by the sand up to the neck, so that only its head is now to be seen. Its features are clearly discernible in the distance; but, near at hand, mutilated as it is, it becomes a shapeless mass, on which, however, a great part of the red paint, with which it was once covered, is still preserved. In its present state it looks more like a mushroom than a head, and rather lowered my expectations, which were raised too high. I must also honestly confess, that the pyramids themselves did not make a much more favourable impression on me, and did not appear nearly so imposing close by as at a distance; a fate which often attends great men on earth, as well as these gigantic pyramids. On ascending them there is a change in this respect, but not in the degree which I expected; and if a comparison

can make the thing more plain, I must say that the cathedral of Strasburg, for instance, both at its foot and at its summit, produced a far more powerful effect on my feelings.

It was already too late to-day for any further researches. Having, therefore, arranged a lodging in a cavern, which served for the foundation of another little pyramid long since destroyed, and pitched our tents round about it—(close to the sandy ravine at its entrance, in the midst of the Desert, four palms and three sycamores are still standing)—we contented ourselves, for this evening, with a total impression of all we had seen, however scanty it was. I only looked down into some mummy pits, from fifty to sixty feet deep, and considered the sarcophagi of green granite, covered with many hieroglyphics, which had been brought up, and were now lying about in pieces; then paid a visit to Colonel Vyse, who has already introduced some comfort into the most habitable of the catacombs, and erected a little colony, elegantly fenced in with barriers of reeds; and then, by the light of the stars, fell quite wearied into the kind arms of Morpheus, full of expectation of what the next day might bring forth.

The consuls of Austria and France, with Messrs. Linant and Cavillia, had intended to accompany us, but they all gave us the slip. A courier had summoned M. Lesseps to Alexandria; the death of Madame Champion detained M. Laurin at Cairo; M. Linant had to attend to his dam; and Captain Cavillia, as I suppose, to wait for his familiar spirit; for he had suddenly set out upon a journey without

telling anybody about it. The only companion who now remained to us was, however, a very great original; an old man eighty years of age, half blind, but still more vigorous in the endurance of fatigue than many a young man; and so thoroughly acquainted with the pyramids and catacombs, that one might fancy he had passed his whole life in the obscurity of these mysterious habitations.

This singular old man, who perfectly resembles a pair of Egyptian nut-crackers, never sleeps even in his own dwelling at Cairo, except in the open air, whatever the state of the weather may be; a *régime* to which he is probably indebted for the lamentable condition of his red swollen eyes. His dress is thoroughly Arabian, that is, he is half-naked, wearing a large shirt with sleeves, and slippers, and in case of need, a cloak thrown over him; this is all. He has had a coffin made for himself, on which he takes his dinner once a month, as a singular *memento mori*. With respect to other earthly matters, he is nominally interpreter to the French Consulate; that is, without any actual duties, and at the same time deals, without making extravagant pretensions, in antiquities of all kinds. His name is Msarra, as he pronounces it: whether he is a Christian or a Mussulman, I really forgot to inquire; at all events he is a philosopher, for he bears the evils of this world with great patience, and does not fear death. He is, however, chiefly known in the world, from his having accompanied my revered friend General Minutoli, when he opened the great Pyramid of Sakkarah, a subject about which it is rather dangerous to lead him to speak, for when

he once begins, he never ends. Msarra insisted that we should first of all visit a shaft discovered by him, at the bottom of which there is a sarcophagus of rose-coloured granite, which the new owner of it would be happy to exchange for a much less weight in metal, and I half complied with his desire, that is, I looked, and crept, and stretched out my limbs, but I did not purchase.

I then left the old man at the foot of the smallest pyramid, in order to ascend it. It is built with larger blocks of stone than any of the others, and is in part still ornamented with marble and granite facings, and seems to have been in general the most elegant, though the smallest, of the whole group. It is that of which Herodotus relates the well-known fable of the king's daughter, and the ascent to the very summit is by no means difficult. The endeavours to reach its sanctuary have hitherto proved unavailing; though Colonel Vyse has already, with incredible labour, penetrated a small opening fifty feet deep, on the north side, the desired result is not yet accomplished. Preceding attempts to find an entrance on other sides have likewise failed: sometime ago an Arab offered to disclose to Msarra the real entrance for 1000 piastres, which he affirmed was made known to him by tradition.

The acceptance of the proposal was delayed too long, and when they had made up their mind to avail themselves of it, they found that the Bedouin had died in the meantime. For my own part, I believe, from what I have observed, that it is all labour in vain to make any attempts in this manner, and that

the real exalted personages in whose honour these sepulchral monuments were erected, are not to be looked for within, but always below them.* The same may be said of the largest as of the smallest; and, if the first is really, either the tomb of Pharaoh Souphis, according to Champollion, or of Cheops, according to Herodotus, the small unadorned chambers discovered in it, in which the two great sarcophagi stand, were certainly no royal sepulchres, but only those of subordinate persons or priests, and the venerable old king remains undisturbed where Herodotus indicates, that is, in the centre of the rock, over which the gigantic stone tumulus was afterwards erected; for, after all, these rude beginnings of art, without sculpture, and without hieroglyphic writings, were nothing more than tumuli of stone, though, at the time of Herodotus, they were again surrounded with the ornaments of art, (which had improved in the meantime,) with temples, sphinxes, colossi, courts, and avenues, all of which had hieroglyphics, while the primeval monuments were left with religious awe in their original simplicity.† Nay, it is not impossible, that several of the insignificant, low, narrow passages and chambers, which are so entirely out of proportion to the immense masses of stone, that there is scarcely

* In fact, a sarcophagus without hieroglyphics has since been found in the ground, under the pyramid, but it was empty and damaged, and therefore the sanctuary must long since have been profaned by persons looking for treasures.

† The hieroglyphics, said to have been lately discovered by Colonel Vyse, in the interior of the Great Pyramid, are not carved in the stone, but only traced, as with a finger dipped in paint, and have perhaps been lately pencilled on the wall.

room in them either to kneel or to lie down, were scooped and built in the pyramids for certain purposes of the priests, as shafts are driven into the rocks, and, as we ourselves have of late seen undertaken by the English in these colossal monuments, though less systematically, and with inferior means.

The prospect from the summit of the small pyramid is indeed very inferior to that from the great pyramid, but the disposition of the various courts and avenues, as well as the position of many ruined buildings in the neighbourhood, are best seen from hence. Of five smaller pyramids that stand in a row immediately before the small one, three are in a tolerable state of preservation; one of them rises in broad steps or platforms, whereas in all the others the layers of stone are indeed placed one above the other in such a manner as to facilitate the ascent, but, compared with the whole mass they are low and narrow, and far too much dilapidated to afford to the eye the effect of regular steps; and, therefore, the pyramids, when you are near them, look almost like rudely piled up conical masses of stone, in which scarcely a trace of regular masonry is discernible.

This very materially diminishes the grand effect which the impression of the whole is calculated to produce. When they were still covered with smooth hewn stones, and with shining stucco (as a small portion of the summit of the second pyramid still remains), and in this manner presented immense level surfaces on every side, and the lower buildings standing near afforded a criterion of their gigantic elevation, they must undoubtedly have had a more

imposing effect. Now, I repeat it, they disappoint even moderate expectation; but the exterior of the pyramids disappoints you even less than the mean, winding passages made only for serpents and jackals in the interior, as well as the insignificant, useless, bare chambers of the two great pyramids, which appear quite absurd by being so low.

As soon as we had descended from "the little pyramid," as it is called, for indeed it is still an enormous mass, we proceeded into the bowels of the largest. The rude, but boldly constructed colossal entrance, resembling a work of the Druids, is the only part which produced an effect of grandeur upon me; for, as I have observed, passages in which you can scarcely turn, except bent like a fiddle-bow, nor penetrate unless by crawling on your chest, and, after all your pains, lead at length into a sanctuary, which consists only of a couple of miserable dark chambers, of the dimensions of a servants' room, the walls of which are covered with dusky slabs of granite, once polished but now quite dull, without a trace of writing, ornament, or sculpture, appeared to me to be as little worthy of admiration as the two plain stone coffins which are here seen, and least of all for one who has beheld the sublime art of the Egyptians and its real wonders in Thebes. The latter, it is true, were at this time unknown to me; yet, without the comparison, the first impression on me was no other than I now describe; and as I am no learned archæologist who looks for discoveries, I endeavour only to give the reader a true and intelligible picture of the whole, conformably to the individual impression which

it produced on me, and which is generally wanting in the accounts given by the learned.

With my usual perseverance I went through all that has been opened, and afterwards by means of ladders crept into the holes which have been partly discovered of late, and partly at a time already forgotten (for instance, what is called David's son's chamber). All this is very fatiguing and heating, but not at all dangerous, except perhaps the descent into the well, 280 feet deep, merely by means of notches cut into the wall, from what is called the hall of the Queen, who perhaps was only a lady of the court, to the lowest passage, which constantly declines, and terminates in a natural cavern in the rock, near the middle of the pyramid, and actually in its very foundation. On the opposite side, another narrow horizontal passage leads from this cave still farther towards the centre, and then suddenly terminates. Here perhaps is the key to what is more deep and unknown. At this spot I think active research should be made, for here the king must lie, if indeed there is a king here, in the heart of the rock, formerly surrounded by a canal drawn from the Nile, as the father of history describes it, without indeed having seen it himself, and given us no other security than the questionable authority of the priests.

The air-holes which are found in the wall, in the room called "the hall of the King," have been followed for above one hundred feet, as we were assured; and Colonel Vyse is of opinion that he has discovered their issue above, but all this is extremely unimportant.

It was many hours before we had worked our way

out of the sepulchral cavern, and greeted the balmy air, and sank wearied to death on the gigantic blocks at the entrance; and here we ate oranges and drank coffee, and felt ourselves so astonishingly refreshed by this judicious *intermezzo*, that I, boldly casting my eye upwards, attained my object to-day on the outside also, that is to say, reached shortly before sunset the top of the pyramid, which is five hundred feet high. We easily gained the summit in fifteen minutes, delighted by one of the most glorious prospects, or at least one of the most peculiar, though it resolves itself into a few great masses. The Desert, which wore a roseate tinge, with more than fourteen large pyramids, namely, those of Ghizeh itself, and then those of Abousir, Sakkarah, and Dashour, most of them at a highly favourable distance, is not the least attractive object in this triple union of city, verdant plain, and ocean of sand. We observed that within four years, when Dr. Koch was here for the first time, it seemed that, according to his account of what it then was, a large portion of the desert towards the pyramids, must have been cultivated; which was very discernible from the colour of the earth, for the new arable land under the green, looked still sandy and of a bright colour, whereas the old land was only dark black mould. Thus modern cultivation will again call into existence flourishing fields and gardens close up to the ancient monuments, as was doubtless the case in the early ages, for, though the ancient Egyptians always liked to place the necropolis on the border of the desert, as a beautiful emblem, yet I do not believe that they

designedly erected them in the midst of the sand. The desert has, of course, first swallowed up the monuments nearest to it, on the decline of civilisation; and the tombs of the caliphs, near Cairo, are now also in the desert, though we know for certain, that at the time of their erection they were surrounded with fine gardens and orange-groves. We must not ascribe to so sensible and far advanced a nation as the Egyptians were, anything so absurd as it would have been to erect their sublimest monuments, the tombs of all their cities, so remotely as in the middle of the desert, as they in part now appear. These monuments, as genuine symbols of death, were rather placed at the borders of the living verdure; and beyond them, began the mysterious, boundless, unknown desert.

My companions found the descent much more difficult, and more giddy, than the ascent. I was of a different opinion; and as I was the last to gain the summit, so I was now the first to reach the bottom much before the rest, for it is troublesome to climb up steps three feet high, but to jump down in regular time is a real pleasure, which agreeably reminds old people, such as I am, of the days of their boyhood. The whole affair is in fact a mere trifle for all who know how to make use of their legs; a bold climber might safely lay a wager to ascend the great pyramid three times in one day; and a man must be more timid than an old woman, to find anything dangerous in it. The case is rather different with the second pyramid, which we ascended on the following morning, especially close to the smooth

summit. It is within a few feet as high as what is called the Great Pyramid, but of smaller circumference at its base, and consequently more steep, and the steps are much more damaged than those of the Great Pyramid.

It was easy to perceive, on reaching the top, from the almost total absence of inscriptions of modern names, that very few persons have visited it, yet some have climbed even over the smooth part to the very pinnacle. This, however, is not practicable except by means of ladders tied together, and with many preparations. It is said that a French soldier, when Napoleon visited the Pyramids, ascended to the very summit with the assistance only of his own limbs. This must have been the Mazurier, otherwise I cannot easily believe it. However this may be, I myself ascended as high as ordinary *dilettante* can do without artificial help; and there I carved, on one of the smooth slabs, the title, Christian and surnames, of my beloved Julia, as M. de Chateaubriand caused his to be inscribed by proxy on the Great Pyramid; but those of my friends who know the decided aversion to all locomotion, especially to ascending an eminence, even a single pair of stairs, which the above-mentioned amiable lady has always had, as she is used to no other motion than that of sitting, lying and walking, will certainly be not a little surprised to find her here set down as a decided mountain-climber, in a place where only eagles and vultures are wont to rest! Thus I have inscribed a little private enigma on the mysterious monument.

The inside of the second pyramid was opened by

Belzoni. The passages are a little more convenient, the chambers more numerous, and some rather larger than in the sister pyramid, equally bare and unornamented, and the object of this laborious fox's-burrow equally inconceivable. An area, hewn in the living rock, surrounds this monument, and it appears from the stones of the floor, all ready to be broken up, that it was intended to go deeper. On the smoothed, outer walls of the rock of this area, some hieroglyphics of ancient, though more of recent time, are observed, and likewise a cartouche of the great Rameses. Several remains of buildings, near the hollowed places, show cyclopean walls, exactly in the style of the great wall in the Pnyx, at Athens, and quite different from the style of the pyramids themselves. In the ruins of the avenue which led to this pyramid, are the largest blocks employed here, which are inferior only to those of Thebes.

The clear weather enticed me in the evening once more to the summit of the Great Pyramid, as it were, to take leave; and on this second visit, I could not help thinking, that a colossus must have stood on the platform at the top, as on the similar monument in the lake Mœris, though Herodotus says nothing of it. As I was on the point of mounting my horse on the following morning, to proceed on my journey, Colonel Vyse sent me word that he had at that moment discovered a new entrance into the second pyramid, for this indefatigable man is working on all three at the same time. I found this to be correct; but as this low entrance only joins an inner passage, already known, little is gained by it, and I heartily wish that

the worthy colonel may soon obtain a more brilliant result for his industry, his perseverance, and his money.

M. Cavillia, who had discovered, close to the pyramid, a singular labyrinth of apartments and passages, the plan and object of which he had not yet been able to make out, assured me at Cairo, that at a distance of some leagues in the Desert, he had discovered the foundations of pyramids, the granite blocks of which were, for the most part, crumbled into dust; whence he inferred, that if the pyramids built of sand-stone, which are still standing, are 4000 or 5000 years old, those of granite, which are now pulverised, must have been built at least ten times as far back. The little detention before-mentioned hindered me from seeing this remarkable dust with my own eyes.

As I prosecuted my way through the monotonous desert, I was almost angry with myself for being excited to a greater degree by more than one Gothic edifice of the middle ages, than by these celebrated wonders of the world; just as in earlier years the Pantheon at Rome appeared to me grander than St. Peter's church, which is twenty times as large. But I was not wrong—the triumph of art must be higher than that of mere massiveness; however, when cool reflection comes to our aid, we cannot help being astonished at these masses, with which the caprice of a king attempted to bid defiance to eternity. The three pyramids of Ghizeh contain 4,693,000 cubic metres, whence it appears that with the stones of these monuments a wall one foot thick, nine feet high, and about 1400 leagues in length, might be

built ; that is, for instance, from Alexandria across Africa, to the coast of Guinea.

Among the six Bedouins, who, during the three days that we had passed here, had remained our faithful shadows, there was one of the handsomest men that I ever saw—the perfect image of a Hercules—who, when he threw off his light garment in the vapour-bath of the royal hall, and there stood naked in the light of the torch, would have thrown any artist into ecstasies. I am a lover of beauty in every shape, and therefore endeavoured to engage him in my service ; which, however, was very difficult, because he had a wife and children and considerable property. He, however, at length resolved to accept it for high wages, the first month of which he demanded beforehand. But the character of the Bedouin is not made to serve. The gigantic fellow, who ate as much as six other men, could never be induced to do the least regular work—just like a child ; and as I do not want to keep people merely for show, I gave him notice, in a fit of displeasure at his laziness, that he must either work like other servants or immediately leave the boat. He notwithstanding showed little inclination to attend to the warning, upon which I positively ordered him to go ; this, to my astonishment, he likewise refused to do, so that I was actually obliged to desire the kawass to have him thrown perforce out of the boat if he did not go within five minutes, for which, by-the-bye, a dozen men would have been necessary.

A Turkish officer, and a servant of his Highness, is so much the terror of all Arabs, that the giant Ali

immediately complied. I of course considered the month's wages that I had paid beforehand as lost, but was not a little surprised to learn from my dragoon, on the following morning, that the Bedouin had conscientiously returned him three-quarters of the money which he received, retaining only the wages for the week that he had been in my service. This trait appeared to be worth noting down, though it will hardly be much admired by the serving classes in Europe, from the privy-councillor down to the shoe-black.

After proceeding several hours, constantly passing over sand hills quite covered with sea-pebbles,—many of which resembled those which the credulous ancients took for petrified beans and linseeds,—left by the workmen in the pyramids, we reached the ruins of the pyramids of Abousir, which are considerably smaller and less interesting than those of Ghizeh. A league and a half beyond, we came to those of Sakkarah, of which the centre one, which is the largest, and rises in broad terraces, was opened by General Minutoli. Here, therefore, Msarra, who had hitherto trotted on upon his ass half asleep and half awake, got into his element, like a fish in water; but I shall say nothing about it, and request my reader to peruse the interesting article in the admirable account given by the General himself, which describes it in the most instructive and entertaining manner.

Close to this pyramid there are some far more beautiful sarcophagi than those which we found near Ghizeh, and in the vicinity are inexhaustible catacombs of ibis, as also some burying-places, with

numerous ordinary human mummies. For a small payment, some of the latter were taken up quite perfect in our presence. The painted countenances on the coarse heads of the cases, though no works of art, appeared to me to be full of expression, especially that of a female, which had an extremely arch look. We opened two of the cases which evidently covered only common people, and found nothing in them but linen singed by the mastic that had been used, and bones that had actually become charcoal. We contented ourselves with viewing at a distance the pyramids of Dashour, which are further off, and now turned again to the Nile, towards the beautiful valley and the extensive palm-groves of ancient Memphis.

On entering this forest, the whole scene presented a most striking resemblance with our gloomy northern pine-forests. The trees, with their lofty, bare trunks and small crowns, are almost of the same shape and colour; the ground is, in like manner, composed of dry sand, with here and there some scanty blades of grass; and to complete the portrait, you see near them, half dried up, flat pools full of morass, exactly such as are so common in the March and Lausatia. It would therefore be as desolate here as with us, did not the most luxuriant meadows, clothed with the freshest verdure, produce close by an hundredfold, while the broad Nile rolls past in its proud magnificence. Added to this, antique ruins fill the woods in many places; and in a hollow near the road lies the fine colossal statue of the great Rameses (Sesostris), quite perfect from the head to the waist, but a good deal damaged in the other parts. It is

probably the same statue which formerly stood in the dromos of the temple of Vulcan, and, except that at Abou Zabel, the only statue of this Egyptian hero, the countenance of which is not damaged. Mr. Cavillia has just discovered this colossus, and presented it to the English vice-consul at Alexandria; because, formerly, every stranger who found any remnant of antiquity thought himself entitled to consider it as his own property: almost in the same manner as the inhabitants of some coasts look on the effects of persons shipwrecked.

The vice-consul, as I am informed, intends to have the head sawn off, and to sell it to the British Museum, where it may be placed next to the plunder of Lord Elgin. If this be true, I hope that his Highness the Viceroy, who is not obliged, like many other princes, to consider himself as the slave of every Englishman in office, will hinder such a deed of barbarism. To say the least, it would be an act of weakness on his part if he were not to do so; unless his opinion coincides with that of one of the first officers of the Euphrates expedition, (a man of great energy and no small talent,) who lately, with true English gallantry and self-esteem, said to the commandant at Adaneh, when he showed him the lately-erected fortifications of that place: "*Mon cher ami, avec un kurbatsh (a riding-whip) et dix mille Anglais, je vous chasserais facilement avec toute l'armée d'Ibrahim, d'ici à travers la Syrie et l'Egypte jusqu'au Senaar.*" To tell a man such truths to his face is rather too bad.

Among the ruins which lie scattered over a great extent in the forest, I saw but little worth notice:

much, however, must lie here which has been concealed for ages, under countless high hills of debris ; for even in Strabo's time the avenue of Sphinxes, beyond the lake which surrounded the whole city and led to the temple of Serapis, was half buried under the sand of the Desert. Towards sunset we rode over narrow dams, rendered necessary by the inundations of the Nile ; they are not unlike the paths in an English garden, and are made in winding lines, the better to resist the water. We soon reached the river, where our boats, which had been detained by contrary wind, arrived as if by appointment at the same moment from Cairo. We joyfully hastened on board, and I observed with pleasure the exemplary cleanliness and order of my little aquatic dwelling.

Without loss of time we proceeded southwards up the river, and soon passed Atfeh, formerly dedicated to Aphrodite ; while a delicious African night, which Venus herself seemed to have sent, wafted odorous, gentle, and voluptuous breezes around us. At sunrise we passed Joseph's canal, also called Youssef Sal-Eddin's canal, (not, however, the work of the favourite of Potiphar,) and soon discovered in the misty distance, the last of the Egyptian pyramids on the Nile, which, seen from Meidoun in the splendour of the morning sun, resembled a golden crown commanding the Desert. The great journey was now begun which was to carry us further, much further, and to begin more tragically than my fancy could have pictured.

CHAPTER XXI.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE TO THE CAPITAL OF UPPER
EGYPT.

THE latter end of February was the more especially devoted to domestic affairs, because we had determined, on account of the advanced season of the year, to tarry as little as possible by the way, and to make up for what we had neglected with the more leisure and composure on our return; though this is contrary to my fundamental principle, "Never to put off till to-morrow, what can be done to-day." But every rule has its exception, and pedants alone refuse to see this.

On the first of March, which has always been an unlucky day in my history, I was seated very comfortably in my cabin at noon, employed in writing, when a sudden squall arose, which dashed the waters of the Nile as high as those of the sea, and gave our boat such a rocking motion, that I was obliged to gather up my papers, and replace them in the portfolio. I threw myself upon the bed and called for my pipe, the constant resort and comfort of the Orientals in all their troubles. This belonged to the department of my Greek page, and, as he was on board the other boat, the dragoman called to him to bring my chibouk immediately. A few minutes afterwards, I heard loud cries and a great bustle on deck,

and, looking through my cabin window, saw three or four Arabs plunge, head-over-heels, into the river, and swim after a red tarbush which was dancing before them upon the stream. I marvelled at their taking so much trouble about such a trifle in this boisterous weather, and was looking on quite unconcernedly at their efforts to catch it, when Ackermann entered the cabin, pale as death, and informed me that Jannis, my young page, nobody could conceive how, had disappeared from the vessel, and only his tarbush was to be seen on the waters, but that he himself had not again appeared.

My consternation at this disastrous event may easily be conceived. I instantly promised a large reward, which induced several Arabs to search for the missing youth, and I had the vessel turned round, and cruised about for some hours, but all in vain. Nobody ever saw a trace of the handsome boy—he never rose again above the surface; and even his tarbush was carried away with such rapidity by the wind and current, that the ablest swimmers were not able to catch it. The circumstance that my pipe and a valuable amber mouth-piece, which the unfortunate youth always had charge of, in a tin case, were missing, convinced me that, in all probability, he was going to execute the order he had received, and in stepping from one boat to another (they were chained together on account of the weather), he must have slipped, and, falling directly into the river, had been buried in the abyss before he could call for assistance. What a painful event! and how deeply have I long lamented the poor boy, who

ended his young life in so tragical and causeless a manner. The indifference of the sailors at this heart-rending accident was very remarkable. Our reis appeared even to feel a kind of superstitious satisfaction at it. "Now," said he to my dragoman with a mysterious look, "now our voyage will be prosperous, for the Nile has taken its victim beforehand: to attempt to save *it* is always in vain."

It was not till towards evening, when every hope of finding the boy had vanished, that, with a heavy heart, I continued my voyage. We were off Beni Souëf, where I left my deposition with the governor, with all the necessary directions for further search, as well as for the interment of the body if it should be found, with the request, that I might be informed as soon as possible, of what had been done; yet up to this hour, when I am making a fair copy of this chapter of my journey in the kingdom of Senaar, I have not been able to obtain any further tidings of my faithful page, to whom I was much attached, and in every respect deservedly so.

Beni Souëf, like most of the old Egyptian villages, with their huts covered with camels' dung, has a most wretched appearance. However, as I was upon the spot, I paid a flighty visit to it, to see what was worth seeing. I first of all went to the primary-school, which contained ninety-six children, and is well conducted. I saw the boys at meals: the most indispensable part, after all, even in a school. I found their bodily nutriment excellent, but had no opportunity of judging of their intellectual food, as the scholars had a holiday. In the province of Fayoum

there are four similar schools, founded by Mehemet Ali. I next inspected a woollen manufactory, which was similar to that which I have already described, and which appeared not inferior to it, in point of order and activity of business. The large barracks for two regular regiments of cavalry were almost deserted, because the horses were at grass; and the building was, for the most part, inhabited by military workmen, for extensive clay barracks which surround a large parade, have recently been built in the immediate vicinity, for the officers and privates. I visited them, and found even the residences of the superior officers but little different from the much decried houses of the Fellahs, because these are the best adapted to the climate, being warmer in winter and cooler in summer. A fine avenue of venerable mimosas, affording a shady promenade, runs from the barracks to the Nile.

At nightfall I again embarked, and in the morning we overtook the boat of a French traveller, a Count Mercy d'Argenteau, accompanied by an amiable countrywoman, whom we saw on the deck, elegantly dressed, reading attentively. The country was probably not suited to her taste, for at this place, which was particularly beautiful, the Count turned back. It must be owned that a voyage on the Nile soon becomes tiresome, from its great monotony. I am convinced that scarcely a spot is to be found here which, if we were suddenly transported to it from Europe, would not leave a romantic impression by its foreign aspect; but *toujours perdrix*, as we well know, is *ennuyant*; and after constantly seeing

the same thing for a month together, we often heartily long for something like our native home, were it even of the most unpretending kind. Besides this, the burning sun already begins to singe the verdure of the extensive tracts hitherto so refreshing; and in a few weeks, instead of that emerald carpet, we shall have only a grey mantle of dust spread out before us. I hope, however, before that time to have proceeded further into a country where other laws of nature prevail. And besides this, the Nile is now so low, that when we are gliding along in the boat we see but little of the adjacent country; it is only when we place our foot on land that we are struck with astonishment at the extraordinary fertility of the soil, which often extends, in boundless plains, far into the interior; while in other places this fertility is interrupted by the encroachment of the Desert, which reaches to the river's edge; because the ancient canals have been neglected for centuries, and Mehemet Ali cannot restore everything.

On the 4th, 5th, and 6th of March, the first attack of the scorching chamsin, which set in uncommonly soon this year, detained us near a tobacco-field, where neither tree nor shrub afforded us the slightest protection. Though the wind, during the phenomenon, seems to issue from the mouth of a furnace, though the blood is heated by it, and the eyes look red and swollen from the continued clouds of dust which make their way everywhere, I cannot say that I found the effects so intolerable as they have been described. I felt myself quite vigorous, and even observed that I had a much better appe-

tite; but the dust was unquestionably most troublesome. The whole atmosphere is so impregnated with it, that you cannot see fifty, and often not ten paces before you. This fine dust penetrates into every place, however well closed; and, in spite of all cleaning, again lies an inch thick upon every object in a few hours. Your mouth, nose, and eyes, are constantly filled with it; but luckily we were in a water region, so that we had this element always at hand, if not as an antidote, yet at any rate as a palliative.

The sailors cared less about the chamsin than we did; they thanked Allah that it saved them from working; and sang, played, and danced, day and night. There they are hour after hour sitting in a circle on their heels, and incessantly singing the same three or four words in unison; while one of them, as a kind of precentor, occasionally introduces other strophes, with a somewhat different melody, but the others always resume the old burden.

One night six of these men, led by a half crazy santan, to whom they paid the greatest deference, attempted to perform the dance of the howling derwishes: a scene which had something so awfully terrific about it, that I shall never forget it. The atmosphere was dense and sultry; hollow gusts of wind moaned around us, and whirling clouds of dust rose up on all sides, scarcely permitting the pale light of a few stars to penetrate the strange obscurity. The dark, jagged bank of the Nile, near which our boats were anchored, appeared in an obscure and undefined outline. Close to the edge, six figures, enveloped in black clothes, fitted like

shadows to and fro in this indistinct twilight. Soon they formed a circle round the naked santon, who sang in a plaintive, agonising tone of voice, variously deeply melancholy, but by no means unmelodious strains. The shadowy circle incessantly leaped up, and then bowed down to the earth, in regular cadence, and in a deep, hoarse, half-uttered and half-suppressed and indescribable tone, which resembled the howling of an infernal monster, pronounced the word *Ajuhm*, with systematically increasing rapidity; till at length, one after the other sank down exhausted, and the sound died away in a death-like swoon.

Many of these infatuated wretches are said often to expire in an apoplectic fit; but as this dance is considered one of exalted piety, the man who loses his life in it is regarded as a happy martyr! The ceremony, however, appeared to me like a desperate conjuration of evil spirits, or an infernal dance of demons. The awful hellishness of this scene even confounded my Spartan Susannis; this brave fellow, *sans peur et sans reproche*, took refuge, at the very onset of this fiendish scene, in a corner of the vessel, and fixing his eyes on the dancers, incessantly accompanied their fearful "*Ajuhm*," to its very close, with an almost equally frightful howl in his own language.

In the night of the 6th, the chamsin suddenly changed to a storm from the north; and though this direction was very favourable to our progress, we could not venture to trust to it, in the darkness of the night, and in the immediate vicinity of the steep rocks of Djebel Itter, (the Bird-mountain)

on the Arabian side, which here runs down close to the Nile. It was not till later in the morning, when the violence of the squall was a little abated, that we could fly onwards on the wings of the wind.

The banks of the river here assumed a new, and consequently a more attractive character. The vegetation also often presented a very different appearance, and the neighbouring chain of mountains, though it consisted only of yellow sand, or naked sand-stone, was highly picturesque, on account of its singular forms. In order to have the full benefit of this favourable wind, we resolutely passed every ruin and other object of interest; and there was a peculiar charm in sailing so rapidly along, by towns, villages, rocks, catacombs, ancient temples, palm groves, and sugar plantations. The latter glowed in a bright, apple-green verdure, such as none but the painters of the water-colour pictures in the ancient monkish writings ventured to introduce.

At the termination of this chain there is a Coptic convent, and we saw, with great astonishment, a body of ten monks issue from its walls, and precipitating themselves, rather than descending the rocky declivity, leap into the tossing water, and, like so many fishes, swim in the stream after our boats, which we immediately stopped. After immense exertions, for a quarter of an hour, they happily reached our canja; but judge of my amazement, when I found that all this was to beg for two kaerieh (five francs) by way of alms!

Minieh presents a very fine appearance; it contains a palace of the Viceroy, and another of the

Governor, which has the more striking aspect of the two. The environs of the river are fresh and lovely on all sides; we had the advantage of seeing them illumed by the glowing rays of the sun, after having been involved the whole day in a dense grey fog. Immediately after the parching heat of the chamsin, the cold had become so piercing, that I was obliged to take out my cloth habiliments, and even my great-coat.

On the 8th of March the wind abated, which induced us to land near Baramoun. Here we visited the only sugar-manufactory which has hitherto been established in the country, the produce of which is sold at this place for three times the price which is paid in Cairo for foreign sugar. The buildings of this establishment have become ominous, from the circumstance, that this place unfortunately lies between the ruins of Hermopolis and Antinoë—the celebrated propylæa of which were in a perfect state of preservation, and so overpowered Denon, that he fell on his knees before one of them in an ecstasy—were lately blown up with gunpowder, and the stones employed in building this sugar-manufactory! Yet there were inexhaustible stone quarries equally near at hand, but there would have been rather more trouble in procuring the materials from thence—an ample reason in this drossy country. Yet the Turkish education, and the former ignorance of the Viceroy, may afford some palliative for this barbarism. Many generations must, perhaps, pass away, before the natives will be capable of understanding and appreciating the value of these antiquities, as works of art,

in spite of all the obsequious articles in the newspapers, which affirm the contrary.

This sugar-manufactory was shown us by a very intelligent Frenchman, who had been sent for, two months ago, to place it on a better footing; a task which he hopes to complete in a few weeks, and for which he is to receive 30,000 francs, besides the defrayal of the expenses of his journey and residence. Hitherto the sugar was manufactured in a raw brown mass by the Fellahs in their own huts, and then refined here, two, three, and even four times. That which is refined four times, costs, on the spot, 1050 piastres per cwt., while the Fellahs receive only fifty per cwt. for their raw produce: which certainly would be a handsome profit if purchasers could be found.

The Frenchman has proposed (and at the same time proved the great advantage that would result from his plan) that no sugar shall in future be manufactured by the Fellahs, but that it shall be here extracted from the cane, and then refined by means of a steam-engine; by which proceeding, as he affirms, the Viceroy will soon be able to furnish the sugar at a lower price than that for which it can be obtained from Europe. This would ensure him not only the monopoly in the country, but at the same time an immense profit. The director himself has offered to hire the manufactory and to pay a high rent, but this has been refused, as well as several other proposals that he has made, and by which he meant to obviate the *ineptie* of his Egyptian assistants, of whom he complained very bitterly, and said that the Viceroy had for some time past shown more and more disinclination to

employ Europeans, because he believed that he had no longer any need of them: in which supposition, however, he was much mistaken. I repeat these words, because they are entirely conformable to what I have already hinted.

The jealousy of the Turks towards the Europeans, and their endeavours to remove them, under the false impression that they themselves have already learnt everything necessary, gains more and more ground at the Egyptian court. This is even more the case with Ibrahim than with Mehemet Ali; but there is some excuse for the latter, for he has been so often and so inexcusably deceived by Europeans, that he begins to feel a kind of aversion from them, and, to his great detriment, occasionally suffers himself to be persuaded that he can do without them. The time, however, is not yet come; and, though Mehemet Ali is so great a man, and so worthy of admiration, yet, without the aid of Europeans he never could have executed his plans, and the durability of what he has accomplished would perhaps be still very questionable without them.

In the travels of Mr. Cadalvène, where every opportunity is taken to depreciate the Viceroy, there is an entirely false statement respecting this sugar manufactory. The author affirms, that "The inferior quality of this sugar (the real cause of which is to be sought in the ignorance of the preceding director and founder of the manufactory) is to be ascribed entirely to the inconsistency of Mehemet Ali, who, though he has on so many other occasions disregarded the prejudices of his fellow believers, has most unaccountably refused to allow the use of blood to refine the sugar,

without knowing that it is indispensable to the obtaining sugar of a good quality." In this assertion everything is erroneous. *In the first place*, the Viceroy never thought of troubling himself with such details, but the Mahometan workmen have shown a great aversion, and some hesitation, to make use of blood; a prejudice which the new director has the more readily given way to, because (the second mistake of Mr. Cadalvène) blood *is not at all* indispensably necessary to refine sugar. The director of the manufactory himself greatly prefers eggs for this purpose, and, as he says, would prefer them in Europe, if they could there be obtained in equal abundance, and at as low a price as here, where blood is much dearer, and less serviceable.

Insignificant as this matter may be in itself, I have thought it right not to pass it over, because, in its palpable superficiality and hostile intention, it is a fair specimen of the numerous similar attacks, of which the otherwise not worthless book is full.

On the 9th of March the picturesque mountains of Alboufedar, ornamented by beautiful catacombs, lay before us, on the Arabian side, for half a day. Higher up the river was a singular temple of a santon, which crowns the extreme summit of a white rock, and completely put me in mind of an ornament on a bride's-cake. Opposite to it an ochre-coloured sand-hill, in the form of a perfectly regular pyramid, arises from the Desert. After passing Minieh, we rarely saw the balancing-pails of the sakyehs on the bank drawn by oxen, their places being supplied by naked Fellahs, and the sakyehs are built smaller to suit their height.

Numerous herds of buffaloes were feeding on the banks of the river, and in many of the sandy islands there were dozens of pelicans gravely drawn up in regular files. Many water-fowls of other species here animate the Nile, and we shot some wild geese, which have a good flavour, but are difficult to get at.

Towards evening we arrived at Monfalout, which was a short time since half destroyed by the river ; it is a wretched, but still extensive village, and has many very pretty mosques. The surrounding country is beautiful ; the mountain chains of Arabia and Lybia appear, when seen from the town, to have around them an uninterrupted amphitheatre of blue mountain walls, within which there is a continued luxuriant green carpet, watered by the Nile. The doctor and I climbed to the top of a decayed house, the better to enjoy the fine prospect, but we were compelled to make a quick retreat, as the walls, which were undermined by the water, began to tremble under our weight, as if they had been shaken by an earthquake. We had, however, had time to descry the minarets of Siout rising in the rosy-tinted horizon, in the smiling panorama ; a sight that was doubly welcome, because we hoped that we should still find the Viceroy there, and likewise obtain some repose, of which we stood greatly in need. It is only a few hours' journey from Monfalout by land, but by water it took us the best part of the following day to accomplish the distance, on account of the tortuous course of the stream ; added to which, we had contrary winds.

I will here, by the way, give a piece of advice, which my subsequent experience has amply confirmed,

namely, that a traveller who is not shackled either by a delicate constitution or by views of economy, will do best, both in regard to his individual pleasure, and to the attainment of a more correct knowledge of the country, to start from Alexandria, to travel across the country by land as far as ever he may be disposed to go, and then to return by way of the Nile. In the adoption of this plan, I must however make an exception with regard to the summer months, when the greater part of Egypt looks like an immense plain of grey sand. In every other respect the traveller will, in the first place, proceed much more rapidly, which far outweighs the additional fatigue; secondly, he will enjoy infinitely greater variety; thirdly, he will not be liable to so many attacks of sickness; and fourthly, he will derive infinitely more profit from his journey, than he could acquire by pursuing the prescribed route adopted by every-day travellers.

My first business on landing at Siout, (which is about half a league distant from the present water-mark of the Nile,) was to write and inform Mehemet Ali of my arrival; and this I did, even before I left my barque. In a very short time, Artim Bey appeared, followed by a train of horses and servants, to escort me at once to his Highness, who was so gracious as to send me word "that it had been his intention to leave Siout in a few hours; but as I had at length landed, he would, for my sake, abide here to-day and to-morrow." In truth I was very much behind the time agreed upon, and was therefore both surprised and delighted at the extreme courtesy and cordiality of the Viceroy's message.

It was a splendid evening, and on our short ride to Siout we had a really gorgeous spectacle ; for here all was still clad in the brightest and most luxuriant green, which, in every variety of shade and tint, embosomed three sides of the capital of Upper Egypt ; while on the fourth, behind its gay towers and minarets burnished by the golden rays of the setting sun, stretched the stern, wan, Lybian chain, mysteriously marked with the black festoons of its stupendous Catacombs.

The Viceroy had taken up his residence in a stately white palace, on the outskirts of the town. A company of soldiers, in green uniforms, were drawn up in the extensive court, and on my entrance they gave me a salute with their tinkling instruments.

The reception with which his Highness always honoured me, was not only extremely polite, but truly cordial. I found him on this occasion in excessively good spirits, and apparently not in the least worn out with the fatiguing journey from Cairo hitherward, during which, this septuagenarian prince had daily ridden from ten to twelve hours on horseback ; and in fact he even looked better and more vigorous than before.

In reply to some observations of this kind which I made, he said that he was so cheerful on account of the good condition in which he had found the province, in which, during the last two years, 85,000 men had, annually, been working three months at the neglected dams and canals ; and, that independently of this, thirty-two millions of bricks, baked in the sun, were made and used every year. He hoped that

by doubling this power, he might be able to effect the irrigation of the whole of Upper Egypt, so that not an acre of it should remain uncultivated, which unfortunately was still the case in many districts. He had also been at length successful in prevailing upon the inhabitants to make large purchases of cattle from Senaar, which, notwithstanding the immense advantage connected with it, they were at first very loath to do, on account of their being totally unaccustomed to it; a fate which attends almost every new scheme. He had, however, adopted the method of setting them a good example, by making large purchases himself, and by advancing the necessary sum without any per centage to every solid speculator; and the whole affair was now in the best train possible. "There is such an abundance of cattle in Senaar," he continued, "that a camel costs scarcely four Spanish dollars, an ox two, and a sheep only four piastres. Capital alone is wanting there, and that to such a degree, that I am the first who has brought money into circulation, for hitherto they had only had a barter trade. Here, on the contrary, we want cattle; we have, indeed, very little pasture land, and the greater part is cultivated with those fruits of the field which yield a much larger increase: but we require an immense number of cattle for the working of the sakyehs, and we shall want yet more to carry on our farther improvements. By means of the trade, therefore, which I have introduced, both parties will derive an advantage; and if Allah be propitious to us, their prosperity will advance with giant strides."

During the journey I afterwards met very large herds of these imported cattle, the conveyance of which is, however, attended with some difficulty, from the necessity of procuring fodder by the way. All these cattle were as lean as Pharaoh's kine, but they were strong-built, and of a remarkably fine breed.

This administrative subject led us to speak of Europe, of its rapid advance in discoveries, and especially of its numerous articles of luxury which are still unknown here. "I am perfectly aware of all this," said the Viceroy, smiling; "and I assure you that I am interested, not only in machinery, but also in those things which promote the enjoyment of life. Nothing new of this kind appears either in London or in Paris, of which specimens are not immediately sent to me." "Unhappily, however, this is not apparent," I ventured to reply, as we were alone, "because it is all buried in your Highness's harem." "True," replied Mehemet Ali, "but the times will not permit me to go as far as you would wish. After my death many more prejudices will give way; though I must confess, that it is immensely difficult for even the wisest man to free himself from them; and, perhaps, it is impossible for any mortal ever entirely to shake off the bias of his early education."

I sincerely complimented him that he had, nevertheless, already been able to conquer so many prejudices; and remarked, how grateful the present generation ought to be to him, for the unspeakable benefits which he had conferred upon it. There was a sincerity and originality in his reply which manifested

his intimate knowledge of the human heart. "A father," said he, "loves his child—wherefore? from selfishness; he sees a prolongation of *himself* in that child; it claims its origin from *him*; it belongs to *him*; and he hopes that it will one day be the prop of his old age. A child loves his father because *it* receives support, and every good thing *it* possesses from him, and expects on his decease to inherit his property. Master and servant, prince and subject, all are actuated by these motives; *self-interest* lies at the root of all human relations; and if it is skilfully managed, it constitutes *good* masters and *good* servants."

"It is a pity, however," I exclaimed, "that so few men understand their real interest; and in this respect I greatly admire the energy of your Highness, who is deterred neither by deceit nor stupidity in the prosecution of your benevolent plans."

"It is true," replied he, "I have to overcome many a severe struggle; and, perhaps for this very reason, I have become more closely and ardently devoted to my adopted land. I had neither rest nor peace; Egypt appeared to me like a poor, naked, helpless child, which for centuries had been stupified with sleep, to whom I was now to be every thing,—its father and mother, its master and servant, its teacher and judge; and often, when lying sleepless on my couch, have I said within myself: Can a single Mehemet Ali be sufficient to rear, to clothe, to instruct, and to train this child? Even now I feel dubious of success; yet, perhaps, in spite of every obstacle, it may be accorded to me by God, to whom

I owe so much, and to whom I have always applied for direction."

Surely Mehemet Ali is not understood in Europe, and even here, only in part; and I am persuaded, that many of my readers will set down the half of what I have already said, and shall further communicate, as a romance of my own invention. I must, however, beg them to remember, that Artim Bey, a man who is so completely European, that an intercourse of twenty years would not enable one to discover that he is a Turk, is alive to give me a *démenti* if I do not speak the truth. I may, possibly, make a mistake in some unessential, isolated expression, but never in the main point, as I invariably availed myself of the first moment to write down the very words of Mehemet Ali; and I did this, because I am of opinion that the words of great men, even if they concern only comparatively trivial subjects, must possess a high degree of interest to intellectual minds. How far these words were really the language of his heart, or how far they were designedly uttered, the sagacious reader may decide for himself; they will always afford matter for reflection.

The Viceroy closed this conversation with the remark, "that all nations were capable of greatness, and all armies of victory, if they could only find a man who knew the path by which to conduct them to it."

The next morning he invited me to a *déjeuner à la fourchette*. After having partaken of the Turkish *dîner* with him at Ghizeh, I was not a little surprised to find everything arranged in the European fashion,

and to see Mehemet Ali eating with all the elegance of an English gentleman. I learnt that the Viceroy had for many years adopted the European custom in private, and only observed the national etiquette on state occasions. The breakfast was, however, so far Turkish, that his Highness and I sat at table, and partook of the good cheer, while the courtiers stood around us fasting. The Viceroy was so cheerful that he even addressed a few words to me in French, which he pronounced perfectly correctly. He then said with a *naïve* grace which is quite peculiar to him, "I have learnt to eat in the European fashion, but I have not yet fully learnt the art of carving, and in this I must now request you to give me a lesson, if you will undertake the task." We accordingly commenced with a *dindon aux truffes*, which I flatter myself I carved very scientifically. During this capital repast, both his Highness and I were amply supplied with excellent *Château Margeaux*, the only wine which the Viceroy drinks, and indeed the only wine which is served at his table.

As a proof of the delicate attention and almost incredible politeness of a Turk, and of so great a man as Mehemet Ali, I cannot refrain from mentioning a circumstance which was communicated to me by the governor of Siout. When the Viceroy had invited me to breakfast, he desired that a *fauteuil*, exactly similar to his own, should be brought for me, but there was none like it in the whole town, and only plain cane-bottomed chairs could be found. When his highness was informed of this, he desired that his own *fauteuil* should be removed, and that two cane

chairs, exactly alike, should be placed at the table. Unimportant as this subject may be, it is nevertheless a trait in the character of Mehemet Ali.

I availed myself of the high good-humour of my exalted host, to request permission not merely to follow him by water, but to accompany him on his tour of inspection in the interior of his country: a request which he very readily complied with. Our conversation embraced a great variety of subjects, but in presence of so large a company could only be confined to every day topics. After the *déjeuner*, however, when we were alone, it gradually assumed a much more confidential tone, and the reader may easily conceive how highly delightful and instructive it was to listen to the remarks of Mehemet Ali, respecting his political relations, and the clear, comprehensive views which he took of the interests and sentiments of the European cabinets, which he expressed with equal warmth and sincerity. It would be highly indiscreet if I were to enter into more minute detail in this work; yet thus much I may be permitted to say, that I could never sufficiently admire the simplicity and dignity of his expressions, as well as the justness of his views, in so far as I am capable of judging of the latter. It was evident from all that he said, that he was quite penetrated with the conviction that everything which he had done and wrought could have no durability, so long as the keystone of the building was wanting, so long as the deed was not honoured by the name; so long, in a word, as his sovereignty existed *de facto* and not *de jure*; and at the same time how greatly he desired peace, security, and tranquil-

lity, without undue projects of aggrandizement; that however, if, as a last resource, war was deemed indispensable, he would not shrink from it; but that, of what he once possessed, he would never quietly yield a single village. With regard to pecuniary sacrifices, the matter was altogether different; and I believe that the Viceroy would unhesitatingly make the greatest, if he could thereby set aside an anomaly, whose existence threatens the peace of the East as well as that of the West; and not only places obstacles in the way of the benevolent views of the Viceroy, in respect to the lands which he governs, but at the same time paralyses the Sultan in similar endeavours.

Having been successful in my application for some friends, I ventured to solicit for Clot Bey, the permission which had hitherto been always decidedly withheld, for the removal of the *école de médecine* from Abou-Zabel to Cairo. The Viceroy at first opposed my intercession with a little irritability, but I was ultimately so happy as to obtain the desired sanction. I gratefully took leave of his Highness, and proceeded to visit the town and its environs.

Siout can boast of nothing of interest, except the well furnished bazars, and a mosque built by the notorious Defterdar. A very handsome public bath, constructed of marble, is connected with this edifice, and the funds arising from it are devoted to the expenses of the mosque. It is a universal and most admirable custom in the East, to connect something of general use with every religious structure. The Viceroy had established one of his largest and most expensive manufactories at Siout, but it was burnt down by

the fanatic inhabitants. The only punishment which he inflicted upon the town was, his determination not to re-erect the building, and he removed the manufactory to another place.

It is well known that when the Mamelukes were expelled from Lower Egypt, they long maintained their place in Siout, and the burying-ground in which their remains are deposited resembles a little town of stately monuments, just below the Necropolis of the Egyptians, which, for thousands of years, has perforated the rock above them, like the cells of a beehive. The graves of the Mamelukes, like those of their ancient predecessors, commence on the skirts of the green fields, and terminate in the sand of the boundless Desert. I deferred my visit to the Necropolis till I should return, but undeterred by the heat, I mounted the Viceroy's capital horse, and galloped a good way into the Desert. I then scaled the bleak rocks of the Libyan chain, to enjoy a more extensive view of the charming valley of the Nile in the east. An unpropitious mist, however, almost defeated my object.

On my return home I witnessed a truly national scene—eight gigantic, naked negroes, were busily engaged in extricating a buffalo, which had stuck fast in the morass, and had literally sunk up to his neck. As soon as they had accomplished their herculean task, they positively carried the huge beast on their shoulders, and placed him securely on *terra firma*.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOURNEY WITH THE VICEROY.

I WAS lying sleepless in bed, suffering with violent fever and an intense headache, when at sunrise I heard several cannon-shot which announced the departure of the Viceroy; and a kawass called at the same moment, to inform me, on the part of his Highness, that he would expect me at the breakfast station; and in order that I might follow him the more expeditiously, he had sent me one of his Candiot mules. I was, however, quite unable to stir till eight o'clock, though this ill-timed delay was very disagreeable.

The way led through a fine meadow for twelve or fifteen miles, the fertility and excellent cultivation of which it would probably be difficult to equal in any part of Europe. In the immense plain which extended between the two mountain chains, not the smallest spot seemed to be left lying useless, just as in Malta and Gozo; only with the difference, that there its stubborn soil must be cultivated with great labour, while here the most fertile garden mould requires nothing more than the trouble of sowing the seed. All the various crops were in the highest perfection: the peasantry were already gathering in the flax, and the barley looked as if it would be ripe in about a fortnight. The *bersim* (a species of luxuriant clover), was already, for the most part, mown,

and the ripe green peas and beans, which I tasted, were as sweet and palatable as in the most favoured parts of Franconia. Scattered groups of various kinds of cattle of large size and of a good breed, such as oxen, buffaloes, horses, camels, sheep, and goats, were grazing in the fallows. There was quite a succession of villages embosomed in palms, which formed refreshing dark groves in the relief of the light green plain, where the silver stream of the Nile was seen every now and then, illumed by the vertical rays of the burning sun, sparkling at a distance. It was a picture full of richness, abundance and splendour; but I was suffering too much pain, to indulge freely in the enjoyment of natural beauties, and was therefore heartily glad when I perceived, near one of the larger villages, the long row of the Viceroy's tents, with all the motley picturesque oriental state of his suite, which consisted of more than 300 men and 300 animals.

Mehemet Ali had very kindly postponed his usual breakfast-time a full hour, till he had quite given up the expectation of my coming, and was now enjoying his *siesta*. I found a very elegant tent, with various compartments, prepared for my use; and was conducted thither by Artim Bey, and his Highness's physician in ordinary, a Spaniard by birth, who at once offered me his medical advice. As I however best knew the antidotes for my complaint, I declined both the recipes of the kitchen and the laboratory, and hastened to bed; and in fact I was thoroughly cured after four hours' refreshing sleep.

The travelling economy of the Viceroy is admirably

arranged. I have already stated that a retinue of more than three hundred men (among whom, I may mention by the way, that, with the exception of the adjutant-general, Zami Bey, there was not a single military man) and a still larger number of horses, dromedaries, and mules, accompanied him. Two sets, each consisting of fifty tents, with all the necessary furniture, and two complete culinary establishments, are interchanged with each other on the journey, and with such precision, that he is never obliged to wait for anything, but, as soon as he arrives, finds his dwelling and repast already prepared.

The Viceroy generally mounts his horse half an hour before sunrise, and with the exception of his special attendants, only the Mudir (governor) of the province through which he is passing, accompanies him. All the rest follow as may be convenient, and I observed that we hardly ever got sight of the adjutant-general during the journey. On the whole, excepting the strict oriental etiquette that nobody is to sit down in presence of the prince, there was much less constraint and regard to the person of the Viceroy than I expected; though affectionate respect for the ruler was everywhere manifested, without the slightest trace of fear, timidity, or embarrassment. At the same time, strict and exemplary order prevailed, totally exempt from the manifold bustle and confusion which I have often witnessed in the journeys of European sovereigns. Some of the forms of this court have, however, already become more European than oriental, distinguished as much by a dignified deportment, as refined politeness and easy manners, *ad regis exemplum*.

In truth, it is scarcely possible to see so amiable an old man, in such an exalted situation, as Mehemet Ali—so punctual (which is the politeness of princes), so cheerful and so equable in his temper, so devoid of pretensions of any kind, so simple and so natural, nay, I might almost say so unsophisticated—without the most lively astonishment that one who appears so harmless and good-natured, and is almost adored by all who attend him, can be the man who, solely by his head and his arm, has, under the most difficult circumstances, formed and preserved a mighty empire; the same man who was the formidable destroyer of the Mamelukes, and the conqueror of his former master the Sultan, whose tottering throne he might have overturned after the battle of Konieh; the same man, in short, who was long represented in Europe as the greatest tyrant of our times, and as the most unfeeling egotist.

As soon as the Viceroy's *siesta* was over, the daily report was made to him by Zami Bey, and the despatches of the first courier (there are two every day, one from Alexandria and one from Cairo), were opened, and the answers sent off. After the business was finished, the Viceroy sent for me. He received me in his splendid tent, where a divan of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, stood in the background. Here for the first time I saw him in a short black dress, without the long pelisse which he usually wears, and in which he looked extremely well, and full ten years younger. In this antique Spanish black dress, and with the imposing manner that is peculiar to himself, the Viceroy forcibly awakened in my mind a reminiscence of my childhood, for he

perfectly resembled the late actor Fleck, in person as well as dress, in the part of King Philip in Don Carlos.

“Do you know,” said he, as I entered, “what I have just decreed? A bank at Cairo! I have agreed to give for the present a million of Spanish dollars, and intend to add to the same fund all the property of those of my children who are yet under age. This bank will advance money, according to the custom of the country, at twelve per cent., and pay ten per cent. for all the sums lent to it; and I hope soon to witness the good effects of this measure. It will henceforward be no longer difficult for enterprising individuals to raise capital, in order to follow up their speculations; and the people, who are still so foolish as to hide every farthing which they have saved (though by this time experience ought to have taught them that under me no person has to fear anything for his acquired property), will perhaps gradually come forward, and see that it is better to make use of the money than to let it lie dead. Lately,” he continued, “an inconsiderable sheikh of this place died, who was scarcely looked upon as a man in tolerable circumstances, and yet he left sixty thousand gazi in ready money. I should never have heard any thing of it had not a dispute arisen among his children, respecting the inheritance, and one of them at length applied for my assistance. I sent for them all, and advised them to come to an amicable arrangement as soon as possible; for if you once fall into the hands of the kadi, I added, not only *one* of you, but all, will have the smaller portion. They followed my advice, and they did well.”

Several observations which ensued fully convinced

me that, like the Sultan, Mehemet is greatly dissatisfied with, and finds himself much shackled by, the priests, who have a considerable share in the administration of justice among the Turks; a system which is upon the whole most prejudicial, and that he considers the power thus vested in the priesthood as most highly injurious and detrimental. If there were a reform in this respect, it would far outweigh every disadvantage; just as in earlier ages Christendom was highly benefited by Protestantism (which afterwards again slumbered awhile); for entirely setting aside the question of what was gained by it in a religious point of view, the *political* advantage was immense, inasmuch as the Reformation placed the Christian priesthood within their true bounds, or circumscribed those limits. Here the priesthood still exists as a mighty corporation, which interferes with the government, and avails itself of every opportunity to oppose it.

After a pause, the Viceroy resumed the subject of money. "I am convinced," said he, "that there are immense treasures, in ready-money, in this way concealed in the earth in Egypt: it has been an invariable custom among us, and indeed in earlier times it was impossible to obviate it, as long as arbitrary power was dominant. At that time, we were all raw and ignorant men, hardly conscious that we were committing *a crime*, and only filled with the notion of our own *advantage*. But since I have been governor here, I can say with a good conscience, that so far as my knowledge extended, and so far as I was informed, no injustice in regard to private relations has ever been knowingly tolerated by me. I am aware

that it is said that I oppress the Fellahs, and yet it is very easy to show that their condition is twice as good, and at the same time much more secure than ever it was before, although I am not by any means able to do for them all that must be done ; but the fault is not my own. It is said also that I have constituted myself the sole landlord of my own country, and this also is an utterly false and superficial view. The *feddan* which the Fellah cultivates is, as far as the product is concerned, as good as his own property, though necessarily still circumscribed ; nay, he is even at liberty to sell it, that is to say, he may on certain conditions cede it to another Fellah, but I do not permit that it should remain uncultivated ; and this state of tutelage is at present indispensable.

“The tribute in kind which he has to pay, is by no means out of proportion ; for he has to pay the government, according to varying local circumstances, on an average, only a fourth part of the fruits, partly in kind, and partly in money as ground-rent, and this only from one harvest ; whereas his ground generally produces two, and in Lower Egypt there are often three harvests every year. The indirect taxes do not fall on the agriculturist, but on the tradesman. The Fellahs may be oppressed in some things, but I am compelled by higher motives to retain these regulations for the present ; and do not these evils exist everywhere, even in your own Europe, only under different forms ? nay, I am positively assured, often in a much higher degree ? I know that an Englishman, whose book you have doubtless read, has published a long list of all that the Fellah has to pay to my

government. But, from beginning to end, only half of this calculation is true ; the rest is compiled from false reports, and sometimes even from the most laughable misconceptions. If that calculation were indeed true, the Fellah would have to pay more to government than it is by any means possible for him to earn. Here, however, come your travellers, and they very seldom look beyond the banks of the Nile, except indeed to hunt after antiquities, which seems invariably to be their chief object ; but something about my administration is sure to be palmed upon them into the bargain, by the first idle gossip that comes across their path."

The Viceroy then very humorously related a string of the most ridiculous anecdotes of travellers, which had been related to him, respecting Africa, Arabia, and Syria, by pretended eye-witnesses, but the utterly different version of which was most intimately known to him ; and he added, he must confess that, from that period he was so convinced of the ignorance and credulity of the greater part of these gentlemen, that he was led, upon the whole, to form a very mediocre opinion of them, an opinion in which experience confirmed him to this very day.

I allowed that in this respect he might often be right, especially as the most absurd sentence was frequently passed on things relative to himself and his proceedings, by utterly incompetent judges ; but at the same time, an amelioration in this respect could scarcely be hoped for, as it required no little talent to fathom such a man as he was, and justly to appreciate and represent him. "La ! la !" cried he ; "there is not

much talent wanted for that, but merely the trouble of inquiring after truth, and then with honest boldness to declare it."

I now endeavoured to lead the conversation to a subject which I had already touched upon slightly at different times, and on each occasion longed to urge upon him ; namely, the discovery of the sources of the Nile, by an expedition to be undertaken by his orders. But unhappily, Mehemet Ali has no more sympathy with this than he has with antiquities and works of art. "Patience, patience!" retorted he, "it is impossible for me to do everything at once. The governor of Darfour has caused a peaceful ambassage, which I sent to him a good while ago, to be either murdered or put into prison, and there the unhappy survivors are languishing even now, while the lawful ruler of the land has fled to me, and is now in Kourdafan, where he is supported by me. The affront which has thus been put upon me is very great, and it is not improbable that I may in consequence feel myself compelled to go to war with Darfour, which would very greatly facilitate your European project, of discovering the sources of the Nile. Yes," exclaimed he, with a very knowing look, "if circumstances were different, if the Sultan at Darfour understood our mutual advantage better, and were I not compelled to exhaust my resources in arming myself in self-defence against the danger which threatens me from the side of Europe, how much might I be able to effect here for my own people, as well as for European science in the heart of Africa! But now my hands are everywhere tied."

He was of opinion that it was by no means fully

established that the White River was the actual Nile, and hinted that the sources of the Blue River had never yet been satisfactorily traced; and that the true sources of the Nile must be sought for, far more remotely in the interior than was affirmed by Bruce and less competent travellers since his day, or even perhaps beyond Abyssinia. "This also could be easily ascertained," he said, "and the conquest of Abyssinia itself might be made without much difficulty; but," continued he, laughing, "this would be a subject of great vexation to my friends, the English, and after all would not profit me much."

I maintained that the Bhar el Abiad is the true Nile, an opinion in which I am supported by the greater part of the learned men in Europe; and added, that I should indeed rejoice to see the time when his royal empire would extend thousands of miles, from the mountains of the Moon to those of Adanah. I afterwards asked him, how far he had personally penetrated into the southern part of his dominions, which have already reached the tenth degree.

"No further than Wadi Halfa," replied he, "and that was only for the purpose of regulating the necessary passage at the second cataract of the Nile, for the transport of my goods. It was one of the merriest voyages I ever made in my whole life, and which I accomplished there and back, from Cairo, in a little bark, attended by a very small retinue, and favoured by a propitious wind, in the course of twenty days, which has never been accomplished before or since." He related, with evident delight, the details of this expedition, which he had made when somewhat younger, and

spoke of a storm, which had split the sail of his canja and almost capsized it, and added, that he was greatly amused at the panic of his fellow-passengers: "for," said he, "in the first place, I am a very good swimmer; and secondly, I am perfectly aware that a canja or dahabia, even if it is capsized, never sinks on the Nile, unless it springs a leak. I have long caused experiments of this kind to be made, and have had the canjas most unproportionably loaded and then overturned, but I never was able to make them sink. The passion for the chase which seized us all during this voyage," continued he, "was in the highest degree amusing; for we could all boast of being most miserable sportsmen, and I verily believe that, although we sent 10,000 shots through the air, we did not succeed in killing more than ten wild geese."

I inquired whether it would be possible to effect a regular navigation of the cataracts? "Why not!" exclaimed he hastily, "everything is possible, but I cannot think of it now; too many other urgent duties press upon me. This is a work which my children may accomplish, for I shall not have very much time left."

I opposed this view of the case, and said that his powers of action still displayed such a youthful vigour of mind and body, that in all probability he had before him many years of unceasing activity. "No, no," cried he, "when I have settled my troublesome policy, and completed my barage in the Nile, I shall be contented; and, if my life is protracted beyond that period, I shall retire from the scene of action, and give up the government to my son. And, besides

this, I am yearning for rest. Your kind words were intended to comfort me respecting my age, but, believe me, seventy years bear their load ! But it is time to break up," he cried, rising, "and we dare not neglect the appointed hour."

The Viceroy's horse stood ready saddled at the tent, and, as if to contradict his words by his deed, the powerful veteran threw himself into the saddle as if he had been a youth, so that we, whose horses were rather tired, as well as the greater part of his suite, could not follow him. When we reached our night's quarter, he had already supped, and had besides completed some despatches, which had arrived subsequently. I found a yet more roomy tent prepared for me than what had been assigned to me in the morning ; but I did not, in the present instance, imitate the example of Mehemet Ali, who goes to bed at midnight, although he rises again at four o'clock, for I sought my couch without loss of time.

We broke up, as usual, half-an-hour before sunrise on the following morning ; the Viceroy set off, attended by his private servant on horseback, several kawass, and the marmuhr, the two saïs, who ran by the side of his horse ; his suite trotted after him, one by one, in the space of half-an-hour. As soon as he espied me and his dragoman, Artim Bey, of whom I never lost sight, his Highness called me, cordially wished me good morning, and a happy day's journey. After I had returned the compliment, and assured him, that a journey in his company could not be otherwise, he said, jokingly, that he was afraid getting up so early in the morning was probably a difficult matter

to me, after what he had heard of my mode of life ; but that, as for himself, he was always accustomed to see the sun rise, and that he loved the morning hour the best. Our conversation was carried on in a very lively strain, but I will not repeat it, because it was confined to local subjects, and which were not of general interest.

Our road, like that of yesterday, lay amid the most inexpressibly luxuriant plains, extending as far as the eye could reach ; and although Mr. Cadalvène, among his many other exaggerations, states that "the Viceroy compels the Fellahs to plant scarcely anything but cotton, because this yields him the greatest return, though of the least service to the Fellah ; that the greater part of the land lay waste on account of the heavy oppression, and that this state of things was getting worse every year," I can nevertheless assert, that, during four long days' journey through an almost uninterrupted expanse of the most lovely plains, such as are, perhaps, seen nowhere else, I saw not a *single field* planted with cotton. But Mr. Cadalvène only saw Egypt from his boat on the Nile, where, on account of the high banks, you certainly either see nothing at all, or, very frequently, only uncultivated ground ; and, for the obvious reason, (which has been overlooked by many persons,) that the ground close to the Nile is, in many places, very high, and does not slope towards the distant mountain chains till further inland, which is to be ascribed to the continual elevation of the bed of the river. Now, as an elevation of the water, from twenty-one to twenty-four *pic*, is necessary for a suffi-

cient inundation, these higher parts, so long as there is no regular system of canals, dams, and sluices—to obtain which the Viceroy is anxiously labouring—cannot be made cultivatable without this proportionate expense, though the soil is good. The traveller, who sails along in his boat, and perceives nothing but these barren spots, the termination of which he cannot discover from thence, is ready at once to enrich his journal with sage observations, like the following: “For want of hands, because the Pasha annually decimates the Fellahs by the military service, and by the intolerable burden of the taxes which he imposes upon them, the half of Egypt now lies waste, and a speedy violent change seems inevitable.”

We passed a number of villages, and everywhere found numerous workmen employed on the canals and sluices. The Viceroy was universally received by the inhabitants with the national *Vivat!* the *Zugharit*, which consists in the utterance of a shrill tone, like the note of the bittern. These demonstrations of joy were entirely voluntary, for “the giving orders by the police” to utter such huzzas is quite unknown, and in fact impossible, in places where there is in truth no police. What surprised me was, the entire absence of servile manner in the Fellahs, who endeavoured to express their respect and loyal feelings only by the most simple salutation. Nay, the inhabitants of one village even came in a body and reproached the Viceroy for not having rested at noon among them, instead of having his tents pitched in the open fields about a league further on. The same unconstrained manners and frankness were also seen in the courtiers

and all the attendants; and the old servant of Mehemet Ali, who always rode, not behind him, but at his side, often spoke to his master without raising his hand to his face, which is otherwise *de rigueur*, and is equivalent to our touching the hat or cap. Other Fellahs came and demanded in a very violent manner, with clamorous noise, that they might not be compelled to work at a dam which the Viceroy has ordered, in the system of his great works, for the better irrigation of the land. These people were harshly reproached, and driven away by the saïs with their lifted sticks; but this was all, they did not strike a blow.

“This is always the way!” said Mehemet Ali, turning to me; “the work is unavoidable, for their own support, and yet they must be compelled to it. *I* must think for all, and one person for so many men is indeed too little.” He then went into some detail on this subject, and assured me that it was only for imperatively necessary and indispensable objects that the Fellahs were compelled to work in *corvée*, and this only during three months in the year; during which time, besides, the villages were so divided, that only one-third of them had to work in each month; and therefore, in point of fact, every Fellah laboured for government *only one month in the year*. All works in new canals and sluices are performed for wages; and, unless in cases of the greatest necessity, nobody was compelled to take part in them. In future, however, he thought of employing the soldiers in these undertakings, in which his son had already made a beginning.

Allow me to insert on this occasion a few words respecting the beautiful and noble relation between Mehemet Ali and his son. Very far from the petty jealousy which in civilised Europe is so frequently a tacit law of the state, Ibrahim is not only constantly consulted, but the reins of government are placed with the fullest confidence in his hands, in the absence of the Viceroy. Thus at the present moment he fills his father's place at Cairo; and any wish which he may express seldom remains ungratified. On the other hand, it is beautiful to see the discretion with which Ibrahim, who is otherwise often so *brusque*, exercises this delegated power, and the filial respect with which he treats his father. It is really quite affecting to see this unbridled, victorious warrior, whose rank as a servant of the Porte, namely, as Pasha of Mecca, is superior to that of his father, never ventures, without being repeatedly called on by him, to sit down in his presence, and in his whole deportment never deviates, for a moment, from the most humble submissiveness; and yet it is evident that each is proud of the other: a most pleasing relation, which I have seldom seen in a similar sphere of life, and which commands universal respect. But in fact this combination of powers gives them double strength; and in the present conjunctures the one would scarcely be able to dispense with the other, however subordinate Ibrahim is in every respect to what his father now is, and what he was when at the same age as himself. It is only when at a distance from his father, as for instance in Syria, that Ibrahim sometimes commits follies, and indulges in an inju-

rious exercise of arbitrary authority : in Egypt he is an attentive subordinate to his father, and at the same time a diligent agriculturist.

When we reached the station where we were to dine, I usually, as well as Artim Bey and the other courtiers, rested half an hour in my tent, and refreshed myself with a pipe and coffee, while the indefatigable Viceroy often took a walk by himself. We then went to him, and, after a quarter of an hour's conversation, dinner was served, at which I was always alone with his Highness. After the repast was over, the Viceroy generally sat down on the divan. I took my seat, on his invitation, next him; Artim Bey, with a fly-flapper, took his place on the other side, and, as soon as coffee was brought, a gracious signal with the hand dismissed the courtiers and servants. This was the moment when Mehemet Ali gave the freest vent to his feelings, and spoke in the most confidential and candid manner. On this day he related to me many particulars of his life.

“ I cannot last long,” he said, leaning his head upon his hand, “ for I had to suffer too much in my younger days. My whole life has been an uninterrupted combat. While I was still in my father's house in Macedonia, the great and the powerful oppressed the whole provinces with revolting despotism. One insurrection followed upon another, and our village united with others and attempted to repel force by force. But who commanded the insurgents at their conflicts? The young Mehemet Ali; and ill enough did he fare. I suffered so many defeats, that one of the most fortunate of my adversaries once called out to me in the

middle of the engagement, 'Are you not yet weary of being beaten, while I am already weary of beating you?' But we persevered, and in the sequel obtained part of our object."

He then proceeded to give an account of his long wars with the Mamelukes in Egypt. "They were brave men," said he, "and all my troops were so afraid of them that, if they had feared God half as much, they would have had certain title to eternal happiness in Paradise. At first the Mamelukes used no arms whatever against us; it was quite sufficient for them to beat their little drums to make all my men take to their heels, and I was of course obliged to follow them. My son, Tossum Pasha, and the rest of my relatives, had the same fate. Gradually, however, I taught my soldiers war by means of war, and God supported me. Flying on one side, I sometimes succeeded in surprising and cutting to pieces a little troop on the other. This gave us some courage. I continued indefatigably to organise my men whenever it was possible, placed myself at their head, and, after many a year of precarious warfare, during which our complete destruction seemed inevitable a hundred times, my perseverance was at length crowned by the most complete victory."

His lively imagination then passing over a long epoch, he continued: "And how did I fare in the last war with the court? I did not dream of what happened. Heaven is my witness, I desired only to remove from Acre my personal enemy, Abdullah Pasha, thus to take measures for my own security, and to make amicable arrangements with the Porte respecting



what was still to be done. But as I soon perceived, too clearly, that my destruction was contemplated at Constantinople, it was necessary that I should obviate it. At that time persons were sent to me from the capital, for the purpose of *advising* me not to engage in the insane enterprise of resisting the Sultan. I should consider, they said, what had been the melancholy fate of Paswan Oglu, of Ali Pasha, of the Pashas of Scutari, Bagdad, &c. I only laughed at their officiousness, and advised these worthy gentlemen to return as speedily as possible, and told them if they had any good advice to bestow, they could not do better than offer it to the Sultan, who had more need of it than I; for that all the Pashas they spoke of, taken together, had not possessed a fourth part of the power of Mehemet Ali, and consequently it might be as well to pause before they compelled him to make use of it. But a deaf ear was turned to this, and the result is known to all. Now, I repeat it, I wish only for one thing: to be left in peace to establish the happiness and the welfare of Egypt."

When I now recapitulated what he had been, and what he now was, in spite of all the obstacles he had met with, and extolled his good fortune, he made a peculiar remark: "Good fortune," said he, "is like a hurricane, which rapidly drives the ship into port; but, if the pilot has not a sound judgment, easily dashes the vessel to pieces. Good fortune is often more difficult to manage than bad." At these words, oppressed by the heat, which was almost intolerable, he took off his tarbush, and passing his hand over his bare crown, said, "This old head has long been grey."

“But not the less firm on that account,” I replied, and looked at him with the eye of a phrenologist, which was the more easy as the hair was shorn off. It was a fine skull, with strongly marked organs; and remarkable for the circumstance, that, as in the case of that of Napoleon and Alexander, the animal part appeared as completely developed as the intellectual; one organ especially being peculiarly developed. His physicians afterwards confirmed to me the entire correctness of my observation, and spoke to me of immense powers in this respect, the like of which they had never met with; which again confirmed Napoleon’s energetic declaration, *Qu’il n’y a pas de héros sans, &c.*

The Viceroy spoke with gratitude of the great services which several Europeans had rendered him, though he expressed himself with bitterness on the dishonesty and incapacity of others. The picture which he drew of the character of one of those whom he most esteemed, M. Cerisy, was very *naïf*. “It was impossible,” said he, “to treat this man in an ordinary manner. He took fire at every word, and would never do anything according to *my* idea, but always according to his *own*. Once, I recollect, he vehemently reproached me for my impatience, by which he said I compelled him to do everything in a hurry, and to build bad ships; though, if I would give him proper time, he would build some that should be faultless. ‘Don’t be angry,’ I replied calmly; ‘for, notwithstanding what you now boast of, I know for certain that you will never be able to build me any better ships than your first.’

“As I said these words I saw the blood rush into

the face of this hot-headed man, and perceived that an explosion was coming on; when I checked him, and said, smiling, 'You blockhead, your ships, whether good or bad, conquered St. Jean d'Acre for me, and thereby all Syria, because *they were ready in time*. What would have been the use of the most perfect ships ever made, if, at the moment I wanted them, your carpenters had still been hammering at them in the arsenal?'

"But matters often went further than a mere joke. I had more disputes than one with him, and on the slightest occasion he demanded his discharge. However, I abided calmly by my determination, patiently overlooked what he sometimes ventured to undertake directly against my authority, and often employed my friend the French consul to appease him, for he always got into a passion without a reason. At length I lost him, which I shall always regret. When he was gone, some persons, thinking that he had fallen into disgrace, wanted to produce all kinds of accusations against him; but I forbade every one to speak to me either for or against him, for I consider that this man was sent me by God. He understood how to manage my business—not his own; others understand both; but the greater part only the last."

As we had only a short march to our night's quarters, we did not set out till the cool of the evening. This time I purposely remained behind, that I might not weary the Viceroy with my constant society, supped with Artim Bey, and the very amiable Dr. Gaetano; and was just on the point of retiring to bed, when, at about eleven o'clock, his

Highness unexpectedly sent me an invitation to pass an hour with him; a summons which I of course obeyed with the greatest readiness, though, to say the truth, I was half asleep.

I found the Viceroy employed in making up the despatches for his second *courrier*, and sitting on his couch. He always rises with the greatest politeness when I enter his tent, and did so this time, though he was in the midst of business. He begged me to sit down by his side, and to excuse him while he finished his despatches, which would soon be ready, and I might in the meantime look over the journals which had just been brought for him. Artim Bey presented them to me; it was the *Constitutionnel*! However, I took more interest in observing Mehemet Ali than in reading. He attentively looked through every paper that was presented to him, and in a low voice communicated the resolution to his secretary, who was standing close by. Whatever was finally decided he threw upon the carpet at his feet, and whatever needed further consideration he gave to the secretary, and sometimes consulted Artim Bey. Everything seemed to be done in a very simple, rapid, and practical manner. He had finished in a quarter of an hour; the secretary put up his papers, received some further orders, and withdrew.

Like a private citizen, who, after he has finished the business of the day, sits down at his ease and with quiet comfort smokes his last pipe, the Viceroy seated himself in the corner of his ottoman, which was covered with silk cushions, and having received two chibouks from his inexhaustible

collection, adorned with rich enamel and jewels, he exclaimed, "Now let us chat for half an hour before we go to sleep." This love of conversation he has in common with Napoleon, who, during his last campaign in Germany, frequently conversed with the Saxon General Gersthorf for hours together during the night, though the General spoke French so badly that the Emperor was, for the most part, obliged to repeat his phrases aloud before he could properly understand them.

I began by complimenting the Viceroy on his paying his officers more generously than any sovereign, those of England alone excepted, which must reasonably procure him good servants. "In time," exclaimed he, "this will doubtless be the case, but at present I am not able to do what I could wish." "Yet," said I, "according to European standard, at least, my assertion is very true; for the *apanage* of many of our German princes is far below the salary of your governor in Candia, and our generals and ministers do not possess a fourth part of the income of yours, though living is far more expensive in Europe than here; independently of which much more state is required from them." "In that case," said the Viceroy, "these officers are undoubtedly always the owners of considerable private property, and serve for the sake of the honour, whereas my servants have nothing but their salary to live upon." At this answer I involuntarily drew up my mouth, for all kinds of diverting recollections from home crossed my mind, but it would have been of no use whatever to mention them here, and so I turned the conversation upon England. After

some remarks on my part, Mehemet Ali said with a satirical look, "You seem to be no great admirer of the English." "There are exceptions," said I, "and as a European, their artful, commercial, universal monarchy, which respects no power but their own, excites in me as humiliating a feeling as the despotic sway of Napoleon formerly did. On the other hand, I cannot deny them the greatest qualities, the most imposing, organically developed, and thoroughly formed national life, and the most glorious deeds. But it is a sad pity that they so frequently obscure these good qualities by their gross egotism and their intolerable arrogance: which latter is the more hateful because it is founded exclusively on their greater wealth, which, after all, they have contrived to obtain, directly and indirectly, only at the expense of others."

"That is in the nature of man," interrupted Mehemet Ali, "and ought not to be too much censured in the English. Wealth gives power; this naturally produces a feeling of independence, which, with human weakness, cannot wholly be without arrogance. Is not every class in England richer than on the Continent? And are there not many noblemen there who possess more than a million of Spanish dollars? How then can you expect such a people to be humble?" I could not but smile at the *argumentum ad hominem*, and giving way, began to speak of something else. But the conversation respecting money was as usual resumed with particular pleasure by the Viceroy. He again mentioned his project of the bank, and complained of the rooted disposition of the Egyptians to bury their money, instead of doubling it by use.

He seemed to be very well aware that it is not the amount of ready money, but its rapid circulation, and the credit thence arising, that forms the real wealth of a nation.

“This truth,” continued he, “has always been present to my thoughts, and I have constantly disputed it with my ministers, who urged me to amass a great treasure against a time of need. I perseveringly objected that, to be able at a proper time to have much at your disposal, it was necessary not to let the money lie in coffers, but to employ it profitably; and, though I were daily reprimanded for it, I should never adopt any other opinion,” he exclaimed. “I have given my subjects the example of a line of conduct conformable to this principle, and, if they one day themselves become active, they will imitate me, to their own advantage and mine.”

‡ He then spoke, with the greatest frankness, of his former ignorance; how he had sought by long and continued reflection to inform himself on every individual point, till he had at length discovered the truth, and after thoroughly investigating it, he retained in his memory all that he heard; and that when once sure of a point, he always acted rapidly, and did not suffer himself to be diverted from his purpose.

“I am blamed among other things,” said he, “for having drawn to myself (and for my own sole advantage,) all the commerce of the country. If I had not done so, we should have had as good as no commerce at all, at least not to *our* advantage. I have already left a part of the inland trade to the competition of private persons, because I think I perceive

that the nation is slowly awaking from its sleep, and begins to comprehend the advantage which it offers. I am on the point of likewise giving a portion of the manufactures into the hands of speculators; but the trade with foreign countries I must retain in my own hands. Napoleon has already declared '*que les négocians de l'Europe sont des bandes organisées.*' We do not yet possess such bands, and my ignorant and indolent Egyptians would soon be the prey of the foreign merchants, if they were not opposed by one whom they will not find it so easy to cheat. If I one day find that the time is come, I shall in this respect also adopt another system; for do I not know that money is only the representative of produce? If my people become capable of making themselves rich, I will very readily leave the trouble which is connected with it to them, and hope that I shall not be the worse off for it; but I must be allowed to be a better judge than the editor of the *Journal de Smyrne* of what may be advantageous to my people at one time, and what at another. The Franks have a good proverb which says, '*le mieux est l'ennemi du bien.*' I have always endeavoured to attain the last as far as it was possible, without thinking of the first when it was not attainable.

“ Thus I found it necessary, above all things, to establish a solid and wealthy government in Egypt, and at the same time to labour incessantly at the better education of my people. In due time, what has been attained will doubtless serve as the foundation of something better; but he who wants to reach the goal at one leap, will never reach it at all. Much of what I do may appear harsh, and greater men than

I, have not been judged otherwise; but I must not suffer this to divert me. What I have heard of Peter the Great, for instance, convinces me that that prince, who had everything to create himself, proceeded ten times more capriciously and despotically than I do, and yet his nation, which formerly grumbled at him; as well as all posterity, have at length done him justice. I, too, expect that posterity will be my impartial judge; and if God should still grant me some years to work, and allow me the possibility of consolidating what has been begun, I do not fear its judgment. Why, at my advanced time of life, do I labour day and night,—why do I spare no pains, no exertion, no inconvenience, to see and to judge of everything as far as possible with my own eyes, if not to finish that great edifice which has long existed in my mind? I possess far more than enough for my own personal enjoyment, in all that I have acquired, and all the pleasures of earthly existence in the most comfortable repose are at my command; but if, instead of that, I harass myself with ceaseless labour, truly it cannot be from mere egotism. The glory and the consciousness of having founded the future durable prosperity of the countries which I govern—this is my dearest interest, and to this object alone my whole life is dedicated.”

These words, uttered with fire and enthusiasm, were indeed not contrary to my view of Mehemet Ali's character, but they at the same time differed so widely from most of the accounts of this extraordinary man which have been propagated in foreign countries, that I listened to them with a mixed feeling of inward

satisfaction, and yet involuntary wonder and doubt, which could hardly be overcome even on hearing them from his own lips.

Our mode of living during the journey was so uniform, that I need not add anything concerning it ; and the same may be said of the persons about us, and the appearance as well as the unparalleled fertility of the countries through which we passed. I have rarely found a man of any rank, who, if he pleases, can have more flattering and attractive manners than the Viceroy. The lively play of his eyes and of his whole countenance is then accompanied with such a delicate, good-natured, and benevolent expression, that you are involuntarily fascinated by it. In discussion he is full of moderation and patience, though I observed that he is not easily brought over to another opinion, but his courteous behaviour and eminent politeness never forsake him. Sometimes, when sitting by his side, and unconsciously lost in thought, I was waiting for some remarks from him to renew the conversation, he slowly inclined himself towards me, with that seductive grace which is peculiar to himself, and gently taking me by the arm, said, " Now do tell me what you are thinking of so profoundly at this moment ? " and I always felt compelled, as by magnetism, to tell him the very truth, though it might not always be in season ; but he invariably received it in the kindest and most unembarrassed manner ; and in general I could not but be struck that, even when we touched upon the most ticklish subjects in his own life, he was never put out in the least, or betrayed the slightest discomposure. This

appears to me to be a certain indication, that this man, in everything that he has done, has been true to himself; and as long as a man remains so, he has at bottom nothing to reproach himself with.

Even some of Mehemet Ali's trivial habits do not seem offensive in him, though in other men they would appear almost ridiculous. Thus, when he relates anything, he often pauses, and before he begins again uses the word "shendy" (*now, well, &c.*) far more frequently than necessary; but there is something so eager, confidential, and *naïf*, in these otherwise useless repetitions; he gives the word so many different modulations, and there is something in his tone so free from affectation, such a simply good-natured expression, that this favourite word, in my opinion, only imparts a singular charm to those narratives, which are invariably so strikingly lively and dramatic. He has likewise some other peculiarities, which, however, arise more from the general manners of Turks of distinction, than from personal eccentricities; thus, for instance, he never carries anything about him. If he is sitting on the divan, his snuff-box and pocket-handkerchief lie by his side; but when he is on horseback, both are carried by a servant, who always rides at his side. If he asks for either of these, his servant gives it to one of the saïs, who run by the side of the Viceroy's horse holding on by the housings, when the road is up-hill support his back, and in difficult places take the horse by the bridle. The saïs deliberately presents the pocket-handkerchief or the snuff-box to the Viceroy, who, when he has used it, returns it to the saïs, who delivers

it to the keeping of the servant; a very round-about way, truly, of blowing your nose, or taking a pinch of snuff.

The above-mentioned confidential servant frequently attracted my attention; he was a true character—the ideal of a squire in romance of olden time, such as we no longer meet with in real life. In his angular features, furrowed by many an internal and external storm, was painted unflinching resolution, implicit devotedness, adamant fidelity, and an attention which never relapsed a moment, to the service of his master, of whom he hardly ever lost sight. He has already served Mehemet Ali thirty years, and may be about fifty, and his dapple-grey horse, which, in strength and hardihood, resembles the steed of an ancient knight, appeared likewise to have served not a few years in common with him. The behaviour of this man towards the Viceroy was indeed full of respect, but combined with that familiarity, which the circumstance of having lived so long together, and of having together shared so many important vicissitudes, alone can give. It was evident that this man wholly belonged to his master, that *self* was entirely lost, and that every hint of the master for good or for evil, in the most dangerous as well as in the most common services, would be unhesitatingly attended to. Both master and servant must have possessed yet greater qualities to establish such an intimacy, and something great, too, perhaps, in the fortunes of the master, whom the other had followed in prosperity and adversity for many years. Oriental primitive characters are probably requisite for such a service; for Napoleon, as soon as the star of his

fortune set, was basely forsaken by his French mame-luke, Rustan.

When Mehemet Ali spoke as regent, as legislator, as soldier, as the reformer of his country, he always appeared to me a distinguished character; but the candid observer will not be surprised that, when science or art formed the subjects of conversation, the same man manifested but little taste for the latter; and, from want of early instruction, fell into the strangest, nay most incredible errors with respect to the former. Our passion in looking for antiquities and works of art, and our raptures at the sight of these old fragments, were an inexplicable enigma to him; still less could I make him comprehend, that besides gardening, agriculture, and plantations of useful timber, a man could undertake the improvement and adorning of a whole country by landscape gardening and tasteful design, merely for the gratification of the eye and mind. He always asked what benefit was derived from it? and when, for instance, I commended the picturesque contour of a chain of mountains which we passed, he lamented that they could not be irrigated, and, consequently, made to produce anything; and once he laughed very heartily, when I said that to afford a better prospect in the distance, of the promenades so splendidly laid out by Ibrahim in the immediate vicinity of Cairo, it would be desirable to plant the neighbouring desert. "As long as we have good land in Egypt that may be cultivated," said he, "we shall certainly not think of the desert."

He is, however, very sensible of the use of avenues of trees, and has ordered all the dams and the ground

thrown up from the canals, to be ornamented with them. Several attempts of the kind, however, failed here as at Alexandria, through the dislike and indolence of the owners, who neglected or destroyed them. This Vandalism, which is found in all the uneducated classes, is gradually giving way. Artim Bey's looks often seemed to mock me; and when, in the sequel, such expressions as romantic, picturesque, &c., escaped me, he generally left them untranslated in our conversation, as entirely out of place and unintelligible; I therefore soon took it as a hint in the choice of my subject.

With respect to the wonderful confusion of the Viceroy's historical knowledge, the following instance may serve:—

He was fond of speaking of his countryman, Alexander, and asked all kinds of questions respecting the particulars of his history, with which, on the whole, he was very well acquainted. Once I said, that an architect from Alexandria is reported to have proposed to the Greek hero, a plan for converting Mount Athos, which is opposite Mehemet Ali's native village, into a statue of Alexander. Not without some irony, Mehemet Ali asked, whether this was merely a picturesque idea, or whether the architect had at the same time presented an estimate of the expense. I replied that I could not state any thing positive on the subject, but that the treasures and powers of the conqueror of Asia would have fully sufficed for such a colossal undertaking. "I do not at all believe," interrupted the Viceroy, "that Alexander was so rich. All these rulers of the old world must have

been poor devils, in comparison with those of the present time; for otherwise the Romans, who came so long after Alexander, and possessed for so many centuries far more countries than he did, would not have had merely small silver and copper coin." He would not give up this strange idea, that it was only since the discovery of America and of its mines, that there is so much treasure and ready-money in the world. That the Romans were very poor, he said he would immediately give me a proof. "In the time of the Regent Philip of Orleans, a Turkish ambassador," he said, "was sent to Paris, and there saw a stud which was at that time very famous. Nothing, however, astonished him more, than the luxurious dwellings of all the officers of the stables, and the splendour of the stalls, the mangers being all of marble. When he expressed his amazement to the courtier who was ordered to attend him, the latter exclaimed almost angrily, 'What! have you so mean an opinion of the greatness of the French nation? Know that every groom among us, is better lodged than the Roman emperor in his palace.' Though this," continued the Viceroy, "might be only a French boast, yet it proves that the Roman emperor must have had the reputation of being very ill lodged; consequently that his people must have been poor, which considering that they had only copper coin, is very natural."

Such ignorance certainly appears droll to us; but when we put ourselves in the place of a Turk who had not the least education, who began to learn, of his own accord, to read and write, when he was thirty-five

years of age, and yet has passed through a life marked, it may be said, by daily deeds, with the rarest genius ; such a deficiency, if equitably judged of, will be acknowledged to be only a small spot in the sun. Yet I have purposely not refrained from concealing this weak side of the great man, in order that I may not pass for a partial encomiast ; and who knows whether Godfrey de Bouillon, and many other lauded heroes of the middle ages, might not have proved still more ignorant than Mehemet Ali, on an examination upon subjects of this kind ; and, after all, what is our own "Conversations Lexicon" learning worth, in a life which, for the most part, passes away with as little activity as a cabbage-plant ?

In the course of the day, we rode past a large manufactory, which I took for a palace of his Highness, because, being of a dazzling white, backed by a palm grove, it really gave a brilliant appearance to the whole country. Forgetting my resolution, I said to the Viceroy, that this country would have a far more picturesque effect in the eyes of travellers, if he ordered all the villages, which are now so dirty, to be white-washed. "In time," replied he, almost vexed : "I cannot do everything at once, and before I think of white-washing the outside of the villages, there must be more comfort within, than now is, or can be the case. Yes !" he exclaimed, "I wish to live only ten years more, and that I hope will suffice to advance my work so far, that my children may be able to carry it on in peace, and then govern more happy subjects." I ventured once more to observe, that considering the undiminished powers of his body and mind, he might

himself be spared to witness that happy result ; and that I rejoiced in the anticipation of being able to converse with him on these points ten years hence, when I confidently hoped that, instead of consuls, I should find him surrounded by the ambassadors of foreign powers.

“ Well,” replied he, cheerfully, and in the utmost good humour, “ if I am alive ten years hence, I will send an express messenger to Europe to invite you, that you may judge for yourself whether I have kept my word. Some morning, when you have long since forgotten me, you will see a Turk in rich costume riding into the court-yard of your castle, and, with a greeting from old Mehemet Ali, challenge you to pay a second visit to Egypt.”

“ I take your Highness at your word, with the warmest thanks,” I replied ; “ and if I am alive, and as well as at the present moment (upon which indeed all future plans are contingent), you may securely reckon upon seeing me. The promise that was given to a Highness, I hope to perform to Majesty.” “ La, la,” replied the Viceroy, stroking his white beard, “ I want no title, and have never in my life signed any other title than Mehemet Ali.”

On the following day, while dining at a large village, of which I forgot to write down the name, the Viceroy's very beautiful little Nile fleet happened to arrive there, and I took advantage of his *siesta* to view his “ Dahabia,” in company with Artim Bey. It is the most elegant little vessel of the kind I have ever seen, though doubtless Cleopatra's gorgeous galley infinitely excelled it. The principal apartment,

to which the utmost height and space were allowed, is ornamented with raised work of sea-green and gold; the drapery is rich violet-coloured velvet, trimmed with gold fringes; the divans, which run all round, are of the same costly material, adorned with gold lace and tassels. The window-frames of gilt metal, with plate-glass, which let down as in a carriage, are shaded by blinds of varnished green. The same elegance is displayed in the sleeping and dressing rooms. The antechamber, which is used as a dining room, is formed of a magnificent tent of Persian silk, embroidered with yellow. The little boat glided rapidly along, even with a contrary wind, being rowed in measured time by twenty-four blacks, dressed in uniform; when proceeding against the stream, it is drawn by fifty Fellahs, who are relieved every half hour, and go at the rate of a fleet horse.

When I afterwards spoke to Mehemet Ali of my visit to the flotilla, he mentioned that the Nile is now navigated by upwards of 6000 barks, of which 2000 are his own property.

During supper he related many interesting details of the period when he, for the first time, definitely attained unlimited power over Egypt, of which I have already given a short sketch in another place. On my expressing my regret that he had not dictated these interesting memoirs to some European, in order that they might be preserved to history, he uttered these memorable words:—"Why should I do so? I do not love this period of my life; and what could the world profit by the recital of this interminable tissue of combat and misery, cunning and bloodshed, to which circumstances imperatively compelled me? Who

could derive pleasure from such a disgusting detail? It is enough if posterity knows that all that Mehemet Ali has attained, he owes neither to birth nor interest—to no one but himself. My history, however, shall not commence till the period when, free from all restraint, I could arouse this land, which I love as my own country, from the sleep of ages, and mould it to a new existence.”

“How strange,” he exclaimed, “that of seventeen children I should be the only one who survived! Nine of my brothers died in their infancy, and this induced my parents to bring me up like a gentleman. Hence, I soon became effeminate and indolent; my young companions began to despise me, and used frequently to cry out, ‘What will become of Mehemet Ali, who has nothing and is fit for nothing!’”

“This at length made a deep impression upon me, and at the age of fifteen I resolved to vanquish myself. I often fasted for days together, or compelled myself to refrain from sleep for a similar period, and never rested till I had outstripped all my companions in bodily exercises. I well recollect our laying a wager one very stormy day, to row over to a small island, which still remains in my possession. I was the only one who reached it; but although the skin came off my hands, I would not suffer the most intense pain to divert me from my purpose. In this manner I continued to invigorate both mind and body, till, as I have already told you, I afterwards found ample opportunity in a graver sphere of action, to prove my courage to myself and others during the petty warfare in our villages.

After the death of my father, and when I had attained my nineteenth year, a still more favourable occasion presented itself. The Greek pirates began to commit various depredations, and my uncle, at the instigation of several of the wealthy Turkish landholders who were bent on his ruin, was appointed to the command of a small man-of-war belonging to the Sultan, with orders to go in search of the pirates and destroy their trade. My uncle was forced to go; but he first waited on the Pasha, and represented to him that his property and business must inevitably fall to ruin, should he be thus suddenly called upon to abandon them for an uncertain length of time, there being no one in his family to whom he could entrust their charge. At the same time he pleaded his own incapacity, and took the opportunity of proposing me, as an enterprising young man and accustomed to war. He succeeded in persuading the Pasha; nothing could be more to my wishes; and I had the good luck to give chase to the robbers, and after a short pursuit, to board their vessel and take the survivors prisoners. For this action I received the commission of a captain in the Turkish navy, in my twentieth year. My rapid promotion, however, excited the envy of many, and even of my uncle, who soon after, possibly not with the best intentions, sent me to Egypt. How little did I then anticipate the destinies which awaited me in this country!—but God's ways are wonderful."

"You may esteem yourself highly favoured," said Artim Bey to me after I had taken leave, "to learn particulars like these from the lips of this great man

himself; I assure you that even we have not heard them before. Indeed I have never seen Mehemet Ali so communicative with any one."

I cannot deny that I received this intimation as a highly flattering compliment.

Early on the following morning, Mehemet Ali desired that I should ride out with him; "for in travelling," said he, "we must pass away the time in conversation." Conversation, however, was rendered almost impossible, by the intense heat, and the intolerable clouds of dust, raised by some hundreds of camels and horses, in which we were completely enveloped, by the wind which blew on our back. Even Mehemet Ali himself could hold out no longer; he commanded a halting-place to be prepared in a grove of the prickly acacia. In an instant the ground was covered with carpets, over which his attendants spread a scarlet cloth, bordered with gold fringe, at either end of which they placed velvet cushions for his Highness and myself, where we reclined with as much ease as on a bed. We had scarcely sat down, when, as if at the beck of the spirit of Aladdin's lamp, I beheld in the midst of this solitude attendants bearing golden cups filled with cold punch and other sherbets, which were immediately succeeded by pipes and coffee. "Well," cried Mehemet Ali, after taking a few whiffs, "why do you not speak? I have scarcely heard ten words from you to-day."

I must confess that I was so completely overcome by the heat, dust, and exhaustion, that I knew not what to say. With my usual candour, I did not try to conceal it; adding, "I have been thinking for some

time what topic I could introduce that would be interesting to your Highness, but I always discovered, to my mortification, that you were already better informed upon it than myself." At this he laughed, saying, that a person who had seen so much of the world need never be at a loss for conversation, if he pleased. Being thus summoned, I thought this a favourable moment to introduce on the *tapis* a subject to which no one has of late ventured to allude in the presence of the Viceroy. These matters would be out of place here, but the result convinced me that the scattered seed has fallen upon no unfruitful soil.

I introduced this little scene merely to show *qu'il faut un peu payer de sa personne avec son Altesse*, if you would maintain both the fire of communicativeness, as well as his ready humour for it, at an equal pitch. Though very inquisitive, he is not easily satisfied with commonplace topics, like many other great personages, and detects the slightest flaw in an instant. He pushed me very hard on more than one occasion; which is not saying much, as I am naturally shy, and do not possess the courage of coming forward in public. I have never appeared on a private theatre without a tremour—how much more then upon the great stage of the world? Yet I have, nevertheless, frequently succeeded in gaining the mastery.

We embarked at Djirjeh, after which I did not see his Highness till I waited upon him at Keneh, to take leave before prosecuting my journey. I had just returned from visiting the Temple of Denderah, which is choked up, in a most disgraceful manner, by rubbish, and the remains of wretched huts. As the

Viceroy had always invited me to the utmost freedom in expressing my opinions, I frankly told him that he was much blamed in Europe for his utter neglect of the ancient monuments, of which his country contained the finest specimens in the world, and that it was a duty which he owed to his own high renown to set a good example in this particular. "Your Highness," I continued, "has now the finest opportunity immediately before you. The Temple of Denderah is one of the best preserved in Egypt; it is not buried beneath the sand of the desert, which is so difficult to remove, but merely choked up by filth and rubbish. One word from you, and it would arise almost in its ancient splendour." "Well, well," replied Mehemet Ali, "I will, for your sake, give a proof of my European civilisation." He instantly summoned the Mudir, and gave him the most explicit orders, not merely to clear the remains of the three temples at Denderah, but likewise to level the whole of the surrounding space, and to enclose it with a fence, as a protection against future injuries.

I therefore flattered myself that, here, as in Tunis, I had not neglected the favourable moment to render some service to the lovers of antiquity, for the sake of which they might be induced to forgive me for being so brief and superficial in my descriptions of the monuments which I visited, because I liked neither to repeat nor to transcribe what they would find more ably and circumstantially given in numerous other works.*

* So I flattered myself; but when I returned, six months afterwards, I beheld, with shame and mortification, that not a spade had

Before my departure, I was indebted for another great pleasure to his Highness, who had the politeness to send me letters from home, which were forwarded in the bag of his courier,—their writer little anticipating the illustrious hand through which they would pass.

A brisk wind filled our sails ; the same night, while we were yet asleep, we reached Thebes, the city with its hundred gates ; and when we rose in the morning, the first sight of its wondrous and gigantic monuments almost produced the impression that we were still dreaming.

been applied to the clearance of the Temple, a proof that the orders given to the Mudir in my presence had not been carried into effect ; and perhaps Mehemet Ali never entertained any serious intentions of setting about what he deemed such a distasteful and useless undertaking, my zealous advocacy of which he no doubt regarded as a European delusion, which he ought to treat with the same indulgence which the Turks extend to every species of insanity. I have, however, been assured that Mehemet Ali's orders have since been partially commenced.

END OF VOL. 1.



NOTICE.

The Second Volume of the Work will be published
in a few days.

LONDON :
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

EGYPT
UNDER MEHEMET ALI.

EGYPT
UNDER
MEHEMET ALI.

BY
PRINCE PUCKLER MUSKAU.

Translated from the German,
BY H. EVANS LLOYD, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

MDCCCXLV.

LONDON :
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

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EGYPT

UNDER

MEHEMET ALI.

CHAPTER I.

THEBES.

THERE is, perhaps, nothing more congenial to a susceptible mind than to gaze on the vast ruins of Thebes, the city with a hundred gates; and, on the other hand, there is nothing more wearying than to read a description of them by tourists, who, without pursuing a distinct or learned course, think themselves bound to give the most minute account of all their details, and accordingly set about their task with line and plummet, and the "Guide-book" in their hand. I speak from experience, for I have convinced myself to satiety, by wading through some dozen journals of travels—the works of indefatigable book-makers, copyists, and compilers, who have neither critical observation nor ideas of their own, and who, nevertheless, presume to swell the torrent of *verbiage* on Egypt and Egyptian antiquities, with which we are already inundated. I shall therefore certainly

not add to their number, but be as concise as possible; while, however, I shall endeavour to place before the reader some sketches which may give him a clear idea of their general character and impression. If he wishes for scientific information, I would recommend him to consult a few ancient and modern authors on this country; and though it is true that they do not always agree with each other, yet they will afford the curious inquirer all the information which the actual state of discovery can give him. If the present volume affords amusement, and at the same time places before the *dilettante*, with all possible fidelity, whatever is to be learnt by ocular inspection alone, it will fulfil its object; and I hope that I have now repeated this often enough to determine the claims which may reasonably be made upon me. If I were writing for practical Englishmen or Frenchmen, every word upon the subject would be superfluous, but German pedantry has need of these explanations.

In the survey of Thebes, it seems to me an essential point to proceed gradually from the less interesting to the more important monuments, under the conviction that the contrary plan would deprive the spectator of half the enjoyment. I therefore invite my reader to land with me and my party on the left bank of the Nile, near the huts of the village of Gourneh, under a group of palm-trees. Beyond some green corn-fields in the west, a quarter of a league before us, we saw the declivity of the bare Lybian chain, dedicated to Hathor, the Egyptian Aphrodite, who, in the form of a cow grazing, here received the first beams of the sun every morning. Reddish-brown rocky walls rise

perpendicularly from the ground, which is extensively burrowed, and a multitude of Troglodytæ now live in the ancient graves, the mouths of which are scattered like black spots over the white sand; for we have before us the Necropolis of Thebes, which spreads out to the extent of two leagues. The dead salute us, from their subterranean gloom, ere we behold their immortal works in the light of the eternal sun.

Riding further to the south, along the silent Necropolis, we soon perceived, from the ruins of a Coptic village, and its dirty walls of unburnt bricks, the first antique temple, dedicated to Ammon, begun by the father of Rameses the Great, and completed by his son in the last days of the glory of Egyptian art. It is only of middling size; but how wide is the difference between it and the imitations at Denderah, which are already fallen into decay; and how greatly would any traveller be deceived who, without going further, formed an opinion of Egyptian architecture and Egyptian art from that monument! They stand pretty nearly in the same relation to each other as the miserable Gothic churches of our days, to those produced in the middle ages, by the vigour and energy of original genius. Creative power, in sublime repose—classic purity, in every flight of fancy—and insuperable confidence in technical mechanism, the perfection of which fills every beholder who has a genuine feeling and love of art with solemn delight—manifest themselves as indisputably in the artistical productions at Thebes as in the wondrous Parthenon at Athens. True, they are totally different, and in all respects more colossal, but they arose on a different

soil, and under different influences. "Greek and Egyptian art do not stand below or above, but beside each other," as Prokesch justly observes. That strange sacred style, which religious obligation, and its manifold intellectual importance compelled the architect to retain and introduce in undeviating multiplicity, which at Denderah appears as a monotonous, grotesque, and almost repulsive caricature, we here behold in noble perfection, with numerous gradations and multifarious expressions. Deeply-carved outlines, drawn with wonderful precision, surround and protect the sunken bas-reliefs, which have a truth, fullness and beauty that nothing in this style can surpass.

It is an unjust assertion that the Egyptian art is behind the Greek in the finish of the figure. The difference lies here—it aims at the sublime rather than at the beautiful. Truly, I never saw any deities and kings seated on their thrones in more imposing majesty, and never beheld a more dignified expression than that of the heroes sacrificing to them, in the master-pieces of Thebes; notwithstanding that the same conventional attitudes, determined by religious laws, are more or less repeated throughout. Thus, for example, the figures are generally represented in profile—usually visible only in one decided half, like a silhouette; and the female is invariably depicted with only one breast.

Of the double propylæa of the larger Temple, and the avenue of Sphinxes that led to it, scarcely more can be discovered than the place where they once stood. The building itself—which, as is very common in Egypt, united a royal palace with the Temple—is

likewise almost entirely in ruins; yet many paintings, in glowing colours, have been preserved, partly under the masses of rubbish, and partly on the doors and in the interior. Ten columns of the portico, of very beautiful proportions, the shafts of which represent fasciæ of aquatic plants, crowned with an abacus, are also in a state of preservation.

Faithful to my principle, I omit the details which have already been so frequently described, and will only observe that, among the paintings buried beneath the rubbish, I found one which appeared to me to represent mechanical contrivances unknown to us, for lifting large stones, and which might therefore deserve further examination.

Passing by several less important remains, and proceeding some thousand paces onwards, we came to the imposing ruins of a much larger temple, which were formerly erroneously called the Memnonium, and also the tomb of Osymandias, but which Champollion recognised as the palace of Rameses the Great, (who perhaps bore the name of Osymandias, if the latter did not belong to Memnon,) and designated by him "the Ramseion;" not one of the most colossal, but certainly in its *ensemble*, one of the most distinguished of the productions of that wondrous age.

At a considerable distance I beheld with joyful surprise the twin seated colossi, on a black marshy ground, in the middle of the plain; one of which, though they both represent the same prince, is especially celebrated as Memnon's Statue. I must acknowledge that these gigantic images of eternal repose, which, as if fixed by enchantment, in immovable contemplation, on their

stony thrones for more than 3000 years, and which have survived all the conflicting and convulsive revolutions of the world, strike me with more awe than the artistical masses of stone of the pyramids, which, after all, are far surpassed by every conical rock which nature herself has formed on more stupendous dimensions than theirs. When seen from a distance, the colossi appear to be quite un mutilated, but on a closer view, you lament the fury of the mad Cambyses, who, according to Herodotus, is said to have greatly injured them.

I could not resist the curiosity which impelled me instantly to turn aside and examine them more minutely, before I entered the Ramseion, which was nearer at hand. The ground, which is now uncultivated, had such deep clefts, occasioned by the heat, that our horses could scarcely pass over them, and often involuntarily bowed their knees before the towering monarchs.

The two statues, which are made of hard sandstone, and called by the Arabs Thama and Shama, are fifty-six feet apart, and about sixty feet high. The southern colossus is of one block, but the northern, which Cambyses is said to have sawn through the middle, and to have thrown the upper part down, has been restored, at a later period, by five layers of stone, placed one above another: the face, however, like that of the other colossus, remained mutilated, or else it must have been again injured at a subsequent time. The restorations are destitute of the polished surface with which the Egyptians overlaid the greater part of their sandstone and calcareous statues, and

occasionally also their buildings ; the enormous superficies of the pyramids of Ghizeh, for example, were thus enamelled, and the summit of the centre pyramid is so to this day. This singular composition, which possesses the durability of stone, retains its polish over the whole of the colossi, with the exception of those parts which have been repaired or broken off. The thrones on which the kings are seated are splendidly ornamented, with a small statue on the two sides of the back, and a still smaller one is placed between the feet of each of the colossi ; images and hieroglyphics are introduced all round, but they are more or less damaged. The Greek and Latin inscriptions, of the time of the Romans, on the feet and on the pedestal, as well as the conspicuous fact of its having been sawn through or destroyed by Cambyses, testify that the repaired colossus, which stands towards the north, is that called Memnon's Column, which is said to have emitted the famous sounds at sunrise.

About a hundred paces behind these colossi, lies a large mass of stones, which has been so disfigured by the disruption of many parts that it resembles a rock, and may very probably be a portion of the statue formerly sawn off, and this is rendered still more likely by the fact that close to it, is a group of two smaller colossi joined together ; this perfectly agrees with the statements of the ancients, that near the statue of Memnon were two figures of smaller size, which, like it, were composed of one block,—which is no longer the case. Yet—and this is even more probable—it might be the remains of another colossus, for there were doubtless several at this spot, where one of the larger palaces

of Thebes once stood, and of which scarcely a trace now remains.

Doubts have always been raised respecting the authenticity of the statue of Memnon. Among others, by our great *hippologue*, Count Veltheim, from whom I have received a letter while in Egypt. The Count, to whom no branch of science is devoid of interest, alludes to a writing of his father, where, together with Norden, he affirms that the true colossus of Memnon is probably the torso of black granite lying in the Ramseion; because Pliny and others expressly affirm that the statue of Memnon was made of that kind of stone, and that the inscriptions on the pedestal of the statue, which is now taken for that of Memnon, were engraved upon it, solely because it was too difficult to execute them on the granite. The testimonies of Pliny and Philostratus are certainly worthy of attention, though both have indisputably committed many mistakes; but who is likely to have taken the trouble of conveying the overthrown colossus, in its mutilated state, into the Ramseion, which is above 1000 paces distant? Besides, that torso bears no indication of having been sawn or broken asunder, while that which is still standing bears irrefragable marks of it. If the hypothesis of Count Veltheim be correct, the genuine statue of Memnon must have vanished, or be still buried in the sand, for certainly it is not the statue in the Ramseion. The error of Norden and, after him, that of Count Veltheim, arose chiefly from the circumstance that Norden took the Ramseion for the tomb of Osymandias, which Champollion has proved to be completely erroneous. The real Mem-

nonium (Amenophion) doubtless stood behind the two colossi on the ascent of the hill, where many mural remains are still seen rising above the sand. It is possible, nay, probably certain, that in this temple, which, according to all accounts, and all indications, was extraordinarily extensive, there were several statues of the founder, the principal of which might be of granite, as the more noble material, and very conceivably of black stone; for Amenoph III., or Memnon, appears to have been an Ethiopian. The question now under consideration is, however, whether that image from which in the time of the Romans emanated the well-known sounds at sunrise, is identical with that on which the inscriptions now testify this fact. I consider this point settled, although the restorations of the statue took place at a subsequent period, because Strabo and Pausanias state positively and as eye-witnesses, that when they were there the upper part of the colossus was lying on the ground. Now, as this statue still consists of several pieces laid one upon another, and is certainly not one entire block, (as Count Veltheim assumes, even supposing it were originally composed of *one block*,) there is nothing in the statement of Strabo and Pausanias which militates against its identity with that lying on the ground, and which we now see put together and set up. The objections to the inscriptions, namely, that they were carved on the colossus, now taken for Memnon, because the stone was of a softer quality, may be answered by the more plausible question: how comes it that on the neighbouring colossus, which is made of the same soft stone, there is not a single

inscription attesting the sound emanating from the statue ?

Should any of my readers desire a discussion on this subject, entering into all the details, I beg to refer them to a dissertation by General Minutoli, in the Supplement to the Universal Prussian Gazette, No. 103, 1844, in which the opinions of all the authors of any note who have touched on this subject are carefully compared: the deductions drawn from them agree, on the whole, with my opinion, which is now the most generally received.

The pedestals upon which the two colossi are placed, are entirely covered with alluvial, black soil; and the greatest height of the water, in modern times, appears, on accurate observation, to be seven feet eight inches above the pavement of the dromos which formerly evidently led to the colossi, while the *sandy* foundation *below* the pavement proves, that, at the time when the statues were erected, the Nile had never reached this place. Hence we may easily infer, how much the bed of the river must have become elevated in three or four thousand years, and how many treasures of art might be found beneath the alluvions, which have taken place in that long period. The colossi, therefore, whose foundation stood on a dry sandy soil, inaccessible to the Nile, now change the appearance of their basis four times in the year. They either rise, as at this time, from a black morass, or from amid green corn fields, or from the golden harvest, or lastly from a boundless watery waste; and of all the changes, the last may perhaps afford the finest prospect.

The fragments of other gigantic statues, pillars, &c., with high mounds of *débris*, which extend behind them to the western mountains, allow us, as I have said, confidently to assume that a gigantic temple must have stood here, of which the two royal statues formed the entrance; undoubtedly this was the true Memnonium, as Amenoph III., whose cartouches the colossi bear, is certainly the Memnon of the Romans; but this personage, rising from the fabulous atmosphere of far remote ages, can scarcely have been, at the same time, Sesostris, as some persons affirm: a name to which, as Champollion has convincingly shown, the Great Rameses had a better claim.

I now return to the palace of the latter, which reclines against the mountain, about 1200 paces in a north-west direction from the colossi. Here, immediately beyond the half-fallen propylæa, lies the finest and largest colossus of Egypt, of rose-coloured granite, the violent destruction of which, without the aid of gunpowder, must have been almost as difficult as the conveyance of this huge mass from Assouan to this place, for, according to Wilkinson's calculation, it must have weighed, when entire, about 5000 cwt.! What remains of this astonishing fabric, which represented the Great King's own image, is of the most elaborate workmanship and of the finest polish; but the head is unfortunately nothing but a shapeless mass, of which only one ear, three feet in length, remains entire. The cartouche of the king, on the upper part of the left arm, is in admirable preservation. Several other statues of porphyry and granite lying about, are without the heads, which unhappily in recent times have

been carefully taken off and removed to the cabinets of the consuls—a species of spoliation which we are compelled to lament, in every shape and at every step; and which has raged more injuriously than as if committed by barbarians, because it has proceeded with more method, and, with the eye of a connoisseur, has taken only the best. Many of these gentlemen have extended their plundering campaigns in Thebes for several months, nay even for years together; and, for the purpose of facilitating their sacrilegious work, have erected houses for themselves under the protection of the rocks, some of which are standing, and are still made use of. Though rather late in the day, the Viceroy has, however, at length in some measure put a stop to these disgraceful depredations; and his commands are so stringent (at least upon *petty* thieves), that, during my four days' stay at Thebes, not the smallest article was offered for sale. This, however, may be accounted for, because I made my voyage with the vessels and suite of Mehemet Ali, which of course would put the people on their guard, and they were more fearful of being betrayed than usual.

It is very remarkable that the royal colossus, as the pedestal still standing clearly proves—near which the torso lies upon its back—did not occupy the middle of the court-yard, but stood alone, quite isolated on the side of the entrance, without an indication that there was anything to correspond with it on the other side. In their architecture the Egyptians do not by any means appear to have been fettered by symmetry, and this palace displays several other considerable incongruities of the same kind. Without

entering into a circumstantial detail, I will only mention that after passing through the first court, which leads into two other areas, the vaulted colonnades of which have colossal caryatidæ of Osiris with the features of Rameses, we issued, through the remains of two portals of black granite, into a large, magnificent hall, originally supported by forty-eight, but now only by thirty-six columns, which is adorned with an azure blue ceiling, bestrewed with small golden stars.

On the shafts of the pillars, which are closely covered with images, both carved and painted, is a bronze-coloured statue of Rameses; of this figure Champollion took a cast, and the unpleasant traces of this operation still remain. His choice was admirable, for the characteristic traits of the countenance and the figure, which in truth "is every inch a king," give reason to conjecture that the resemblance is peculiarly faithful, because it entirely corresponds with the idea which the imagination conceives of the youthful conqueror, the Alexander of Egypt, the highly-gifted hero, who was a lover of the arts, who undertook colossal works of every kind, and aimed at producing what had never before been seen.

Of the other halls only two now remain, one of which, according to Champollion, doubtless contained the celebrated library, because the goddess Saph, the permanent president of the sciences, as he calls her, and Thoth, the inventor of letters and arts, are the principal figures which are represented on the walls. The Temple Palace rises gently up the slope of the mountain, for which reason there were steps from one division to the other. Over the pillars, saloons,

vestibules, and halls, there was formerly a second story, of which only some walls and windows are now visible. This second story probably served as the dwelling and sleeping apartments of the royal family, and the lower apartments for assemblies and festivities, and perhaps also in part for the residence of the king himself.

What appeared the most interesting to me, in the magnificent whole, were the several representations of the deeds and battles of the founders, which are always on a gigantic scale, depicted on some of the lofty walls of the palace; four of these paintings, in the splendour of a variety of colours, are still in a tolerable state of preservation. Mr. Wilkinson very justly observes that, at the sight of these pictures, you are immediately reminded of the Iliad, and fancy that you behold representations of the Trojan War; nay, he even thinks, that Homer perhaps derived, in part, the subject of his immortal poem from these compositions.

In fact, there is in these pictures a spirit, a variety, and a richness of combination, which are not inferior to the antique, which soars above the strange properties of the Egyptian style of architecture, which had assumed certain types not only for deities and men, in definite and constantly repeated attitudes, but likewise for animals—for instance, for war-horses—which, although they exhibit a slight deviation from the truth of nature, are nevertheless conceived in a grand style. The effect of one of these pictures is remarkably striking, where the victorious Rameses, like the redoubted Achilles, leaning forward in his war-chariot,

and discharging his destructive arrows, which spread death far and near, drives before him over the field a number of other war-chariots, the drivers of which, in attempting to reach a neighbouring fortress, are partly precipitated into the river, and partly taken prisoners and cut to pieces by the pursuing troops. Other pictures represent infantry in camp, the storming of cities, triumphs, &c., united with religious processions, which, however, are represented by themselves, above the battle-pieces. M. Rosseline's complete collection of engravings represents all this more clearly to the eye, so that I cannot do better than refer the reader to that publication: though I must remark, that I am not acquainted with any work which does entire justice to Egyptian art in perfection of execution and in correctness of colouring. I shall take the opportunity of my second visit to Thebes to return to this subject.

From this place we proceeded, in a southerly direction, towards a hill, on the summit of which were the blackened remains of a Coptic village, crested by two temples and a palace, of a yellow colour.

The first of these temples, to which the Romans added some courts, and which, during the rule of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, King Toraka, or Tiraka, seems to have enlarged, is of middling size, but full of interesting details; yet it is far surpassed by the adjoining palace-temple of Rameses IV., where, for the first time, we see the gigantic proportions of Egyptian architecture, which greatly exceeded those of every other style. The foremost pavilion of the king, from

which a dromos led to the temple itself, not only gives an exalted idea of the splendour, but also of the most refined elegance and grace of that period, and seemed to me the very ideal of the private residence of a great man. Here, too, the pictures are not so strictly conformable with the sacred style; and we see the king in the midst of his harem, waited upon by his wives, who present to him flowers and fruits; while on the exterior wall the dreadful image of the victorious Osiris, with a battle-axe in his hand, overthrows his enemies, held together by the hair, in the form of the fifty-headed Briareus. Colossal lion heads, like water-spouts, project from the walls, as in gothic buildings, and there are many other points in this structure which remind us of the gothic; for instance, the pinnacles of the outer walls, which are formed of shields ranged close to each other, and which present a magnificent appearance. A handsome apartment, covered with many pretty pictures, pierced with large, variously-formed, ornate windows, over which eagles or vultures hover on an azure ground, is in a nearly perfect state of preservation. The principal window looks towards the gate of the temple, which is sixty feet high, and hence we have a fine perspective through the two courts to the farther end. Gigantic propylæa (pyramidal towers, which rise on either side of the principal gate, and are double its width), richly ornamented with hieroglyphical carvings, flank this gate, which is of red granite, and through which we entered the first court, or dromos, bounded by corridors, of which that on the right hand has Osirian pillar colossi, and that on the left hand has pillars with

capitals of lotus. Mr. Wilkinson, whose thorough and profound researches every traveller must gratefully acknowledge, but who is shackled by English prejudices and orthodox non-essentials, is much dissatisfied with the want of symmetry which shocks him at every turn in Egypt, for this he censures the Egyptians, and has even coined the word *symmetrophobia* to express his disapproval. His religious scruples trouble him still more; and he goes so far as officially to organise the whole chronology of the Egyptian royal dynasties—in some degree contrary to his own private judgment—in order that they may not come into too direct collision with the chronology of the Bible: nay, he even inserts a long, laboured dissertation, to reconcile with the prophecies of Ezekiel an assertion which they appeared to contradict. What pleases me still less in Mr. Wilkinson's work, is his national pride, or rather injustice, with respect to Champollion; for though, in some incidental phrases, he cannot avoid, in common with the whole civilised world, to recognise his great merits, yet he would willingly insinuate that Dr. Young and the English, in fact, made the first steps towards deciphering the hieroglyphics, and by their "preceding discoveries" gave the first hints, after which Champollion pursued the investigation: pretty much the same as if we were to give more honour to the inventor of the tea-kettle than to the inventor of the steam-engine! To say the least, it is a highly incorrect assertion in itself;

* They are generally called so, though probably they were modelled after another plant, which antiquaries have not yet been able positively to determine.

since the most essential point, the discovery of the phonetic element in the hieroglyphics, is due to Champollion; and this discovery alone has rendered a systematic analysis of these enigmatical writings at all possible, and in the space of a few years, has furnished us with more information than all the labours and researches of the learned for the attainment of this very object during as many centuries.* Subsequently, Mr. Wilkinson pretty clearly hints (pages 55—57) that he considers himself not much less than a second Champollion (though, as a *façon de parler*, he would not incur the suspicion of such arrogance), for he rejoices that his own researches have so frequently led him to the same results as those of M. Champollion, “*though he never had any kind of communication with him.*” Yet this can only mean, that he never saw him, never corresponded with him; certainly not that he remained ignorant of Champollion’s researches and success. Without the aid of his discoveries, we might venture to lay a wager of a hundred to one, that Mr. Wilkinson, in spite of his own successful investigations, and in spite of the early discoveries of Dr. Young, would to this day be groping in the same vague obscurity, respecting the sacred writing of the ancient Egyptians, in which, before the time of Champollion, all Europe was enveloped.

* Dr. Young, as is well known, always affirmed that hieroglyphic writing was only figurative and symbolical, and that even the demotic texts of the Rosetta stone consisted only of signs for ideas; “at the most,” he adds, “with the exception of those few groups which contain Greek names.”

“Honour to whom honour is due.” I return to our temple, and to its unsymmetrical court.

I, for my part, am pleased with the *symmetrophobia* of ancient Egyptian architecture, to which it is partly indebted for its greater effect, and a never-ending variety. The Greeks, as well as the old Italians, not unfrequently disregarded the laws of symmetry; true artists, however, never do so, in an unskilful manner, or one which is really offensive to the eye, or destructive of harmony; whereas, even where the strictest adherence to symmetry is observed, incorrect proportions and tasteless composition invariably betray the blunderer; and of this, all modern Europe, and, above all, England itself, affords thousands of the most lamentable and ridiculous instances.

The walls of the corridor in the above-mentioned court, two-thirds of which have fallen into ruins, are covered with hieroglyphics, some of which are five inches in depth. They are all painted, as well as the bas-reliefs on the pillars and columns.

Passing through the richly-ornamented granite gate, and another pair of propylæa, we came to the second court, which is fortunately in much better condition than the first. It is impossible for any one, who has the slightest feeling for the sublime, to go under this gate without admiration. The open space into which it leads is only 123 by 133 feet, for the Egyptians usually made their courts small, and their buildings large; whereas, we do precisely the contrary. This small space is surrounded by a peristyle, of enormous proportions, having on the east and west sides, five columns; and on the north and south, eight square

pillars, with caryatidæ, which represent Rameses IV., under the figure of Osiris. Beyond the most northern of these colossi, which stand opposite to the gate, there is a piazza of still more gigantic columns, with a blue ceiling, studded with golden stars, from which immense eagles, with black and yellow outspread wings, look down upon the Lilliputian spectator. The reader may judge of its proportions, when I inform him that the columns, which are rather bellied, and have beautiful-shaped lotus capitals, are twenty-three feet in circumference, several feet above the bases. The brilliant colours of many hundred designs, which cover the shafts of the columns, as well as the high wall behind them, where the principal deities are enthroned, are, for the most part, in a good state of preservation, as well as those of the architrave which runs round the court, and the gay projecting cornice, which produces such a peculiar and grand effect in all the Egyptian temples.

The dedication of the temple is represented on the architrave in hieroglyphic inscriptions, of which Wilkinson, probably with the help of Champollion, read, among other things, that the king had decorated the adytum, in addition to its architectural ornaments, with silver and precious stones. Many of the festal processions are extremely magnificent, and throw great light on ancient customs and manners. Among other representations is that of a coronation; and birds are symbolically represented as flying right and left, to announce the event to all parts of the world; an office which in our days is more quickly performed by the newspapers.

Champollion and Wilkinson describe all this at great length, as well as the large noble sculptures on the external walls of the temple. These might afford matter for investigation for months together, by their multifarious representations of battles and victories, both by sea and land; of armies marching in divisions, like regularly-disciplined troops; of legions of enemies put to flight; of prisoners whose hands are being cut off, while a secretary notes down their numbers; of triumphal processions; of sacrifices in honour of victories, &c. &c.; all of which represent Rameses III. or IV. almost as successful a conqueror as his great ancestor Sesostris. Beneath a painting which depicts his return to Egypt, the following address to his troops is put in his mouth: "Give yourselves up to joy; let it rise to heaven: the strangers are overthrown. The terror of my name is come over them, and has petrified their hearts. Like a lion I have opposed them, pursued them like a hawk, and have annihilated their guilty souls. I have passed over their rivers, and burnt down their fortresses. I am a wall of brass for Egypt. Thou, my father, Ammon Ra, hast so commanded me, and I have pursued the barbarians; I have passed victoriously through all parts of the earth, till at length the world itself withdrew from my steps. My arm subdued the kings of the earth, and my foot trampled on the nations."

Some persons believe that this king penetrated to the Caspian Sea and the Oxus, an assertion which it might be difficult to prove.

Two other courts of this majestic palace-temple are quite choked up with rubbish; and nothing is to be

seen, except the dexter external wall, which is covered with admirable sculptures; through these beautiful paintings the Christians have recklessly cut twelve doorways, and, as an exhibition of their skill, have carved several small crosses above them. The whole temple is throughout intermingled and covered with the modern ruins of a Coptic village; but if the rubbish were thoroughly cleared away, and the disgraceful appendages pulled down, the splendid buildings would undoubtedly be found, for the most part, in good preservation, and the total effect of their former majestic beauty would at any rate be restored. The *plateau*, which we ascended by a narrow easy staircase, commands an extensive prospect over the vast space which ancient Thebes occupied on both sides of the Nile.

Close before us, towards the south, we saw traces of high cast up banks of earth, similar to those of a large artificial lake,—perhaps the same over which the dead were ferried. Prokesch takes these mounds for remains of the walls of the city; but this seems problematical, because throughout the whole of its circumference, which extends for many leagues, as is plainly indicated by the ruins, there is nowhere any trace of such an enclosure.

These dams are joined by a verdant plain, through which the silvery Nile winds its devious course, issuing from an amphitheatre of blue mountains, beyond which in a far, unknown distance, its mysterious sources are concealed. Before us to the east were the seated Colossi of Memnon, which even at this distance do not lose their wondrous, unearthly effect;

and behind them, yonside the river, rose the gigantic, all-surpassing ruins of Luxor and Karnac, surrounded by a forest, on the borders of which the Arabian chain rises in bold outline. Lastly, towards the north, are the already-described remains of the temples of Gourneh, and those of the Rameseion, with their waste, dreary, bleached necropolis along the Lybian chain. In the more distant landscape, the Nile again greets the view in the midst of verdant plains, to the far limits where earth seems engulfed by desert and sky, which drops its azure mantle, and bounds the prospect of the human eye, but cannot limit the lively imagination of man.

We returned to breakfast most prosaically, in the splendid court of the temple, and then proceeded, by torchlight, to visit some of its dark lateral chambers, which, even where the light of day is excluded, are adorned with an inconceivable mass of carved or raised designs, and which were veiled, doubtless not without reason, in sombre obscurity for the gloomy, mysterious worship of the priests, and perhaps, also, for its abuse.

In one of these apartments I saw a sphinx with the head of a horse, the only instance of the kind which I met with in Egypt.

In the midst of these gigantic proportions we almost overlooked a small Coptic church erected at a later period in this court; though its barbarously-shaped, diminutive little pillars are still standing about, they are so entirely lost amid the enormous pile around them, that they are scarcely more apparent than a fly on the nose of a giant.

We had included a visit to the Necropolis in our plan for this day's inspection, and we accordingly turned our steps thitherward. The first object that attracted our attention was a small, but very elegant, gaily-shining temple of Isis, built, I believe, by the *beautiful* Cleopatra, and decked like a *boudoir*. In one of its three dark apartments, Apis is being conveyed in a large bark, which gives us a very clear idea of the arrangement and construction of the vessels of that period. It is a pity that this elegant building is surrounded by a detestable wall, of a later date, made of the Nile mud.

We proceeded through ravines, and passed by innumerable catacombs, and in about a quarter of an hour came to the tombs of the queens and other eminent persons; in these are represented a number of subjects taken from common life, such as dances, concerts, hunting parties, visits of foreign princes, various mechanic trades, water parties, fisheries, wild beasts, and the like. In this respect several tombs of private distinguished individuals are often more interesting than those of royal personages, in which sacred subjects are almost invariably represented; to any one who could make a long stay here, they would afford very valuable insight into much that is still doubtful respecting the manners and customs of ancient Egypt. Thus, for example, we think we have found the solution of the important question, "Did the ancient Egyptians smoke?" in one picture, which represents a party smoking long pipes; and, contrary to the assertion of Herodotus, that "the Egyptians did not eat swine's flesh," we saw an indisputable roast-

pig served up in a dish in one of the many delineations.

In the furthest niche are two or three painted statues, the size of life, sitting close to each other, probably representations of the persons interred here. They are perfectly similar to our wax figures, nor can they claim any higher value as works of art. The most remarkable circumstance about them is, the unparalleled state of preservation of some of them; they look as if they had been set up only yesterday, whereas they have unquestionably been in their places three thousand years!

Sepulchral palaces of yet greater splendour, and the ruins of a yet larger temple, are found in the adjacent valley of Assasseef; here broken lids of mummy-cases, bones, dried portions of human remains, bandages, and pieces of fine Egyptian linen, saturated in resin, lie scattered about as on a field of battle.

One of the tombs in Assasseef, most of which belonged to the priests, is a complete labyrinth, and even of greater extent than any of the royal tombs in Babel Melech. Its subterranean halls, staircases, passages, and chambers, occupy a space of two acres, and, though buried in eternal night, are covered with the most carefully-executed sculptures, and adorned with many hundred elegant little statues; but to the disgrace of modern ages, these have all been wantonly defaced, and the walls designedly blackened by the fumes of the torches.

The sarcophagi themselves have all been plundered and ravaged, and the deep wells into which they were lowered are now empty. A narrow path runs beside

these wells, scarcely a foot broad, and consequently often traversed, not without danger, in the darkness. The owner of this sepulchral monument, of such lugubrious splendour, was Petamunap, an eminent priest, whose name is also found on one of the granite gates of the little temple of Medinet-Abou, where he is designated as the builder of that portal. Both erections testify the great wealth of private persons of that time, who then executed works which many sovereigns of our age might consider too expensive an undertaking.

We concluded our first day at Thebes, by ascending the rock behind the above-mentioned temple, of which only a granite portal and a few apartments still remain, in order once more to view the landscape in the roseate light of the sun, that was setting behind us. The expression "roseate light" is not metaphorical; for, on fine evenings, the sun of Egypt really veils all objects, even the pale desert itself, in a shimmering red, of such mild lustre and blooming freshness, that no effect of light in Europe can give an adequate conception of it, and no painter would attempt or be able faithfully to represent such a scene.

We dedicated the second day exclusively to the royal tombs in the valley of Bab el Melech;—those astonishing palaces of the lower world, which, of all the works of this extraordinary people, if not the greatest, are certainly the most peculiar.

Even the road which leads to it has a powerful effect on the imagination. Penetrating into the interior of the mountain chain, it leads for above half a

league in the windings of a high rocky ravine, which is alternately narrower and wider, but never exceeds the breadth of a few hundred paces. All vegetation seems to have vanished; desolation surrounds you on all sides; rocks are piled upon rocks, in wild sublime confusion; and you might in vain offer millions for a single blade of grass. As if in mockery of the death of vernal splendour, the spectre rocks assume the form of vegetable life: one apes an enormous mushroom, another the trunk of a tree riven and shattered by the storm; here a perforated block assumes the appearance of foliage, and there the broken surface of black declivities appears in its darker tints, like a stunted furze of a highland moor. All these rocks, stones, and sandy slopes are illumed with a reddish lustre, as if they were lighted up by the flame of a hidden fire; an illusion which is still more confirmed by the burning heat which reigns in this strange valley. Above the whole is spread the dark blue vault of the unbroken sky, without the trace of a passing cloud; for, together with life, motion has ceased, even in the heaven itself: colours alone still give some signs of animation here, as well as in the wondrous tombs themselves, whose subterraneous splendour was soon to be spread before us.

A pointed rock suddenly springs high above all the others, supported by rampart-like rocky walls, which issue from it in long, perpendicular, precipitous lines; and below them we beheld here and there low half-choked up doors, which look as if they led to cellars in the rock. Who could have had any presentiment of what was here concealed, and that these

plain unadorned openings, which are scarcely perceptible, and which formerly were entirely hidden by heaps of rubbish, purposely placed before them, led to palaces of night, in the bowels of the earth? which, though they were never designed to be seen by human eye, yet were to disclose a world of inconceivable labour, magic splendour, and consummate art. This is certainly the only instance of human works being executed with such an immense expenditure of energy, like eternal nature itself, regardless whether or not a living being should ever pay them a due tribute of admiration. They were devoted to death alone, to the night of eternal concealment!

The petty, restless, and covetous races who succeeded them, did not, however, leave them to their desired repose. All has been ransacked, profaned, plundered, by one nation after another; then forgotten for thousands of years, and again opened, and so on, down to our days. Yet it is problematical whether everything which these extensive, rocky defiles conceal, has been discovered. Strabo, for instance, mentions forty royal tombs, in this district, and yet only seventeen are now known; all of which have suffered more or less. The tomb discovered by Belzoni, though it had been already partially opened, is the only one which, upon the whole, remains untouched, and, on account of its invaluable state of preservation, is the most remarkable. It is, nevertheless, much to be regretted, that though only a few years have elapsed since Belzoni's happy discovery, such fearful, though partial devastations, have already been committed by lovers of the Arts;—that if this

pillage continues, this tomb will speedily have no advantage of the others. I do not so much blame the *connoisseur* who carries off some of these wonderful productions to enrich a museum,—for the temptation is great, and there was no longer any owner;—but I deprecate the wanton barbarism of breaking to pieces perfect columns and paintings, for the purpose of detaching a single-painted head, and of defacing an entire wall covered with the most elaborate hieroglyphic characters, and completely destroying the fine effect of the whole, in order to take out a couple of remarkable figures; ruining and demolishing projections in the apartments, covered with the finest figures and ornaments, merely to see if there was anything behind them; nay, even scraping and peeling off the choicest works of painting to examine the nature of the stucco and the colours, and, as the *acmé* of recklessness, have even selected the most admirable groups, and ruined the most lovely figures by carving right across them a detested name which, with shameless brutality here exposes itself to infamy.

We had need to summon all our stoical philosophy on meeting such instances in every chamber, not to be thereby deprived of half the pleasure in the enjoyment of the magically wonderful works which we have here before us.

The descent to some of these palaces of the dead was not accomplished without difficulty; sometimes by steep flights of steps, or over stones and rubbish; others, however, slope down very gradually, and immediately present to the astonished sight—many even in the day-light, which is admitted through the openings,

which are now much enlarged—a suite of halls and splendidly-ornamented doorways, which, extending in a straight line almost farther than the eye can reach, resemble, at the first glance, the suite of state apartments in the palaces of our princes. There are many lateral chambers and galleries; but the gigantic granite sarcophagus, enclosing the inner and richer coffin in which the royal corpse was deposited, was always placed in the largest and most richly adorned hall, at the farther end of the whole suite. Many of these have been carried away; and those that remain have all been broken and robbed of their contents. It is certain that most of these splendid abodes of the dead, if they could be brought to the light of day in Europe, would be considered as a most desirable residence by any newly-nominated constitutional minister, or foreign ambassador just arrived in the capital; for there are none of those low narrow passages of the pyramids, which compel you to stoop or even to crawl on your chest; nor have we here those wretched black-holes which we too complacently designate chambers: everything here breathes the spirit of greatness, convenience, and ornament. While the walls of our state saloons are for the most part hung with insignificant silk, or even paper, and covered perhaps with some indifferent paintings and engravings, the walls, ceilings, pilasters, and columns in these tombs, form one continued series of innumerable pictures and sculptures, of the highest value as works of art, of the most manifold design, size, colour, and composition; and, add to all,—these pictures, which so greatly delight the

eye and the fancy, are, at the same time, *a language*,—an eloquent, verbal, or symbolical expression, of the most diverse, nay, perhaps the most sublime ideas, which would make as profound an impression on our feelings as on our understanding, if we were able to decipher them all.

There is, at the same time, no lack of adventitious ornament : and the admirable originality, the refined taste of these specimens, and, above all, the exquisite harmony and arrangements of the colours, in which the Egyptians appear to have excelled all other nations, is very conspicuous. The effects produced open an entirely new field to the lovers of colours ; and I already see, in my mind, the time when not only artists and scene-painters, but also the *commis-voyageurs* of our manufacturers—in whose department such things have a place—will come to Thebes to make studies of this kind in the royal tombs for chintzes and muslins for ladies' dresses, &c. Indeed, I have already given a hint on this subject to the director of a chintz manufactory in Cairo, with the view of rendering his designs, hitherto received from Elberfield, rather more national ; he took up the idea with so much ardour, that we may perhaps soon see our taste in cotton printing—which, unhappily, is becoming worse and worse—improved by a good sample of the combined taste of modern and ancient Egypt.

Mr. Wilkinson has had the royal tombs numbered, which is convenient for travellers ; and in the short notices which I intend to give of some of them, I shall indicate them by his arrangement.

No. 11, the tomb of Rameses III., founder of the

great temple of Medinet-Abou, which I described yesterday, strikes me as one of the most magnificent, and its sculptures and paintings the most distinguished, as works of art, among all these tombs; but it has suffered incalculably by streams of water, which formerly penetrated it, and by the continued damp which they occasioned. This stream is now dried up; but the bed may easily be traced from the very entrance. As there is scarcely ever any rain here, it is difficult to explain whence this water came.

The length of the chambers, galleries, and colonnades in this tomb is 405 feet, with a very imperceptible fall of 31 feet in the whole extent. A number of small lateral chambers, past which the water flowed, are fortunately in a much better state of preservation, and the paintings in these furnish us with the most interesting information respecting the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians; their arms, furniture, utensils, instruments, and other articles of the most various descriptions. In one of these rooms we saw representations of all the vessels then used upon the Nile, some with large square sails of the present French national colours, and most richly ornamented; in another we admired the elegance of the Egyptian furniture; and we might almost be tempted to suppose that many of the arm-chairs, bedsteads, and couches, were copied from a Parisian or London journal of fashions. They are all of wood, very rarely of metal, and frequently ornamented with gilt bronze, and covered with rich stuff. Several specimens of porcelain vases, pitchers and basins, baskets, carpets, coverings of leopard skins, appear equally tasteful. In the armoury we observed many

blue blades, which may excite a doubt of the truth of the assertion, that the Egyptians were not acquainted with steel and iron, but made their weapons of bronze. The kitchen and the cellar, with the operations of baking cakes and bread, are likewise represented in great detail: we see people engaged in slaughtering, boiling, roasting, drawing wine, &c. Many productions of the country are represented in another apartment, and musical instruments in an adjoining one, where two blind singers accompany themselves on harps, which differ but little from those now in use. In the floor of each of these rooms is a shaft, and Mr. Wilkinson advances the sapient hypothesis, that this was the place of interment for the servants of the royal household, whose respective occupations in life were analogous to the representations on the walls.

The sepulchral chamber of the king is quite ruined by the damp, and the royal outer granite sarcophagus was taken away by Mr. Salt. It is considered very problematical whether the kings really ever lay in these ostensible coffins; perhaps they served only to lead people astray, with respect to so sacred a deposit, and therefore all these extensive sepulchral monuments may contain some carefully concealed secret chambers, which are so artfully and solidly hidden from the eye, that accident alone may bring one of them to light. The above-mentioned tomb, No. 17, discovered by Belzoni, gives some significant indications on the subject.

This tomb which undoubtedly, more than any other, rewards the inquisitive traveller, on account of its incredible freshness, is not so conveniently got at

as the preceding. We were obliged to ascend an almost perpendicular flight of twenty-four steps, nearly choked up with rubbish, which Belzoni found walled up, and concealed by stones piled up before it. This ascent was extremely fatiguing, on account of the dank heat which prevails here. We then came to a passage nineteen feet long, and nine feet broad, descended a flight of steps almost as long as we had ascended, beyond which, passing through a corridor thirty feet long, and two doors, we came to a chamber fourteen feet by twelve. When Belzoni had proceeded thus far, he saw only a deep well, which appeared to be the end of the whole.

All the walls were covered with most carefully executed, connected paintings, which certainly gave no reason to conjecture that there was any further egress on that side. Belzoni, however, who was formed by nature for great enterprises of this kind, and who, endowed with physical, as Champollion was with intellectual energy, obtained far greater results in Egypt than all other travellers, could not so easily be deterred; a chink in the wall, and a hollow sound, pointed out the direction in which, by the application of an old trunk of a palm tree as a battering-ram, he opened a way through the pictures of the gods, (here justly destroyed); and we may conceive the joyful surprise of the persevering investigator, when, through the violently opened breach, the untouched splendour of the colours of a room twenty-six feet in diameter, shone before him in the light of the torches! Four massy pillars supported the richly ornamented chamber, which immediately adjoins

another of the same dimensions. If the first charms the eye by its finished splendour, the second has a yet higher interest for us, because it is not completed, and therefore initiates us into the technical method employed by the Egyptian artists, and at the same time gives us the highest idea of their skill, correctness and firmness in design. It almost seems that in the process employed, (at least frequently,) the sculptor first drew on the polished wall, a slight sketch of the subjects with red chalk; the draughtsman then traced all the figures in sharp, black outlines, (the bold firmness of which really excites astonishment), which the sculptor probably then formed into bas-reliefs, which were afterwards coloured by the painter.

Again descending a flight of steps, with raised corridors on both sides, and inspecting several rooms of various sizes, all so full of the most admirable sculptures and paintings, that many weeks would not suffice to study them, and which, when they have not been injured by man, remain wholly uninjured by time, we entered the great hall, thirty feet square, which is supported by six pillars. From this we passed into a vaulted hall, thirty feet long by nineteen, in the centre of which, under a covering of granite, stood the celebrated sarcophagus of oriental alabaster, which, however, was empty. Immediately adjoining this is a staircase—formerly artfully concealed by a wall—leading to an inclined passage, which at present penetrates one hundred and fifty feet into the heart of the rock, where it is sunk in. It is very possible that it communicated with Thebes, and, if it were repaired, might lead to surprising results. Mehemet

Ali alone would be able to effect such an undertaking, which he would hardly be induced to do; such enterprises are reserved for a later era in the civilisation of Egypt, which then, in spite of the plunder and destruction of so many centuries, will open a rich field of entirely new discoveries in the bosom of the earth.

The tomb is 180 feet deep, and its horizontal length 320 feet, at the place where the above-mentioned passage was found; according to Champollion, it concealed, or still conceals, in some unknown place, King Osiris, father of Rameses the Great; this is declared by the long lines of hieroglyphics in the first corridor, and the cartouche of the king at the entrance.*

One of the most remarkable pictures in the first hall, exhibits portraits of different nations, among which, though Mr. Wilkinson denies it, the Jews cannot be mistaken, though it is very possible that they may, at the same time, be intended to represent a larger portion of the inhabitants of the earth; for the Arabs are only Jews on horseback. The Egyptians possessed the art of accurately portraying characters in a high degree; and a humorous turn for caricature is equally evident in their composition. Thus, I observed an execution, where the executioner stooping over his victim, had precisely the attitude and the sentimental expression of a father blessing his children, in the immediate prospect of separation. One of his colleagues gives so fearful a stroke with his broad sword, that three criminals, already executed,

* The alabaster coffin, which Champollion took from this tomb, was empty.

are still upon their knees, without a trace of their heads upon the ground, as if they had flown away too far to be inserted in the same picture! The mysteries of generation are likewise treated in a singular manner, on which a Frenchman has written some coarse cynical remarks.

Some pictures almost appear to indicate human sacrifices, and others refer to mysteries which are wholly unintelligible to us. Many of the larger groups, generally those of kings offering sacrifice, or gods seated on their thrones, are so very admirable, that they would do honour to the most celebrated painters of the best times of the art. I was particularly astonished at the variety of expression, which the authors of these works—though the head is almost invariably in profile—have given to the physiognomy of their figures—an immense variety of forms, worthy of Raphael himself.

Independently of the indisputable merit of these performances as works of art, the division and disposition,—which are entirely different in all the rooms,—and the judicious choice of the colours, even if considered as mere ornament and decoration, are calculated with wonderful sagacity, and the hieroglyphic texts themselves serve as the most elegant embellishments for the apartments. I am convinced that even a person who had no conception of the pure enjoyment of works of art, would carry away from these chambers the most pleasing impression, merely in respect to the lovely ornaments and the delightful effects of colour.

Every apartment has its own peculiar character. In

the great hall, for instance, the ground is of a dead-gold colour; the pictures are less gay than elsewhere; in the lateral chambers the ground is white, with the most varied and richest splendour of colouring; in the hall of the sarcophagus it is black, with pale-yellowish-red pictures, which, in a very few places only, are relieved by the most glowing tints in the outspread wings of the royal vulture. The multitude of figures, and strange objects of all kinds, their mysterious singularity, and their pale lustre on the dark ground, produce an indescribable effect, which must have been still more solemn when the transparent alabaster coffin, which was, perhaps, lighted, stood in the centre of the hall. My old guide told me that this experiment was made before the sarcophagus was sent to England, by putting several torches inside, leaving the rest of the hall enveloped in darkness, but illuminating all the other rooms with lights suspended by ropes in festoons;—a *chambre ardente*, such as is not likely to be ever seen again. How splendid may the ceremonies of the Egyptian priests have been in such a place, to which they, perhaps, ascended by subterraneous passages from Thebes, to pay the last honours to the royal corpse, and to preserve it from the eyes of the profane till the morn of the resurrection, after many thousand years!

I have already spoken of the devastations which amateurs have committed here. May these invaluable remains of ancient grandeur be better preserved henceforth; and may the pillagers, at least, go to work in a more conscientious and careful manner! With this earnest wish I conclude my description, which,

if it has appeared to the reader too prolix, shall, at least, be compensated for, by as brief a mention as possible of the remaining tombs of the kings.

After visiting half a dozen of them, we selected one of the grandest in its proportions, though it is less extensive, for our dining-room. While we were partaking of our repast, my dragoman, Giovanni, prepared a singular surprise for us; for, when we had finished, we penetrated into the interior, which declines but very little: here we saw in the distance the enormous granite sarcophagus, the only one at Bab el Melech, which is almost entire, and in the middle of it an inscription, in letters two feet high, in black paint. An involuntary shudder came over me when in this inscription I deciphered my own name, surmounted by an armorial crown, and below it the mystical symbol of my faith. If I were a little more superstitious than I am, I might have looked upon this as a fatal omen; as it was, a laugh overcame my vexation, but I insisted that the untoward inscription should be effaced; it was, however, utterly impossible to remove any more than the crown; the name resisted all attempts, and nothing, therefore, remained for me but earnestly to entreat the old sovereign, Rameses V., to whom the tomb belongs, not to be offended that my name, though, indeed, without any fault of mine, has been so improperly, and so clandestinely introduced upon his sarcophagus.

In the afternoon, while the heat was equally oppressive, we completed the inspection of the other twelve tombs, and, in the coolness of the evening, returned chiefly on foot, directly over the romantic

rocks, which are traversed by many perpendicular abysses, several hundred feet deep, and where we enjoyed very beautiful prospects of the remote distance. Herewith we ended our inspection of the wonders of Egypt on the Libyan bank of the Nile.

It was not till late at night, when, quite exhausted, and almost dying with thirst, that we obtained repose under the awning of our quiet bark, which carried us gently, by the splendid moonlight, to the opposite bank. What I may yet have to say respecting the tombs of the kings, I shall reserve to my second visit on my return, lest I should weary my reader, and wholly neglect the historical narrative of my journey, to which I give the decided preference; for it is not my intention to write compendia, but merely to give an account of what has happened to myself, and to leave on the mind of my reader the most lively impression of the whole in the same chronological order.

Stupendous works had passed before us during the last few days, but sublime wonders awaited us. In the presence of Luxor and Karnac the proudest spirit must feel abashed: we seem to look upon the works of demi-gods, for they far exceed the powers of the present race of men. If, while contemplating the other creations of Thebes, the sprightly imagination of the child of earth endeavours to attempt a bolder flight, here it is scarcely able to follow the reality; he is at the same moment entranced and humbled by a sublimity and grandeur, of the

possibility of which he had never formed any conception,—by a perfection, which, playing with the most prodigious masses, combines at once the most noble and the most beautiful in art and idea, with the most astonishing in technical execution.

The palace of Luxor stands unrivalled in the world; yet it is small in comparison with the gigantic works of Karnac! How many thousand years may have elapsed, ere a people could attain this degree of civilisation, of power, and of art; and how peculiar must have been the bias of this civilisation which, in antehistorical times, built the pyramids, and 1500 years before our era created the wonders of Thebes; and yet we see that, when it had attained the highest point of which it was capable, whether from wisdom, or the cogency of its nature, it stopped, and, petrifying as it were, what it had gained, by a sacred style, by a fixed rule, which embraced not only the art, but the whole of life, and from which no further deviation was allowed—preserved it through a long series of centuries, and thereby found, perhaps, the only means to prevent that never-ending striving at unattainable perfection, that eternal dissatisfaction with what already exists, which so peculiarly characterises our own age, and which appears rather to rob it of support than to create anew. Human progress of every kind, whether of a nation or of an individual, has probably its limits, beyond which it cannot pass. When this culminating point is attained, the nation or individual must endeavour to fix it, by the application of some positive power; and if this does not succeed, to prepare with resignation for the inevitable reverse of

all sublunary things. If nations violently seek to rise higher and higher, they only sink the more rapidly into that barbarism, which is not the barbarism of rude ignorance, but of superabundant knowledge and exhaustion. I do not entirely coincide with the sentiment, that we must either advance or retrograde. The history of nations, nay even our own personal experience, teaches us, that it is possible to be stationary, if not for ever, yet for a long period, though certainly this is much to be deprecated, except when a very high degree of individual cultivation has been attained. Strictly speaking, it is, nevertheless, undeniable that something imperfect, incomplete, is manifest even in the very highest attainment of human effort, and hence imperfections may be shown in Egyptian art, as well as in every other: but still it is a subject of the greatest admiration, how wonderfully it represents, how perfect it stands in the utmost extent of its career, and how long it maintained itself, an object of the highest admiration, an astonishing image of the sublimest human greatness for all ages.

Yet to take the right point of view from which it should be considered, and without which it cannot be understood, the reader will permit me to quote one of the most ingenious and profound passages of Champollion, the convincing truth of which is felt at once when you are on the spot. I may premise, as well known, that all the temples and royal palaces of Egypt were covered, within and without, partly with hieroglyphical writing, which, in former times, every educated person was able to read, partly with representations of events in the history of the country, and

partly with anaglyphs, that is, symbolical pictures, which represented abstract subjects. The latter, which it would be impossible completely to decipher, were probably the peculiar, mysterious language of the priests, which was intelligible only to the initiated, while to the laity it represented merely the gods and heroes, in the nimbus of respectful adoration. Yet these allegorical pictures had probably always a certain connection with the hieroglyphic writings; both had a number of characters in common, among which were the symbolic signs in the hieroglyphic writing.*

* For those who may be wholly unacquainted with this subject, I add the following brief explanation :—

The Egyptians had several kinds of writing : 1st, the hieroglyphic, which was the monumental writing, and well known and intelligible to everybody who had some education. It consisted of three elements, which might be arbitrarily blended together. (a) The *figurative*, a drawing of the object itself. (b) The *symbolical*, where only a sign was used, peculiar, or nearly relating to the object ; for instance, for Osiris, the obelisk ; as for Jupiter, among the Greeks, the eagle with the thunderbolt ; just as among Christians a cross is now the emblem of Christ, &c. (c) The *Phonetic*, where images taken from nature, or from human invention, likewise indicated *the tones of the language*, and that in such a manner, that every phonetic hieroglyphic represented the image of an object, which, in the language spoken by the Egyptians, began by the articulation which the hieroglyphic sign was to express : thus, for instance, if we would imitate this in our language, the image of a tiger, a trap, a table, &c., would always signify the letter T. 2ndly, The language of the priests, called *the hieratic*, which was merely an abbreviation of the hieroglyphic writings. 3rdly, the *demotic*, or cursory, which was an abbreviation of the hieratic, intended for daily use, and very nearly alphabetic writing, in which the figurative and symbolic signs almost entirely disappeared, except for the designation of the gods. 4thly, and lastly, *the allegorical* images, the anaglyphs, the only really secret writing of the priests, into which people could be initiated by them

“There were, therefore,” says Champollion, “theoretical and material relations, which combined with each other the various parts of the general *graphic system* of the Egyptians. This system, at once figurative, symbolical, and phonetic, comprehended, directly or indirectly, all the arts which are founded on imitation. The principle of these arts was, therefore, by no means the same in Egypt, as that which was the condition of this development in Greece. Egyptian art had not the special purpose of representing with the greatest possible fidelity, the beautiful forms of nature—it aimed only at the expression of an order of *ideas* peculiar to it, and was not to perpetuate the memory of mere forms, but that of men and of things. The immense colossus, and the most petty amulet, were the fixed signs of an idea; however perfect or indifferent the execution, their object was in the main obtained, for the perfection of form, though subsequently attained in the most noble manner, was only secondary. In Greece, on the contrary, form was everything, and art was used only for the sake of art.

alone, and in which they, without doubt, deposited their most profound secrets respecting science, philosophy, and religion, which we cannot entertain much hope of ever being able positively to decipher, whereas such a result with respect to the hieroglyphics is now scarcely liable to any doubt. If we could read that language, we should very probably find in it the whole Genesis of Moses, the statements in which so strikingly coincide with the most recent discoveries of geologists, that, I say, only a science which had been cultivated for thousands of years was capable of communicating such knowledge; and Moses, therefore, could only have received them from the priests of Egypt, in whose mysteries there is every reason to believe he was profoundly versed, unless we take it for granted, with true believers, that he received it by dictation or inspiration from God.

In Egypt it was but a powerful means of *embodying thought*. The most trifling ornament of Egyptian architecture has its peculiar signification, and bears a direct reference to the idea on which the erection of the whole building was founded; whereas the ornaments of Greek and Roman temples were intended only to please the eye, and conveyed no meaning to the understanding. Thus, the spirit of the two people is totally distinct. Writing and the imitative arts soon separated among the Greeks for ever; but in Egypt writing, design, painting, and sculpture constantly advanced *in the same line* to one and the same object, and when we consider the individual situation of each of those expressions of art, and especially the destination which all their productions had in common, we may justly say that they all were blended in *one*, in the most excellent of all arts—that *of writing*. The temples, as the Egyptian name indicates,* were, if I may so express myself, no other than colossal and splendid *signs, representing* the heavenly habitations; the statues, images of kings and private persons; the *bas-reliefs* and paintings, representing the scenes of public and private life, were wholly in the class of *figurative signs*; and the delineations of the Gods, the emblems of abstract ideas, the allegorical ornaments and pictures; lastly, the long series of the anaglyphs were united, in the most direct manner, with the symbolical principle of writing. This intimate union of the fine arts with the graphic system of the Egyptians, explains to us, without difficulty, the foundation of that *naïve* simplicity in which, notwithstanding the

* Dwellings of the Gods, or of God.

highest perfection in their peculiar way, painting and sculpture remained among them. The imitation of physical objects, so that they might be clearly recognised, was sufficient in itself for the intended purpose : to have idealised them in the execution, could have added but little to the perspicuity of the intended expression ; an arbitrary change in the form might even have confused it, since paintings and sculptures were, and were intended to be, only real written characters, always connected with an extensive composition, in which they themselves were only single elements."

So far, Champollion. Without attempting to inquire whether or not the Egyptians were right in this view of art, the fact of its existence is as undeniable as that the results attained by it, as we see them before us, have not been surpassed in their totality in any other country. Yes, the Egyptians were, in truth, an essentially *writing* people, as we have become, only with this difference, that *they* engraved in durable stone, in a thousand picturesque signs, which embraced the whole circle of nature and humanity, their history, their laws, their philosophy, their religion, in a word, their *life* ; and, for this purpose, they either excavated the interior of their palaces in rocks, or converted their rocks into palaces. And here, on those gigantic monuments of past ages, we now read their *writings*, the characters of which we admire as distinguished works of art, and still endeavour to decipher as the expression of profound ideas. But formerly, when they were understood by all, what general intelligence

and knowledge, what a universal feeling for the beautiful, must such a system have produced among a people, who could not pass by any of its buildings without having before them the pages of a book of wisdom, science, and history, rendered attractive by everything which art, taste, and splendour, united, could present.

We, too, write, indeed, but how?—with goose or crow-quills upon rags; and we, too, have an art, but, it is limited to more or less happy imitations of the ancients, or to our own past history, and will soon have nothing original to show but the Daguesrotype, bronzed figures of *papier mâché*, galvanic gilding, and inimitable bank-notes! True, the invention of the art of printing places us in a higher position. We have books, like the sand on the sea-shore. All the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, as far as quantity is concerned, vanish into nothing in comparison. But will our books last longer than the Pyramids? It is very possible, and I will not dispute it, but till then they will need many new editions in every respect. To return, however, to my description.

One of the most considerable villages of modern Egypt stands upon and in the beautiful temple buildings of Luxor, parts of which are quite choked up by the sand. The Nile, too, as if indignant at such a beggarly neighbourhood, has taken its course some hundred paces from its former bounds, on the banks of which the palace anciently stood, as the remains of a massive quay still indicate.

By way of preliminary, the Doctor and I took a general promenade by moonlight, among the most

colossal part of the ruins, beginning under the colonnade of the centre court, the columns of which, though buried at least half way up in the sand, measured at that height thirty feet in diameter. Our guide was a black Almeh, who, sometimes striking her tambourine, thoughtlessly danced before us, among the venerable ruins—a strange contrast, which, however, did not in the least distract my attention from the interesting piles around me. After wandering for a long time amid the cottages, narrow, gloomy passages, or groping along in the shade of the palaces, now placing the right foot upon the past, now the left upon the present, we at length issued unexpectedly, from within, through the propylæum gate of the entrance, and suddenly found ourselves, in the bright light of the full moon, precisely between the mutilated colossi of Rameses, and saw, on the right side, the most beautiful of all obelisks, black as jet—the companion to which the French took away—and rising as tapering and slender towards heaven, as if it were an arrow just ready to fly from the earth to the moon. This surprising sight, amid all the huge masses of the surrounding objects, doubled by the indefinite effect of the evening light, was one of those which remain indelibly impressed on the memory.

On the following morning we returned to the same spot, and commenced a more systematic inspection.

The first reflection that occurred to me—which indeed is anything but new—was, how much better the Egyptians understood architecture than we do, and yet it seems that we are not able to learn anything from them. The removal of the second obelisk, effected at

an enormous expense, and placing it in the great square of Louis XV., at Paris, is a case in point. Two majestic propylæa, a hundred feet high, form the entrance to the temple at Luxor; immediately at the sides of the gate are two seated colossi, about forty feet high, and some paces from them, only twice as far as the colossi are from the propylæa, stood the two obelisks, between eighty and ninety feet high, one of which has been carried away. By placing them all so close together, the effect is very powerful and striking; whereas the same objects, if isolated, and standing in an extensive space, appear quite insignificant, and the effect is altogether destroyed. The Egyptians never erected an obelisk without a companion, any more than a single column; least of all would they have placed an isolated obelisk in the centre of a large square, where it only looks like an unmeaning stake, and injures the appearance of the square, while the latter deprives it of all the striking effect of its mass, and thus makes the great appear little. It is lamentable that, for such a purpose, the sublimity of the entrance of this temple should have been so injured, for destroyed it could not be. The remaining obelisk, which is of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite, is but slightly damaged on two sides of the base, otherwise it is in the most perfect state of preservation, and the hieroglyphics, which are cut nearly two inches deep, are acknowledged to be the most perfect of the kind that the Egyptians themselves have produced. In fact, it would be impossible to surpass this work, and our degenerate race is incapable of conceiving how the ancient Egyptians could carve the

most delicate figures, perfect in the minutest detail, in this excessively hard granite, with as much precision and ease as our best medallists can engrave on cornelian. A boy, eleven years old, offered to climb up the obelisk by means of these hieroglyphics for a karie (an Egyptian coin, worth two-and-a-half francs); he accomplished the feat without difficulty up to two thirds of the height, where he was so rocked by the high wind, that we promised him two karie to come down again as quickly as possible.

In order to have a correct and clear idea of the disposition and plan of the temple, it is necessary to ascend to the top of the propylæum; though it is rather difficult to accomplish this, partly by the narrow, dilapidated staircase, and at last by leaping over blocks of stone, which jut out here and there. The prospect amply rewards the trouble in every respect, and the first founder of this temple, Amenoph III. (Memnon), when looking down from the battlements, might have seen himself twice represented in his seated colossal statues, on the other side of the river.

It is extremely interesting to endeavour to trace the form and extent of the ruins, amidst the confusion of the village, the houses of which (very handsome for Egyptian) are most strange Liliputian imitations, in the dust of their mud bricks, of the form of the propylæa.

More than a hundred ancient columns rise among them, and one of the principal courts of the temple is still nearly entire. In this I found several sculptures, inexpressibly sublime and graceful, and more than one

face among them had a delicacy and depth of expression, which must satisfy the most refined and critical European taste. These figures belong to the most flourishing period of Egyptian art, for its decline is in some measure visible under the later Pharaohs ; while under the Ptolemies it is immense ; and lastly, under the Romans, nothing but the caricature remains.

For the honour of the expedition to Luxor, the French have not been content with robbing the temple of one of its finest ornaments at the entrance, but have likewise disfigured the end, by erecting a large house, after which a portion of the venerable ruins were white-washed ! This house obstructs the view of one of the most interesting parts of the temple ; new walls have been built through the sanctuary ; the still lively colours of the pictures have been daubed with mortar in the crevices to keep off the draught of air ; an adytum has been converted into a small closet ; in a word, they have proceeded with inexcusable barbarism.

I found some Frenchmen established in this house, who had come from India, for it seems that it is intended to make it a permanent khan ; and I was shown an order of M. Mimaut, the Consul General, according to which none but Frenchmen were to be allowed to lodge here, and only the French flag to be displayed on its roof. Truly the Viceroy is very good-natured to allow of such proceedings ; and I should like to know what orders would be given to Turks who were to go to France, and attempt to make such speculations on the ruins of Chambord, or of some other fine ruin situated in an equally solitary place ?

But it is time to ride across the green plain to Karnack, where the culminating point of Thebes awaits us. It is an enchantment embodied in stone, at the sight of which the spectator rubs his eyes and exclaims, Am I awake or dreaming? In truth, it may be said of the gigantic hall in Karnac without any exaggeration, that it surpasses a dream; for as we have never seen anything like it in reality, it is beyond our dreaming powers to conjure it up in our sleep.

This forest of columns, larger and loftier than most church steeples, these masses of rock which surmount their lotus capitals, this ocean of ornaments and pictures—immeasurable as the starry heavens—and these glorious colours, of the splendour of which some happily preserved portions give us a faint idea: the flights of the boldest imagination are far below the reality; and what *was* this gigantic hall?—only a small portion of the prodigious whole, the circumference of which, as the fragments of the walls plainly indicate, was more than 8000 feet, to which six magnificent portals, 70 feet high, the greater part of which are still standing—partly with triple and quadruple propylæa—led from without; while an avenue of several hundred colossal sphinxes, formed the approach to each of these portals. This was one single temple in the circuit of “hundred-gated Thebes.” It is almost beyond the power of man to conceive the idea, to say nothing of the execution. And how perfect is this execution! Almost every imaginable claim satisfied in the most appropriate place, the most gigantic as well as the most lovely exhausted in the highest perfection; surely con-

founded by this mass of tower-like propylæa, colossi, obelisks, doors, porticos, pillars, columns, courts, halls, galleries, portals, and chambers, all covered with thousands and tens of thousands of figures glowing in the most dazzling, diversified, brilliancy of colours—every sincere and deeply-moved worshipper, feeling in pious awe the presence of the gods, must at the sight of heaven, thus opened to his view, have prostrated himself in mute adoration.

The principal approach to the temple rose from the Nile, in an avenue of sphinxes, probably shaded by the crowns of green sycamores, till it reached two pyramidal immense propylæa, between which was the largest entrance to the temple, part of which is now in ruins. Having reached this, a perspective view opens, which displays at one glance the whole colossal greatness of the ruins of Karnac. Notwithstanding the proxime piles of rubbish, and five enormous prostrate columns, you see, at the distance of a thousand paces, through a succession of twelve internal doors, all between seventy and eighty feet in height, which are partly destroyed; first into the extensive court, then along the gigantic hall, the court of the obelisk and that of the colossi, over the adytum, which richly adorned lies in the centre; then beyond it, again through many courts and porticos, till you see the pure blue of heaven, shining through the lofty portal at the extreme end—a scene without parallel, which could be produced only by choosing for this edifice a site which declined towards the middle, and by giving only a slight elevation to the adytum, which occupied this middle.

That which perhaps produces the grandest effect, in what is called the gigantic hall, is probably the peculiar arrangement, by which the columns of the double row down the middle (which, by the way, are forty feet in circumference) are one-third higher and thicker than all the rest; and while in the latter, the ceiling rests upon the dado over their capitals, there is above the large columns in the centre, an entire story, with colossal windows, which look to the interior, and which is fifty feet high, up to the ceiling. Now, as the columns themselves are above eighty feet high, the entire free space in the middle, from the ground to the ceiling, is more than one hundred and thirty feet. When viewed from every other part of the hall, this produces the appearance not only of a rising, but of the entire disappearance of the ceiling towards the centre, the effect of which is so peculiar that it must be seen to be understood. The windows in the above-mentioned upper wall, which, as if floating in the air, rise on the gay lotus capitals of the great pillars, are partly closed by a stone lattice-work, the massy, elegant, and yet utterly peculiar character of which is perfectly adapted to the whole, and is entirely different from everything we are accustomed to see.

Here too, as in the Rameseion, this second story added to the temple, served, in Champollion's opinion, for the residence of the several members of the royal family, who, on the inside, could look down from their elevated chambers on the forest of columns in this magnificent hall, and from the outer windows view their immense capitals, with the Nile and its romantic valley, from one mountain chain to the

other — from one desert to another, in its whole extent.

Convenient staircases, such as all the ancient Egyptian are, led without effort to these high apartments ; but, unhappily, we could no longer ascend them, and, at the risk of breaking our necks, had to climb from stone to stone, over ruins and fragments ; there we were first sensible of the size of the masses which unite the columns, among which there are stones above thirty feet long, six feet deep, and as many broad. Small, indeed, in comparison with the obelisk in the next court-yard, which is a monolith ninety-six feet high, polished as smooth as a mirror ; the companion to which, quite similar, lies broken by its side.

Added to the ravages committed by Cambyses and time, a dreadful earthquake must have raged here ; or else the Persians, like the Chinese, were acquainted at that time with the destructive power of gunpowder. By such means alone a desolation like this could have been effected, which was successfully withstood by the gigantic hall alone. With the exception of two columns that lie shattered on the ground, all the columns of this hall, 134 in number, are still standing. They were placed very near each other—an arrangement which perhaps may have mainly contributed to their preservation, while it certainly greatly increased the richness of their effect.

The interior of the walls of the enclosure contained magnificent representations of religious subjects ; on the outside they were covered with far more extensive and gigantic battle-pieces than those in the Rameseion. Thus there is a large sailing-vessel, with

a temple in the middle of it, which is nearly of the natural size, if this expression may be applied to a bark. The king appears everywhere elevated far above the other figures in the thickest of the battle, fighting either from his war-chariot, or standing before it, while servants are endeavouring to check the impatient steeds, and an attendant holds a kind of umbrella, which some persons take for the Egyptian Standard. This is not very improbable, since forms are merely conventional, and the sceptre of the Egyptian kings, for instance, exactly resembles a flail, though in truth it is only a scourge: perhaps a more humane symbol of royalty than the sceptre. As Achilles drew the body of Hector round the walls of Troy, so the king is here represented dragging a vanquished prince, together with his chariot and horses, which are fallen down, and which are all together fastened to the car of the triumphant victor.

“In all these pictures,” says my intelligent friend, with peculiar faithfulness, “unbounded fancy is displayed; the action is grand and animated; the motion bold and rapid; the expression speaking, intelligent, and exciting; the drawing almost without perspective, but the execution of the details inconceivably rich and beautiful. The heads of the horses are true to the life, and at once remind us of the celebrated Venetian group: the bit, bridle, and harness are splendid; the chariots as if turned in ivory, with raised work and ornaments, are solid, light, and handsome.”

I have already observed, that in many places the colours, with which the whole wall is covered, still retain their original freshness; and in Karnac, as

well as in the tombs of the kings, we cannot help admiring the number of various combinations and surprising association of colour, which the refined taste of the Egyptians knew how to produce. This is particularly observable in the adytum, where there is an harmonious concentration of the most noble creations of Egyptian art. The grace, the truly enchanting beauty of many of these pictures, has, in my opinion, been nowhere surpassed; neither the antique nor the times of Raphael have produced more finished works of their epochs. Opposite to the porphyry gate leading from the gallery round the little hall of the adytum into a dilapidated chamber, I found the portrait of a young king, the indescribable beauty of which quite overpowered me. It was so ravishing an ideal of faultless beauty, such an union of all the most engaging and delightful human qualities, with such a flattering mildness in the features, such a heavenly smile on the finely formed lips, such enthusiasm in the eyes, such nobility of form, and such divine elevation in the attitude and in the whole figure, that I cannot conceive a more irresistible living being than the realisation of this picture. It was truly a youthful god, which in my eyes surpassed any god or hero represented by the Greeks.

The inner wall of the adytum is of polished rose-coloured granite, and the elegant figures carved on it are painted with a very delicate pale green—bronze colour; the ceiling is azure, with golden, short-rayed stars, and is divided in half its length by a tasteful band, in which blue, red, and yellow are alternately repeated. Where the hand of man has not wantonly destroyed

this beautiful work of art, it is preserved in all its pristine freshness, and is in the highest degree pleasing. A magnificent projecting cornice on the outside, is painted in the same colours as the band on the ceiling. The outer wall was formerly encircled by an uncovered gallery; here the ground is bronze colour, and the figures partly retain the bright rose of the natural granite. Some of the work is most beautiful, it is chiefly on a reduced scale; and none of the figures are above the size of life. Some of them are blue, others white; and strange as it may appear to our European taste, the treatment, the composition, and whole peculiar character of the style are such, that I, at least, was never shocked by this apparent deviation from nature in the representation of such sublime and attractive figures.

In the fine large portico, consisting of forty-eight columns and pillars, which is surrounded by above fifty cell-like apartments, the Copts have again obtruded a church, and have daubed hideous pictures of saints on the master-pieces of the Pharaohs; fortunately only one of them is well preserved, the others have for the most part fallen off, and the pictures of the divinities that were hid by them, have again made their appearance quite uninjured, and even their colour is not in the least impaired. Passing through a second colonnade, we entered another division of the temple, where the colossi, in the form of caryatidæ, rest against pillars; and from thence at length reached the last large gate, by which we quitted the temple.

We spent many hours among the ruins, in order to examine the details, which however I shall pass over

for the present, and proceeding "from grave to gay," mention, in their stead, a little interlude which afforded us some amusement. While we were at breakfast, in sight of the north-eastern gate, among the sculptures of which there is an enormous Priapus, enjoying at the same time the intellectual feast presented by all the sublime wonders which surrounded us, our reverie was suddenly broken by the apparition of a smart English lady's-maid, who came tripping along, escorted by a tall Arab. She was a pretty young woman it is true, with a very national appearance; but her dress was certainly not in harmony with the surrounding objects, for she was attired in the most tasteless manner imaginable: a short white petticoat, a black apron, a pink spencer, and a green bonnet! She, too, had come to view the wonders of Thebes, and continued her tour of inspection without being in the least disturbed by our presence. At length she stood riveted before the above-mentioned figure of Priapus: she gazed at it for a long time, and then turning to the Arab, who stood respectfully behind her, and motioning to him to conduct her further, exclaimed with extreme simplicity, "Now I declare this is very curious, indeed." We intended to offer some refreshment to the fair islander in the ruins of Thebes, but just as I was about to send one of my servants, she vanished among the ruins. In the place of this momentary visitant I beheld with horror on my burnus, which had been in charge of an Arab, and which I had just put on as a defence against a draught of air, two most repulsive guests, colossi

after their kind, which we are used in common life to call lice!! (*pediculus horridus*, for the information of the learned.) These are among the inevitable dark sides of the country of the Arabian nights.

We returned in a south-west direction, through three successive pairs of propylæa, all adorned with seated or standing colossi, covered with pictures and hieroglyphics, like every other stone in this gigantic building, to which, from the time of Thothmus I., the Pharaohs of all the dynasties contributed their share, and seem always to have added something new. The outermost gate is approached by the longest of the avenues of sphinxes, near which an uninterrupted series of mounds of *débris* indicate many other ancient edifices.

This avenue leads to the most ancient and totally-wrecked Typhonium, which is about a quarter of a league distant, and which even in its desolation still retains the most grotesque character. While the other ruins of Karnac are almost entirely destitute of vegetation, with the exception of a few solitary palms growing in the sand, here everything is covered with high rank weeds, above which a hideous image of Typhon, broken colossi, and innumerable sphinxes rear their heads; and strangely enough, just here, where everything else is destroyed, several of these sphinxes are in perfect preservation: some have the most pleasing human countenances; but, generally speaking, they have admirably-executed rams' heads. In three or four places some dozens of dirty sedge-green women, of basalt, with fright-

ful lions' faces, ghost-like and awful to look at, are crouched close together in the grass. A moat, which is still full of water, and therefore must be supplied by subterraneous channels from the Nile, surrounds three sides of the hill on which this Typhonium stood like a fortress; and lofty dams and mounds of rubbish on the opposite side of the water, betray in this vicinity also considerable buildings of ancient times. It is said that the sacred Ibis is sometimes seen in these waters, like a spectre; and at this place, dedicated as it is to the Evil Principle, I could almost have believed in any unearthly phenomenon, so uncomfortable and ungenial did I feel there: added to which, the oppressive recollection of all the gigantic masses, and never-imagined wondrous works which were crowded before me, filled my excited soul with additional awe.

The evening twilight drew on, and entirely lost in the fabulous past, we rode, almost unconsciously, through the widely-scattered groups of palm in the plain, overtopped to the north and south by the sombre ruins of Karnac and Luxor, between which, for the distance of full half a league, a close avenue of several thousand colossal sphinxes formerly led. At length we saw the streamers of our boats shining in the splendour of the moon, and, sparkling below them, the blue waters of the Nile; for here I found it really blue, its yellow muddy water having become clear and pure.

At Thebes the inhabitant of the North for the first time gazes with wonder on the huge crocodile,

traversing the stream, or quietly basking in the sun, on the islands of white sand. The remains of a dead crocodile, already dried by the sun, now lay upon the bank, and the conclusion of this eventful day, which had presented us with a long series of images and pictures, afforded us an opportunity of fearlessly examining the most frightful of all the sacred animals of Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

ASSOUAN.

CERTAINLY there are many plagues in Egypt up to this very day, and among the greatest may be classed the countless multitudes of flies which incessantly torment one all day long; and when night sets in, a host of gnats relieve guard; however, they are less numerous than the flies, and are not nearly so blood-thirsty as their brethren in the damp climates of Europe. Mosquitoes, like those of Barbary, have not once come across my path. In consequence of the pertinacious calm which had prevailed ever since we had left Thebes, we proceeded but very slowly, and to add to our misfortune, our large bark struck, and was so immured in stones, that we were compelled to lie-to, under a scorching sun, at a rocky wall, and it was full eighteen hours ere we got afloat again. A third evil was the threatened dearth of wine and sugar, which cannot be procured here, for either love or money. I should strongly recommend every traveller to take three times the stock which he imagines he may require, not only of these articles, but also of tea and tobacco. There is no harm in having too much; but to be *minus* these indispensable requisites, is not only unpleasant, but may be detrimental to health if you are accustomed to the use of them.

We were two days in reaching Esneh; it is very

tolerably built, and, for an Egyptian town, unusually clean. The magnificent and well-preserved portico of a large temple is now used as a corn magazine; and its proud files of columns have been intersected with walls of dung, to form partitions between the various compartments. Almost every one of these columns is crowned by a differently-formed capital, the gay colours of which are still beautifully fresh. The pillars and walls are covered with sculptures, but they are not of the best period.

At Esneh I for the first time saw the women wearing large silver rings in their noses; with the exception of a narrow waist-cloth, they were entirely destitute of clothing. Several Almehs were living in the town; they had been banished hither from Cairo by the Viceroy, who allows them a maintenance for half-a-year at the expense of the Government. At the expiration of that time they are permitted to return to Cairo; with the stipulation, however, that they do not resume their former occupation. No restriction of the kind is laid on them here, and they make the most of this interim. There are some very pretty young women among them, whom Dr. Koch had formerly seen dancing in Cairo; they very bitterly lamented their banishment, and made us laugh by the rather singular complaint which they brought against the inhabitants of these localities, as in Europe lawsuits are instituted for the very opposite reason.

The long calm was succeeded by a storm, which, however, did not facilitate our progress. During the night, the sail of my bark was rent by the wind, which caused a most dreadful commotion among the

noisy Arabs, who always cry out before they are hurt. Towards morning we saw a large herd of buffaloes swimming through the river; they were very eagerly pursued by my Spartan Susannis, and by two or three of our sailor boys, who, like amphibii, can live indiscriminately in either element. There certainly is no four-footed animal which has so decided, and, at the same time so ridiculous, an expression of stupidity, as the Egyptian buffalo, especially while it is swimming, when only its enormous bulky head and staring eyes are visible above the surface of the water.

The wind at length began to blow from a more favourable quarter, and we glided smoothly along past the imposing masses of ruins of Edfou, and those of Koum Ombose; we had much difficulty, however, in making up our minds to sail by them for the present, for "*aufgeschoben* is unfortunately more frequently *aufgehoben*" than we are inclined to think.

Just at sunset we arrived at Djebel Selseleh, where two chains of rugged rock so completely shut in the Nile, that the banks are not a stone's-throw apart. In ancient times, according to Geoffroy St. Hilaire, the mountain rocks here formed an impenetrable barrier to the Nile, which was compelled to force its way through the Lybian chain to the Mediterranean Sea. Faint traces of its course are said to be even now visible in the desert, and it is not improbable that the remains of land which it at that time fructified, form the various Oases which we occasionally meet with. In the sequel, however, it surmounted the opposing dam, over which it probably first rushed with a violent shock, like the falls of the Rhine, and

in the course of thousands of years, forced for itself a free passage, and at the same time, formed the Delta in the sea itself.

Immediately beyond the defile of Selseleh, the noble stream again expands in its former magnificence; for since in its course of several hundred leagues it receives no tributary, save the almost dry Atbarra, it presents this singular feature, that throughout its whole length (reckoning from Khartoom, at the junction of the Blue and White Rivers), it rolls on in precisely the same volume of water. In approaching Assouan, bold isolated ledges are seen in the bed of the river, which render sailing by night very dangerous.

The song of the sailors and the sound of the timbrel, with extemporaneous accompaniments of every kind, enlivened our rapid voyage by day and night. Sometimes Susannis was the hero of their song, when he pursued the herds of buffaloes, and exceeded them in the rapidity of swimming; on another occasion, when I had given them a sheep, I shared the honours of the day with the gentle victim; for the gift of a sheep betokens a day of feasting. These merry, cheerful people subsist almost entirely upon bread, sea-biscuits, and cheese, of which they consume a most prodigious quantity; and for this they are perfectly contented to serve without any further wages.

We now approached the boundary of Egypt. Two enormous rocks sprang like a portal from the midst of the stream; a santon's grave on the mountain crest on our right, and an ancient palace on the palm-clad shore on our left, clearly indicated the vicinity of the

town. In a few moments we saw the Roman wall, with the Nilometer on the Island of Elephantina, the verdure-embosomed houses of modern Mahometan Assouan, and above it the ruins of the ancient Christian Syene; thus presenting to the eye, at one view, three phases of the varied history of this country.

We rested here some days, and met with a most friendly reception from Bali Katsheff, an educated Turk, who is partial to Europeans, and takes pleasure in showing them every kindness in his power.

Our first excursion was to the Island of Elephantina; the remains of antiquity, which were lately very considerable, have been recently destroyed. All that is now left is, a portion of the Nilometer mentioned by Strabo, with a step leading down to it, and traces of deeply-carved measurements on the outer hewn stones, some prostrated, broken columns, two mutilated statues, a gate ornamented with hieroglyphics, and several walls of large stones. The fantastic granite rocks, on the opposite bank, have many Egyptian inscriptions and paintings, and further on are the first cliffs of the cataracts.

Part of the Island of Elephantina (by the Arabs called "the blooming") is very well cultivated; and, instead of its ancient far-famed temples, is now celebrated only for its excellent milk and butter. While we rambled through the groves and fields, which were animated by flocks and herds of cattle, the people brought us various trifling antiquities for sale; among which they produced, as such, two small wheels of a watch. They might perhaps have served some European police to discover a secret murder or theft;

for how else should the inhabitants have obtained them ?

In the vicinity of the town, are some interesting relics of antiquity, from which we see, that modern times unjustly accuse Diodorus of inaccuracy, because he speaks of the Nilometer as being in the town of Syene ; which, it is alleged, was opposite to the town in the Island of Elephantina, and it cannot be supposed, with any probability, that there were two Nilometers so near to each other. *Le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*, and so it is here ; for the remains of the Nilometer on the place where the Egyptian Syene stood, may be almost more evidently pointed out than that mentioned by Strabo in Elephantina. Extensive baths were connected with it, some of which are even now, in a fit state to be used for that purpose.

Our absence on shore gave our sailors many holidays, the greater part of which they passed in the water, where they tumbled about like river gods ; here they performed the most strange manœuvres, which they seem to have learnt from the dolphins, playing at sunsets against each other, the chief object of which was to give the opponent such a violent blow with the outstretched leg, that he was involuntarily compelled to sink for a moment. He then generally swam on under water, and, watching his opportunity, suddenly rose, and repaid with interest the blow which he had received. This very novel kind of combat amused us not a little, and Englishmen would doubtless soon have laid high bets on these vigorous aquatic boxers ; but we contented ourselves with encou-

raging their zeal, by throwing a few piastres into the river. Once, however, the Doctor unfortunately dropped a valuable mouth-piece into the deepest part of the stream. "Three times they dived in vain," as in Schiller's ballad, and, on the fourth attempt, one of these unwearied amphibia happily brought it up uninjured.

May you who read these lines be equally happy in recovering all that you suppose to be lost! A wish not to be despised; and with which, here, on the frontiers of Egypt, I gratefully take leave of all my unknown friends of both sexes—the number of whom an author alone never thinks large enough—till we meet again in the Desert of Nubia. Farewell!

CHAPTER III.

THE CATARACTS.—THE ISLAND OF PHILE.

As soon as our departure from Assouan was resolved on, we were compelled to unlade all our effects in order that our canjas might be towed through the cataracts, and yet it was generally affirmed, that only the small one could be got through, in the present low state of the water, but that the large one could not, under any circumstances, accomplish it. This would have put us to serious inconvenience in the course of our voyage, and I therefore insisted that the attempt should likewise be made with the large dahabia; happily, I was seconded by the Katsheff, whom I reminded of Mehemet Ali's favourite expression—"Nothing is impossible;" and who himself appeared excessively eager to ascertain whether, in spite of the unanimous opposition of all the Rais of the cataract, who affirmed that no such attempt had ever been made, it would be practicable for a vessel of such dimensions, with an extraordinary amount of human power, to be forced through the numerous cliffs which threatened it with destruction.

The dahabia in question belonged to the Governor of Keneh, and its Rais on this account obstinately refused his consent. "If it sinks," cried the Katsheff heroically, "I will pay for it, and I take the responsibility on myself." This decided the question, for

the danger affected only the vessels, but by no means the crew, and the canjas, entirely emptied of all their burden, soon set out, amid a lugubrious melancholy song of the men, but with a very favourable wind.

We, ourselves, having sent forward the caravan with our baggage, took the way by land, through the celebrated granite quarries, which supplied the materials for all the wonders of Thebes, and for the innumerable monuments of other great Egyptian cities. This is an exceedingly interesting place, and affords ample scope for the study of the peculiar treatment of the stone, by the Egyptian workmen; among other curiosities of the kind, we saw an obelisk almost entirely complete, and ready to be detached, suspended at a wall of the quarry. It will, probably, always remain an enigma to us, how the ancients were able to move these immense masses with so much ease, and what means they employed, (for we must remember that they were unacquainted with gunpowder,) to effect a far more accurate separation of the rocks than we, with our numerous modern improvements can now accomplish. Was it achieved by the application of a vast amount of human power,—as various representations existing in the tombs would lead us to infer,—or were they acquainted with some law of mechanics which has hitherto escaped us?

At a short distance from the quarries we ascended a decayed Saracenic watch-tower, which stands over the highest eminence in the country, and from the battlements of which we had an extensive view over a most singular tract. For truly strange is the scene! it looks as if giants, of remote unknown antiquity, had

amused themselves with piling thousands and tens of thousands of blocks of red granite one upon the other, in wild confusion on the boundless sandy level of the burning Desert, in order to construct mountains of an entirely new shape and conformation: all these black and red masses of stone, which are extremely diversified and fantastic in their form, and have not the slightest trace of vegetation or life, appear as if they had been burnt and melted by volcanic fire, and then cooled in the waters.

Still more striking is the scene on again approaching the Nile, when we see the huge black masses heaped up in the most grotesque forms to the height of mountains, and intersected by innumerable channels of the river, some of which dart rapidly by them, with the swiftness of an arrow, while others linger around the base of the cliffs which they lave with their milk-white spray; not one has a waterfall of considerable perpendicular height, but all, tossing and boiling, rush over natural slightly shelving stone dams, form longer or shorter cascades, and wind, like a thousand silvery serpents, amid the sombre rock. These are what are called the First Cataract.

When we gained the top of the rock nearest the river, we perceived the largest of our vessels already in the middle of this watery labyrinth, engaged in a dangerous conflict, with the longest and most rapid of the currents. We instantly scrambled down towards the scene of action, that we might see the interesting spectacle as near as possible.

More than 300 naked blacks of the tribe of the Barrabra, for the most part young people from twelve

to twenty years of age, all vigorous, and many very handsome, were tumbling about, partly in the water, partly on the projecting rocks, and partly on the rugged bank, variously employed, led by an old man with white hair and beard, the chief Rais of the Cataracts, whose athletic figure, awe-inspiring features, and stentorian voice, could scarcely maintain discipline among the wild and lawless youths; for the Barrabra, or Berbers, are even more amphibious than the Fellahs, and they move with as much *nonchalance*, in and under the water, as on dry land. Many while swimming supported and guided the heavy dahabia, which they seemed to bear upon their shoulders; others, springing like squirrels from rock to rock, kept drawing it at the same time, quickly changing the thick rope backwards and forwards, as the directions of the stream required; while others again, with long poles, assisted, either in pushing on the boat more rapidly, or carefully checking it. Many others, however, gave no assistance whatever, but amused themselves with plunging head foremost into the deepest whirl of the river, and suffering themselves to be borne down the cataract by the raging waves, while only a black curly head, a foot, or an arm, now and then appeared amid the foam of the waters, and indicated the course they were pursuing. The others surrounded us, bore us on their shoulders through wet or dangerous places, fetched water for us to drink from one of the little eddies, holding the full cup high over their heads as they swam, and then laughing and joking, dispersed among

the rest, after they had received the bakshish, which they demanded, rather importunately, but always with good-natured cheerfulness.

Only a very few of these children of nature, who really did not seem to stand in need of anything, had incommoded themselves with a narrow girdle, but several wore the small Berber dagger, fastened with a leather strap to the left upper arm, without seeming to be at all impeded by it in swimming. In spite of the scorching rays of the sun, they had no covering whatever on their heads; and I observed with surprise that most of them, notwithstanding their beautiful sound teeth, were three or four *minus* on the right side, or in front of the mouth. On inquiry I learnt that they had extracted them merely as a precautionary measure, in order the more easily to escape being enlisted for soldiers, though the Viceroy, who has too much need of the Berbers about the Cataracts, has never yet taken them for military service.

After great exertions for full half-an-hour, and during which the vessel was often in a critical position, and in imminent danger of being driven between the cliffs, and, indeed, did not escape without slight damage, a deafening shout of joy at length announced that the main difficulty was overcome. As the rest of the work was comparatively trifling, we took advantage of this moment, after another satisfactory distribution of bakshish, to mount our horses and proceed by land to Philœ. The noonday heat, reflected by the white sand and the smooth blocks of stone, was painful in the extreme, but the pleasing thought of being in

Ethiopia* lightened every inconvenience, especially when we reflected how many kindred minds at home would willingly bear ten times the fatigues, if they could be instantly put in our place. But the long tract which lies between the 54° and the 24° of latitude, the numerous difficulties, the uncertain time, with every other contingency, keep them back, and, all things well considered, they prefer remaining at home. Perhaps they compensate for the loss by saying, not *sans raison*, Have not I my travellers who labour and hunger, suffer and endure for me, who are bound to communicate to me every interesting, amusing, or instructive information, which they have gleaned in the sweat of their brow, without my being obliged to take any further trouble than that of sending a few pence to the next circulating library? What eastern despot could ask more, or have his wishes more easily gratified? Yet so it is in fact, and this too is one of the immense advantages of our civilisation, which probably has in store for us many other conveniences of a similar kind, for the *public* appears now to have supplanted our *native country*, for which, in days of yore, people were ready to make great sacrifices; however, it is a very different thing from the ancient *respublica*.

After a rapid ride of about an hour through the Desert, which retained nearly the same uniform character, we at length came in sight of some palms and

* Ancient Ethiopia extended to below Dongola, where Nubia began. Now the commencement of Nubia is reckoned from Assouan, and the country of that name is very arbitrarily extended by geographers up the Nile.

mimosas, and a few sycamores, which overshadowed neat scattered houses of unburnt bricks. They were tastefully painted white and brown; the lintels of the doors, which were of granite, were stained deep red, and a sentence of the Khoran was inscribed upon them. Groups of pretty young women, girls and children, wearing large rings in their noses, glass bead necklaces, and elegant girdles round the waist, from which depended a kind of apron, made of narrow strips, interwoven with coloured shells, sat chattering together under the shade of the trees, waiting for the return of their husbands and relations, who were still employed at the Cataracts. At a short distance two large sakyeh, turned by several oxen, irrigated a bright green field of dourra, where the Nile formed a kind of lake; this field was bounded on three sides by dark rocks, which also included the village and its narrow fields, and on the other side, by the interminable sandy waves of the Desert. We had scarcely traversed this Nubian Idyll, which excited most pleasing sensations, to which the dead sand in the horizon imparted a rather melancholy character, when we found ourselves in sight of a dead wall of masses of granite, heaped one upon another, along the rugged outlines of which, there seemed to be no outlet whatever.

We fancied that we had already reached an inaccessible kingdom of a more mysterious nature, which nothing save the stroke of a magician's wand could open to us, when we suddenly espied a narrow stony path, hardly perceptible, winding along the intricate rock towards the summit. When we began to ascend,

the wearied ass of our guide (called L'Inglese, an original character, of whom I shall say more in the sequel), slipped off the smooth blocks of stone, threw his rider, and for a moment covered him with his body. We soon helped him to regain his legs, and were happy to find that he had not sustained any injury: we had proceeded some paces further, when a cry of joy from the Doctor made me look up, and I beheld with astonishment the unexpected sight, which appeared to be a delusive image of the Desert.

Among the singular masses of black basalt*, we suddenly perceived an emerald island of an almost perfect oval, shaded with palm-trees, and entirely resembling an Hesperian garden, supported by lofty quays of large hewn stones, and covered from one end to the other with an unbroken series of the most splendid buildings, which, in the midst of this inhospitable wilderness, appeared more like the ethereal dwelling of some fairy than the work of human hands. It was Philæ! certainly one of the most lovely wonders in the fabulous kingdom of the Pharaohs; and though only a few of its buildings belonged to their times, yet are they the creation of one of the brightest epochs of Egypt, and certainly the finest monument of that love of the arts for which the Ptolemies were distinguished.

Its fortunate preservation contributes to heighten its imposing effect: and the proud files of more than 100 columns, which are still standing, the great Temple of Osiris, which externally is nearly unin-

* It is not real basalt, but granite burnt black, which is here universally called basalt.

jured, the two pairs of propylæa, which are entirely preserved, and the peculiar transparent Roman temple in the back-ground, which is quite foreign to the Egyptian style, and of which not a stone is wanting, except the roof; afford, even from a distance, a picture of extraordinary splendour and elegance. How much more were we surprised by a closer inspection! How rich were these masses of various buildings, all connected with each other, whereby so little regard was had to symmetry that there is scarcely one principal door in a direct line with another, and yet the eye is nowhere offended! And how inexhaustible is the number of sculptures, of the richest and most varied subjects, which cover every wall and every column; the almost inconceivable freshness and the resplendent beauty of the colours in some halls, particularly in the pronaos of the great temple, which but for the violent devastations committed by the Christians, is so perfect, that twenty centuries would scarcely have left a trace of their passage. It is impossible to describe our surprise and delight at beholding all this, even after we had seen the noblest productions of Egyptian art. If the great may be compared with the little, I would say, Philœ is to Thebes what the Farnesina is to the Farnese palace. It cannot boast of the almost divine sublimity, the nearly awful dignity of the temples of Karnac and Luxor, but in their stead it displays more diversity, more refined elegance; more soothing loveliness, if I may so express myself, meet us in these beauteous remains, which are the first step of the commencement of the transition to what is comparatively modern.

And this style, though I cannot tell why, appears to be precisely in its right place; perhaps as a pleasing contrast with the awe-inspiring scene of black rock and bare desert with which it is encompassed. Perhaps, too, because the whole serves as an agreeable place of repose, that flatters the weakness of our modern feelings, which are scarcely able to elevate themselves, for a continuance, to the colossal greatness of Egyptian antiquity, without becoming dizzy. If in Thebes I *adored* intellectually, here I *enjoyed* in terrestrial comfort. Thebes is a fit abode for gods, Philcæ appears like the palace of an epicurean hermit.

It is very evident that, in later times, when religion raised the greater part of these buildings, the worship paid here, had assumed a more cheerful character; though, according to the Myth, Osiris was buried in this island, and in the most remote ages, a gloomy, austere religion alone could have chosen this awful scene of the operations of destructive natural elements, as a site for his temples.

As soon as we had pitched our tents, close to the very steep banks of the river, opposite Philcæ, and piled up our effects in large heaps, we crossed over to the island, where we arrived at the most favourable moment, an hour before sunset. Only a painter, a highly-gifted painter, could give, from this entrancing point of view, a picture which should excite the same sensations.

After we had wandered from hall to hall, through the double and triple portico, where more than twenty different orders of columns alternated with each other, our attention was rivetted on a painted hall, the peristyle

of the principal temple, which perhaps gives a more clear idea than any other, of the former magnificence of the Egyptian temples, by the preservation of the liveliest colours, which, as I have already observed, seems almost miraculous in so exposed a situation. None of the fine columns in this hall is like the other; every one shines in the splendour of different colours, every one displays diverse surprising elegances of form, but all unite, to combine one whole, in the most perfect harmony.

The gigantic figures outside on the walls of the propylæa, the entire height of which they nearly reach, have indeed for the most part been carefully effaced, with an iron chisel, by the frenzy of vandalic religious enthusiasts, yet the total effect suffers little by it, and some of the gods and heroes remain untouched in all their original beauty.

Though destruction is so easy in comparison with creation, yet the fanaticism of the Persians and the Christians have hitherto only half succeeded in Egypt, in their attempts on these gigantic works; and the combined efforts of religious fury, self-interest, and the iron tooth of time, have not been able to accomplish it in the lapse of thousands of years.

On the left wall, in the portal which leads through these propylæa, and which is free from hieroglyphics, the chiefs of the French expedition, and the *savans* who accompanied them, had a long inscription engraved; and a subsequent traveller of that nation has caused all other later inscriptions near it to be effaced, the wall to be smoothed, and the following words to be inscribed upon it, in black paint: “ *Une page de*

L'histoire ne doit pas rester barbouillée par des noms insignifiants. How many an English tourist may have been obliterated by this dictatorial proceeding! Hitherto this ordinance has been respected, but we may venture, very modestly to express the wish that the cyphers of the names of the French generals and *savans*, forming this *page de l'histoire*, had been carved by a more skilful hand, because the close proximity of these pot-hooks and hangers, with the exquisitely formed hieroglyphics and fresco paintings of the ancients, excites an idea of barbarism, which affords too comical a contrast with the pompous contents of the inscription, not to cause an involuntary smile, and the more so, perhaps, because that ephemeral expedition has left no results.

At sunset we ascended the highest platform of the propylæa, by the well-preserved and convenient stairs, which are lighted by funnel-shaped windows, and communicate with various apartments, in order to enjoy the prospect, which is certainly one of the most singular in the world. Just below us, shaded by the fans of the palms, lay the forest of columns, and all the portals, propylæa, courts and walls of Philæ, covered with a thousand images of gods and heroes, some of which, almost resting on the earth with their feet, raised their heads towards us. The plan of the whole building was as clearly discernible from this spot, as on a map. Towards Egypt, the Nile forms a dead lake, full of dark, strangely-shaped granite rocks; one of them, which is approached by steps hewn in the stone, resembles a colossal royal throne, the back of which is composed of a slab adorned

with hieroglyphics and figures, and to which an immense rock, that seems to be hanging in the air, forms a canopy.

On the other side, the mighty river flows from Nubia, with a rapid course in a narrow compressed bed, bordered by groups of palms, between which are seen, on the left hand, some deserted white mosques; and, to the right of the grotesquely indented stony island of Bithié, the ruins of another antique temple, of which there were probably a great number dispersed here in remote ages. Wherefore it is very problematical, where the god, or rather, as the fable says, only the essential part of him, was buried. On either side of the river, close beyond the narrow steps on the bank, rise dark, rocky, walls, to nearly an equal height, in the clefts of which continuous streams of beautiful white sand flow down, exactly like waterfalls.

Lastly, on the north-eastern side, we saw in the foreground—the only rural spot in this picture, which is more savage than *Salvator Rosa*—the buildings of a government station, surrounded by a few sycamores, and the fields and cottages of a village; but immediately beyond this lies the bare, boundless desert, retiring further and further in changing, undulating lines, till at length, in its mysterious infinity, it appears only like an indistinct mist.

Profound silence reigned around; and, lost in thought, we contemplated this dream-like picture, till coming night effaced one feature after another, and the monotonous rush of the cataracts passing towards us over the royal throne, now first struck upon

our ear, mingled with the ever-increasing roar of an approaching storm. This soon seriously admonished us to return, and we hastened down to reach our boat before the dreaded Chamsin should arise in all its fury. But we had already tarried too long; scarcely had we pushed off from the shore, when we were seized by one of those sudden whirlwinds so frequent here, which, on account of the prodigious clouds of dust with which they fill the atmosphere in a moment, are excessively troublesome on shore, and dangerous on the water. This we immediately experienced; for our bark—the sails of which could not be reefed in time—was within an ace of being upset, and we were then driven with such violence down the stream, that we were far below our tents ere we could gain a rugged part of the bank, and even then were scarcely able to effect a landing against the fury of the wind. We were involved in clouds of dust, and carefully covered our faces with our hands to prevent an inflammation of the eyes, which very frequently ensues on such occasions; but it was already night when we reached our tents. We found them totally prostrated by the storm, and everything in and near them in the most frightful confusion imaginable. The cook, who hurried to meet us with despair written in his face, declared that he could not keep any fire alight, and that he must set before us more dust than food; for though he had most carefully covered all the dishes, they were completely filled with fine sand. It was an unpleasant accident to be sure; nothing could be gained by fretting, but everything by patience and trouble; when the disagreeable Chamsin afterwards abated a little for

half an hour, we made such good use of our time that by the aid of a number of additional cords, we effectually secured our tents; and, during the remainder of the night, they happily resisted all the attacks of the storm, which returned with increased fury. It is true we were obliged to lie down on beds which were covered an inch thick with sand, and to remain in this plight during the greater part of the following day, in a most oppressive heat, because the weather continued unchanged;—a little trial of patience, which gave us a foretaste of what doubtless awaited us in the sequel more frequently and more distressingly.

We were not able to set out till the evening of the third day, having first had the boats cleaned and sunk in the water, in order to kill all the vermin, especially the rats, which were as large as young cats, and above thirty of which were caught or drowned on this occasion. While this experiment was being performed, I paid a second visit to Philœ, and crossed from it to the opposite island of Bithié, which is rather larger, and where, as I have said, there are likewise the remains of an ancient temple, and the torso of a colossal granite statue. On my return,—when I mean to make a longer stay at Philœ, and it is to be hoped enjoy more favourable weather, I shall speak more at large of these objects.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROCK-TEMPLE OF YERF HUSSEIN. KOROSKO.

THE character of the Nile now becomes more and more different from what it has hitherto been; yet, very soon, it assumes as monotonous an appearance as before. Whereas, in Lower Egypt it flowed unceasingly between low verdant banks, fruitful plains, and extensive palm-groves; in Upper Egypt, for the most part, in an equally fertile, but much narrower valley, bounded on the right and left by the low chains of the Lybian and Arabian mountains: *here* where its bed is the narrowest, it is constantly enclosed between black rocks confusedly piled upon each other, which seem to consist of detached blocks heaped up by the waves, and on the edge of which there is scarcely space for a little cultivation, and occasional groups of palms. Sometimes they are dotted by poor, miserable villages, whose naked, black inhabitants seem to take little heed of what passes before them; or you are surprised in the solitude, by the colossal fragments of ancient temples, the dark columns of which, relieved by the deep blue sky, stand in undisturbed loneliness, and indicate by their numbers, what life and activity must once have reigned, in these now deserted banks.

As we had now a pretty favourable wind, I passed most of these monuments without stopping, reserving

a nearer inspection to another opportunity, when I should be less pressed for time. On the second evening of our voyage I left the bark, and ascended a neighbouring rock to obtain a view of the surrounding country: but it was scarcely worth the trouble; there was nothing but an uniform sandy desert, hills upon hills, in endless succession, between which the river flowed in large bends. When we had reached the highest point, we roused a young hyæna from its lair, which fled with such terror that Susannis was tempted to pursue it; probably, however, it had turned round and shown its teeth, for he soon came back, quicker than he set out, with his tail between his legs. We were vexed with ourselves for not having taken a gun with us, and resolved to be wiser in future; but, alas! we never again met with a hyæna within gun-shot.

On the third day the wind abated, and I therefore landed at the village of Kalabsheh to view the temples at that place. The first lies close to the Nile, and is of considerable extent, but it is at once evident that it is not a work of the Pharaohs. It is of the time of the Romans; yet still for this period of the decline of Egyptian art, the hieroglyphics, (some of which are unfinished and are only marked with red or black paint,) and still more the anaglyphs, are executed with much care in relief on a sunken ground, and their colours too are in general preserved. The kings presenting offerings are all painted brownish-red; the gods blue, green, or lilac. I observed a priest in a long garment sprinkled white and violet, with a pointed mitre on his head, exactly like that of the Roman Catholic Bishops of our times.

The temple (all the measurements of which are most minutely stated by Prokesch and others, for which reason I shall not describe it) has a very grand entrance towards the river, and leads through half-fallen propylæa (the still remaining portion of which leans as much as the tower of Pisa) into a court which is choked up with fragments. Only one of the columns which surrounded it is now standing; but the *façade* of the temple, supported by four columns and two corner pillars which are intercolumniated, is better preserved; and the capitals adorned with lotus, palm-branches, vine-leaves, and bunches of grapes, produce a rich effect.

Passing through a door, over which is the winged globe entwined by a crowned serpent, in perfect preservation, we entered the first hall, which is succeeded by three others, all full of innumerable coloured figures and paintings. There are smaller apartments for the priests or for sacred animals, and narrow staircases, which lead to the platform of the temple, which as usual is composed of long blocks placed horizontally. Some palms, which stand about the temple and the neighbouring village, together with the green Dourra-fields around, cheer the appearance of this desert, rocky country, which expands in gloomy monotony. From the platform we saw that the principal temple was surrounded by several courts, walls, and buildings, which cover a large space on all sides, though the dimensions of the temple itself are by no means so colossal, nor its appearance so imposing, as some late travellers describe. It was, in fact, never finished as a whole: and on the outside of the posterior

wall alone, there are a few sculptures, eight tall figures of gods and kings, of which M. Prokesch says, that of some the gods wear long swords; this, however, is a misconception. I examined them very accurately, and am convinced, that the only thing he can have mistaken for swords is a broad band hanging from the girdles, which are certainly uncommonly stiff. I do not believe that an Egyptian Divinity is anywhere to be found with a sword at his side.

Far more attractive than these masses, which are valueless as works of art, is a Speos (a small temple hewn in the rock), which is a quarter of a mile further inland to the north, and bears on it the cartouches of Sesostris. The only hall is supported by two short-fluted columns hewn out of the solid rock, such as are found solely in the most ancient edifices of Egypt and Nubia, and which perhaps may have served as the first models of the later Doric style. The hieroglyphics on the columns, the pillars, and the ceiling, are merely painted, and the seated figures in the niches are entirely mutilated.

The most beautiful sculptures, however, adorn the rocky walls of the fore court, which is otherwise quite plain. They represent, on one side, battles and victories of the Egyptian kings, and on the other, long processions of conquered nations, bringing them offerings and presents. Here, too, very detailed accounts of recent travellers spare both myself and my readers any minute descriptions. I must only call their attention to two strange errors, into which the best of these travellers has fallen: he affirms that, in one of the sculptures, "Sesostris is standing on a

war-chariot, which, most unusually, is drawn by only one horse, which is on the left side of the pole." This observer, otherwise so acute, did not perceive that what he calls *one* horse has eight legs;—in the manner of a *silhouette*, as the horses to the war-chariot are very frequently represented by the Egyptians, and whereby it was, doubtless, supposed that the foremost horse completely hides the other from the spectator, and, therefore, no indication was given of his existence except by his legs. The second error relates to the unicorn, which is said to be among the many animals that are led before Rameses, sitting on his throne, from which the author draws the conclusion, that the unicorn is not a fabulous creature. With respect to the latter point, my opinion entirely coincides with his, but, if we can find no better proof than this representation, we shall certainly not make any converts. The error is exactly similar to that of the horse; one horn of the antelope covers the other, which indisputably appears from the fact, that this horn does not rise from the middle of the forehead, but close to the ear. All these animals are admirably characterised by the artist; and no better representations can be found (of the giraffe, for instance,) than there are here. The Copts have likewise daubed their saints on these monuments; and, as in other places, the old gods of the country have asserted their priority, and have come to light uninjured, wherever they have not been wantonly destroyed by the chisel.

There are several indications in the adjacent valley that a considerable town must formerly have stood here. It is supposed to be the ancient Talmis; but

from the construction it seems to me more probable that it was a fortified Roman camp. We descended into this valley, and passed through the neighbouring village, most of the inhabitants of which were quite naked, and were even destitute of any covering on their heads; they were, however, better protected by their long flowing hair against the heat of the sun, than the closely-shorn Berbers at Philœ. In other respects these people seemed to live more comfortably and to be better off than the Egyptian Fellahs; and they were less importunate in asking for a bakshish. In front of their gardens were earthen pitchers as high as a man, which were mostly filled with dourra, or dried dates: it appeared that every one who passed by was at liberty to refresh himself with their contents as freely as he pleased; and our sailors made use of this liberty in rather an unconscionable manner.

When we pushed off from the shore, a very original characteristic picture of these people was presented to our view: six of them, in the most varied and graceful natural attitudes, were leaning against a sakyeh on the bank, from which they could see us pass by; and so symmetrically were they grouped in a circle, one above the other, upon the turning wheel, that it was impossible there could be a more pleasing local negro cabinet picture; we only wanted an artist to perpetuate it on canvas.

April 6th.

A continued contrary wind renders our voyage very tedious. To such disgusting appendages as bugs, spiders, cockroaches, fleas, and lice, we are at last

becoming quite accustomed, and almost begin to regard them as unavoidable domestic creatures; but the torment of the myriads of flies, which leave one not a moment's rest throughout the day, is becoming almost intolerable. I suffer but little from the heat, though we are now in the torrid zone; for on the afternoon of the 4th, surrounded by rocks of romantic shape, we passed the tropic of Cancer. The idea of the retrograde motion of this shell-fish made me home-sick, because I thought in many respects of my beloved country!* Unfortunately, the wind remains constantly in an analogous direction, and always blows backwards, according to which we very properly hang our cloaks; but we cannot do the same with the sails, and therefore we proceed only a few knots a day. The river is as solitary as the surrounding country. The first bark which we met for several days was that of three Frenchmen, who had left Cairo a short time before us, and had turned back at Ipsamboul, because they could not any longer bear the inconveniences of the journey. One of them had even previously lost his senses, and had been left on the way, under the care of a faithful servant. His friends anxiously inquired after his health, but, unhappily, we were quite unable to afford them any information respecting him.

One day I took advantage of the slowness of our voyage to view the temple of Dandour; it lies on the left bank of the Nile, where, in fact, almost all the splendid monuments between Assouan and Wadi

* It must not be forgotten that this was written some years ago. Since that epoch people talk much of the march of intellect in all the valleys of Germany!

Halfa were erected. This, too, is of the time of the Romans; it stands on a high *peribolus* against the hill; it is small, being only 21 feet broad, and about twice as deep; but it is extremely elegant and in good preservation. This pretty building, which has scarcely undergone any repair, would be an elegant temple in the park of a modern European mansion, if it could but be transferred thither by the aid of Aladdin's lamp. The sculptures, too, though far below the excellence of those on the buildings of the Pharaohs, are delicate and graceful, and many of the subjects are very attractive, especially one, representing the Egyptian Venus, reposing on a gay throne, and behind her a handsome youthful god, the Egyptian Horus,* who is seated, placing his finger on his lip. In the furthest of three small apartments, some stones have fallen down and laid open a hitherto carefully concealed aperture, which communicates with a cabinet that has no other access, and probably served for the pious deceptions of the priests so usual in all the religions of *antiquity*.

In the rock which rises behind the temple, is a Speos which has been evidently restored at various periods; it is entirely destitute of decoration of any kind. It is very difficult to account for the purpose of its erection; but, from the contents of some short inscriptions, the locality appears to have had a reputation for holiness since the remotest antiquity; and this was perhaps the only motive for the construction of the

* *Har-pe-chreti*, "Horus the child, who puts his fingers to his mouth, not because he chooses to be silent, but because he cannot speak." See Lepsius.

elegant temple at this spot; in every other respect a more melancholy and uninviting place cannot be conceived.

Our excursion on the following day was infinitely more interesting, though the water was so shallow that we were forced to land, full half a league below the Temple of Yerf Hussein (likewise called El Sebne), and consequently could not approach it through the ruined avenue of Sphinxes, but were compelled to a most fatiguing tropical promenade, through mountains of sand. During this walk we, for the first time, encountered a little caravan driving oxen, and were joined by several naked inhabitants of the neighbouring village.

Not far from the temple, ten or twelve other tall, athletic men met us, some of whom had axes hanging over their shoulders, and held large pieces of coarse rope in their hands, the use of which we did not at first understand, but it was afterwards explained to us, when they lighted them to guide us in the dark caverns of the rocks. We were in a lonely spot, quite unarmed, only four in number, including one of our sailors, and consequently completely at the mercy of these men; but so far as Mehemet Ali's sway extends, the terror of his name is the surest *Ægis*; and the stranger is safer, by night and by day, in the midst of these savages in this tropical solitude, than in the streets of our most populous capitals.

The rock temple of Yerf Hussein appeared to me to be one of the most remarkable in the Egyptian dominions; for I am convinced by ocular inspection that, notwithstanding the cartouches of Rameses III.

or Sesostris, which are seen on the Colossi of the screen, and on the mutilated sphinxes and statues, which adorn the grand flight of steps rising from the side of the river—it belongs to a far more ancient epoch, and perhaps existed a thousand years before Rameses. It seems impossible, that works of such a varied nature, as the monuments of Thebes, and of the neighbouring Ipsamboul, and this temple, can be of the same era; *there*, in both places the highest perfection of art is manifest; *here*, is nought save a rude and clumsy commencement, which however already contains the elements of austere grandeur. Rameses Sesostris may have added the steps; even the screen, and some sculptures in the interior, and perhaps have had the whole repaired; but, the main of the building undoubtedly existed long before his time. It would certainly be strange if we should not be able to find any trace of the more ancient architecture in Egypt and Nubia, which must necessarily have preceded by a thousand years the infinitely greater perfection that appears at Thebes.

It seems evident that at some unknown period, a general destruction of these imperfect ancient works took place, either through the irruption of the Hyksos, or through a positive order of the subsequent rulers. It is not improbable that the Egyptians themselves may, at a later period, have been anxious to destroy all their imperfect beginnings, in order to appear before astonished posterity in all their perfection, as Minerva sprang from the head of Jupiter. Yet the sublime and awful solemnity of the temple of Yerf Hussein certainly deserved to be an exception,

and was either spared on that account, or if we will rather assume the hypothesis of the destruction by foreign conquerors, it escaped accidentally. The Hyksos besides, at the time of their conquest, hardly advanced so far up the Nile.

The exterior court with columns and colossal caryatidæ, which represent priests, is for the most part fallen into ruins; but the temple itself, hewn in the rock, is on the whole nearly preserved entire, though a fire, which must have long raged within it, has quite defaced the sculptures on the walls, and covered all, with one and the same black hue—a circumstance which now only serves to heighten the dismal, nay almost frightful, effect of the whole.

Passing under a lofty portal, in the middle of a smoothly polished wall of rock, we went into the first hall, which is supported by six colossi, thirty feet high, leaning against heavy square pillars. The passage between these giants is not wider than the door, so that we almost touched them as we advanced; and, quite oppressed by their proximity, and struck with the impression of their fixed, threatening aspect, a feeling not very unlike the fear of hobgoblins creeps over one. The surrounding gloom; the lighted ropes, only glimmering like a spark; their suffocating smoke, and the savage negro forms which did not reach up to the giants' knees, were in perfect harmony with all the peculiar terrors of this mysterious temple. Behind the pillars is a rather wider passage along the walls of the cavern chamber; in these walls exactly opposite the intervals between the pillars, are deep niches, each of which contains some rudely wrought,

but most expressive figures, rather above the size of life, generally two men and a woman on their left side. They are not represented in profile, like the sculptured figures on the walls, but have their full face turned towards the spectator, upon whom they seem to gaze with a hideous, angry grin, to which the uncertain, flickering light, involved in clouds of smoke, seemed to impart life and reality. One of my books of travel, says that "their colour is reddish-brown, not black, as some visitors have erroneously stated." After a careful examination, I could not find this assertion confirmed. The original colour of most of them appeared to me to be green, very few had any traces of the Egyptian reddish-brown colour of the skin; some were decidedly black, and by their features could easily be recognised as Negroes. They indicate a mixture of nations which, in the sequel we found more and more frequent, and which sufficiently proves the intimate intercourse and frequent union which existed in the most ancient times between the Ethiopic and Egyptian people.

Almost all the figures of this temple are thickly covered with soot, and only on the girdles of the priests, or royal Colossi, some blue and red still remains in its original freshness. The style of the sculpture on the walls and pillars, as far as can be clearly distinguished, seems to vary considerably; and therefore I conclude that several of them, the execution of which is much superior, are more recent; that is to say, they are not above 3000 years old, and have been added by Rameses.

The second hall, which is less adorned, and is

devoid of statues, communicates with five other apartments, the middle and largest of which, opposite the entrance, contained the Adytum. Here, in a niche which occupies almost the entire height of the wall, are four seated figures, far more colossal than those in the side niches, the last of which, on the left hand, represents a young woman, of a slender form, whose arm is affectionately thrown round her companion. This is probably the royal pair here buried, or else the founders; the other sitting figures are divinities with the attributes of Ammon Ra and Osiris. These statues also are rude and frightful, though full of character; they are likewise in tolerably good preservation. A singular peculiarity of them is that all four have the disagreeable appearance of having swollen legs and feet.

We found even in their colour something like a salamander and a toad, and we could not stand long before them without thinking of some god Moloch, and of the human victims which were here offered to him, for which no more suitable horrific locality could have been anywhere found.

The other four apartments are so destroyed by fire, that whole masses of the rock have been detached from the ceiling, and have fallen to the ground. Nothing could be distinguished of the sculpture on the walls, and our rope torches were more than once extinguished by the hundreds of bats which fluttered in the dank and dismal chambers.

Four piastres (a franc) sufficed to pay our dozen guides to their entire satisfaction, but a longer time elapsed than we had any inclination to wait before

they could agree upon the division of their treasure; and five minutes after our departure we heard their loud disputings, and on looking at them through our telescopes, we saw them gesticulating and springing about like monkeys, in front of the black gate of the temple.

The little fertile land which the stones leave on the banks of the river was admirably cultivated, and irrigated by uncommonly high sakyehs of two stories, the erection of which must have been very expensive. We here obtain excellent milk and juicy fresh beans, a most valuable addition to our table, which at present is very scantily provided, and is limited generally speaking, to lean fowls, mutton, and linseed, to which we add biscuit softened in water, because the bread which we brought from Assouan has long since become dry and mouldy. Bread is unknown in this part of the country; and we could not supply its place with the Dourra cakes of the inhabitants, which none but an ostrich's stomach can possibly digest. Unhappily, none of our twenty-four sailors can be induced to fish; we neither saw any indications of this trade along the banks, nor were fish anywhere offered for sale, though the Nile produces abundance of the best quality. They seem however to be considered here as no more fit for eating than water-rats and snakes are among us.

It is not without some apprehension that I touch upon this theme; for it is well known how often the critics of my own country have already reproached me with my reminiscences of the table; and, at Cairo, I even met with a number of the *Courrier Français*,

in which a French reviewer, who, perhaps, is starving somewhere in a fifth story in Paris, vents his spleen upon this favourite topic, on the *German Tourist*, who, to his vexation, seems always to dine luxuriously; nay, who is even so free, as to talk of it without reserve. I must confess that I should have expected such an attack, least of all, from the French, who are such proficient in the art of eating; who invented the *Almanac des Gourmands*, in whose literature (if not in that of all Europe) the cookery-books now undoubtedly form the classical part; and whose cooks, as well as their reputation, are spread over all the quarters of the world. But as that amiable nation does everything in a graceful manner, the individual in question, who forms a part of it, has contrived to introduce his jokes with such drollery, that it is impossible to bear him a grudge. Many an honest, straightforward German might even take a useful lesson from the Frenchman's dexterity; thus, this critic, puts together from a book which consists of five parts, and comprises an interval of two years, all the passages in which the author speaks of eating, to make a continued series of gastronomic notices, by which it must certainly appear to every one who is unacquainted with the work under review, that the traveller is the *commis-voyageur* of one of the most industrious European *Restaurateurs*, who, true to his vocation, is not permitted to include anything but what is edible in the sphere of his observation; and I, the author, must confess that I could not help laughing heartily at the compilation of this long list. This

young French reviewer, for there are many indications which prove that he is young, is, therefore, in a very fair way of doing well; and I heartily wish his pen such success, that he may be enabled every day, to partake of as good a dinner in the *Café de Paris*, as I ever had occasion to describe.

German reviewers adopt another course; they invent things which are not in the book at all, or at least they so distort them in their extracts, that the sentiments are not the offspring of the author, but of themselves; in doing which, it is of course easy for them so to contrive, that ample scope is afforded to the poorest wit. This receipt is at least *probat* in its effect upon all those who have not read the work, which it is their aim to turn into ridicule; and, even of those who have read it, few retain such an accurate recollection of the contents, but what they believe, on the credit of the reviewer, that the absurdities censured are really in the book, and they perhaps wonder that they had entirely overlooked them. Yet, notwithstanding all the attacks that have been made upon me, I do not mean to give up a custom in which I have eminent predecessors. It refreshes the constitution of the reader, if you sometimes talk to him of eating; and I myself have often felt this effect in perusing English novels. I once even received an anonymous letter from a Pomeranian housewife (the post-mark betrayed her country), who thanked me most warmly for a new receipt to dress potatoes, and sent me, at the same time, as a counter-present, two other admirable culinary receipts, and a goose of her own smoking into

the bargain ! Such trophies are the pride of an author, and I can by no means afford to suffer their source to be dried up.

April 8th.

At length we have a propitious wind, which has brought us as far in one day as we had before come in a whole week. But in my frail bark it was necessary to secure everything thoroughly, because the wind was very high, and sometimes weighed it down on the right side and sometimes on the left, so that the water often came in, and everything that was not fastened was thrown down as in a storm at sea, but unhappily this was the result of dear-bought experience, for I did not learn this new arrangement till the contents of an inkstand were emptied over me.

The chase after temples had now unavoidably to be given up ; and we passed several without regret, as they are all reserved for our return ; besides, they are so numerous, that we are almost glad to be able to visit them at different times.

Towards evening, we reached the large village of Korosko, a principal staple on the Nile, from which the caravans proceed directly through the desert in fourteen days to Berber, and thereby make the way three times as short as going by the river ; the journey, however, is extremely trying for want of water. We passed the night at Korosko, and I spent some hours in the morning in examining the environs. The landscape here is picturesque, and I will, therefore, describe it rather more particularly, to give my reader a clear idea of genuine Nubian scenery.

In order to have a better view, I scrambled up a steep rock 1600 feet high, at the pointed summit of which I found a little *plateau* polished as smooth as for a witches' dance. Here I sat down, and with my glass examined the extensive horizon. To the south and south-east, as far as the eye could reach, extends the mysterious, strange-looking desert of Korosko: this is not an ocean of sand, but appears like a mass of mountains of black reddish-brown rent rocks, in every possible fantastic shape, with extensive valleys of the same colour between them, which appear to have been levelled with the ruler. The whole must have been burnt in primæval ages, by an immense volcanic fire. In some places it is completely charred; and in this desert mineralogists find the most strange phenomena and products, nowhere else to be met with, which a revolution of the world has left behind. The ordinary sand of the desert does not exist on this side, nor is there any sign whatever of vegetation. Only the narrow bank of the Nile, which the eye may trace far to the north-east, is now adorned with the most verdant fields; and even the steep rocky walls of the river, which are covered by the water, when the Nile is at its greatest height, are now sown down to their base with beans and peas. Sometimes verdant tongues of sand extend into the rocks, where the inhabitants have built their peaceful huts, amidst groves of palms and acacias. Towards the south-west a chain of hills covers the prospect; but on the north, the country beyond the river forms the most perfect contrast with that which we have yet surveyed.

The Nile makes such a bend at Korosko, that, from

thence to Hamada, it takes quite a northerly direction; so that the wind, which has hitherto been favourable, though it has not changed, has become contrary to us. Thus, by-the-bye, it often happens to us in life, respecting many things and persons, when we unconsciously change our course and fancy that it is others who have done so. But to return to my description. The whole triangle which the Nile encloses on the north, consists entirely of ochre-coloured sand-hills, the rocky summits of which are black, and this yellow, so spotted with black, continues, like the covering of a leopard's skin, without intermission, to the horizon; only close to the Nile it is bounded by a narrow strip of thick mimosas, which bend their fragrant, coloured flowers and feathery leaves down to the water's edge. It is said that here, and in the neighbouring sand, there is an incredible number and variety of beetles; and a naturalist, whom I afterwards met at Khartoum, affirmed that he had found here the true sacred beetle, the *scarabæus sacer* of the ancient Egyptians, green, fringed with shining gold.

In the river itself numerous rocky cliffs arise; and when the water is low, they render the whole voyage from Philæ to Wadi Halfa very unsafe in many places. We sometimes touched upon them, and the large boat has been leaky ever since. Mine, too, broke its rudder by striking against them, and we were obliged to have it repaired at Korosko. Of course, under such circumstances, it is not advisable to proceed by night, and our voyage was thereby still more retarded.

The inhabitants of Korosko brought a most hetero-

geneous medley of goods and chattels for sale : shields, spears, straw hats, and kurbatshes cut from the skin of the hippopotamus, the musk-bags of the crocodile, which are said to possess stimulating properties, and for which reason they are much valued by the natives; nay, some offered their wives and daughters for sale, whose beauty they highly extolled, but in which we could not possibly agree with them. The detestable custom of covering the face and hair an inch thick with fat, would of itself be quite sufficient to frighten a European at the sight of a Venus of this country.

During our stay, three boats arrived from Dongola, quite full of slaves. This is the fourth caravan of black slaves of both sexes that we have seen since we left Assouan; and we met no other vessels, except that of the Frenchmen before named, who were the only tourists on the Nile. The leaders of the slaves could never be induced to sell any of them to us on the way. The reason is in some measure owing to the fanaticism of these people, and partly the circumstance that the slaves are, generally speaking, the property of greater speculators, partly *Europeans*, who have them brought on their own account to Cairo, where they are sure of selling them at high prices. The leaders, therefore, are not at liberty to dispose of them on the way. We found these poor creatures almost always cheerful, nay, sometimes even boisterous in their mirth, and they did not seem to be in want of anything. The treatment which they experienced appeared to be by no means cruel, nor even severe; but their fate may be much worse when they have to travel on foot, over the burning sands of the desert.

CHAPTER V.

IPSAMBOUL.

April 10th.

WE were obliged again to have the bark towed by men, and consequently to have recourse to the indispensable necessity of pressing the natives into this service, which, however, did not greatly accelerate our progress, for these pressmen very often escaped from our kawass, which caused a further long delay; hence, it was late in the afternoon when we reached the temple of Hamada. It is of the best times of the Pharaohs; and though of small extent, is extremely beautiful in all the details. It is a sad pity, however, that the sand of the Desert has buried it so deep that it is very easy to ascend from the ground to its roof, which consists of a double layer of blocks of stone, each two feet thick. In the centre of this solid roof, the Copts, who for a time used the temple for a church, have made a large opening, and placed upon it a sort of white-washed cupola, constructed of bricks, which, like most of their works, resembles a pigeon-house, but is already half-decayed. The interior of this temple, which you must enter through a narrow hole, is not so choked with sand as might be expected from its external appearance; the fluted columns have no capitals, and are covered mostly with a slab, as in the Speos at Kalebsheh. The only cartouches found in it are those of the most ancient Pharaohs of the race of

Thothmes III., who is considered to be the King Mœris of Herodotus, those of Amenoph II., and a few others. With Champollion's tables for a guide, it is now extremely easy for any one who will take the trouble of comparing them, to distinguish most of these cartouches; and in this, as in many other respects, we have a decided advantage over former travellers.

The admirable sculptures of the inner apartments of this little temple, which, if I rightly remember, was dedicated to the God Phré, as well as the colours, are still in an uncommon state of preservation. This may be chiefly attributed to the circumstance, that every chamber was carefully plastered with mortar, and whitewashed by the Copts.

Among the pictures I frequently observed a bird, a kind of thrush, which in my perambulations, I had already seen flying about; this bird was drawn so accurately from nature, that it might have been admitted to a place in Buffon's Work. It appeared in the most various attitudes; and in one of the pictures it was sitting upon a dead animal which perfectly resembles the amphibious creature, with a duck's-bill (*Ornithorynchus*), which has since been discovered in New Holland. Did this singular creature formerly exist in Egypt?

Further on are the portraits of red and black princes; among the rest a sable queen is conspicuous, standing by the side of a red-brown king, who seem to be concluding an alliance with each other; and near them is a most complete collection of all the productions of the country, vases, furniture, eatables, and

effects. There is a greater variety of objects represented in this narrow space, than I have hitherto seen in any Egyptian temple.

The sand about the temple was so burning hot that it almost scorched our boots, and we could not possibly keep our feet long on the same spot without suffering a good deal of pain. I can easily conceive that ostrich-eggs may be hatched in such sand, and have not the least doubt that hen's-eggs might be cooked here in a quarter of an hour.

We passed the night at Dorr, a very considerable and cleanly place, which is surrounded by fine fields, and an extensive palm-forest; it is the former capital of the country, and the seat of its sovereign; who, since he has lost his independence, continues to reside here, as the Katsheff of the Viceroy. Mehemet Ali has adopted the same mild policy in other places, and has allowed the old princes of the country to continue their government as his officers. We viewed the rather extensive palace of the ex-sovereign, which is built of coloured bricks and clay, and likewise visited his gardens, where we found large vineyards, orange-groves, and a fine assemblage of all kinds of rare tropical trees and shrubs; all in capital order and most carefully attended to; but I was chiefly surprised by two immense sycamore-trees, the largest I have yet seen, which stood in the centre of two squares, in front of the palace, which they almost covered with their shades, for the spread of the branches of one of them was full 100 feet. Perpetual coolness reigns beneath their verdant crowns, and no species of tree with which I am acquainted, exceeds

the beauty of their bright apple-green. This tint, however, appears to be assumed by the sycamore only in this climate, which is perfectly suited to it, for in Egypt the colour of its leaves is much darker.

The palm-forest in which Dorr is situated, and which is several leagues in extent, furnishes the material for the elegant mats which are manufactured here by the women. Above twenty of these sable beauties, shining with grease, and their hair divided into a hundred little braids, full of gold ornaments and glass beads, soon surrounded us, and offered us their work for sale, unrolling their mats in the dust of the street. As I was stooping to look at some of them more closely, I felt myself suddenly embraced by two brawny arms; and quickly turning round, I was startled by the sight of a most horribly dirty old beggar, who in this novel and affectionate manner asked for a bakshish.

The inhabitants of Dorr appear to be most importunate beggars; but, nevertheless, they were very good-natured, obliging, and extremely moderate in their wishes. We purchased a number of the most beautiful mats, of curiously elaborate work, which in Europe would have cost a considerable sum in gold. A carpet made of palm-leaves, of gay colours and elegant design, large enough to be laid down before a sofa, cost us only five francs; and it was not till we gave orders for several, intending to call for them on our return, that we learnt, that, a person with the most constant labour, could not make such a carpet in less than two months. Thus they gain only two francs and a half a month, giving the genuine dyed

material into the bargain! An inferior piece of workmanship, but yet admirable, according to our notions, cost no more than one franc.

Fifteen years ago money was almost wholly unknown here, at least among the common people; and Champollion had much trouble in persuading the natives who cleared the entrance of the Temple of Ipsamboul for him, to take their payment in money, for they had expected to receive it in natural productions. Since then, however, they have become very eager after it, but they still estimate it too highly. They need only be visited by some dozen travellers and European purchasers, and they will not be inferior in this respect to our civilization.

Sunset this evening steeped the lofty palms of Dorr in inimitable colours. The whole sky seemed to be a dissolved rainbow, in the midst of which the crescent of the new moon shone, not, as in our northern latitudes, "like the yolk of an egg," as Schäffer sings, but of a brilliant emerald green, like a gold beetle; the waters of the Nile were tinged with many hues, and even the gray sand of the Desert was converted into rose-colour and silver.

Being informed that a fresh wind had sprung up, we sailed at sunrise, and left Dorr's ancient temples unvisited for the present. The country was pleasant, and the day cheerful, and I enjoyed a refreshing breeze under the tent in front of my cabin. I sat here with Susannis, who, wrapped in the thick pelisse with which nature has furnished him, knew not what to do for the heat. We had often seen him look with envious eyes upon the sailors, when they plunged into

the cool water ; and now, while we were rapidly sailing with the most favourable wind, he unhappily all at once took it into his head to imitate them ; he leaped overboard, and in a few minutes remained so far in our rear that I was obliged to strike the sails. Two Arabs immediately jumped into the water to fetch him ; but the stream, which here was very broad, carried all three so rapidly downwards, that they could neither reach us nor the bank, and, at last, we were in the greatest apprehension for their lives. The strongest of the sailors for a long time carried the utterly exhausted Susannis upon his shoulders, but they were a good deal more than an hour in the water, constantly swimming against the stream, before we could take them in. It is really worth while to mention this capability; and yet at the bottom, it is only owing to a neglected education that we do not possess it, for these people are not naturally stronger than we are.

The decorations which graced this evening's repast, which we enjoyed on deck, while the wind was carrying us swiftly forward, were of a very peculiar kind. A gloriously bright sky, with the moon and stars in the utmost splendour, served for our ceiling ; the fluid metal of the river, gilded by the moon, was our carpet. The right bank of the Nile presented, without intermission, a thick wall of ever-varying trees, and of fragrant shrubs, a picture of the richest luxuriance, in which the uncertain light of night did not allow us to see one bare spot. The left bank, on the contrary, opposed to this scene of life the truly skeleton image of death ; the flat, colourless, whitish-

grey sandy Desert which joined the margin of the water, and manifested not the smallest trace of vegetation.

April 11th.

It was not without intense curiosity that we approached the ancient monuments of Ipsamboul, or more properly Abousambul. Since Burckhardt discovered these sublimest of all the rock temples of Africa, and Belzoni opened them with invincible patience,—spending entire weeks in half clearing from the sand the gigantic portal of the largest (in which state it still remains),—the most persevering tourists often extend their Egyptian expedition as far as this spot, and even to the cataracts of Wadi Halfa, which are not very distant, but further than that a stranger seldom penetrates.

Ipsamboul has, therefore, been as often drawn with the pencil as described with the pen, but both will always remain far below the reality.

The effect of the four colossi (nearly 70 feet high) on the *façade* of the largest temple, which, in majestic benign repose, resting their hands on their knees, sit close to the river's edge in their polished niches, which are 100 feet high, 115 wide, and 24 deep, where they have remained immovable for more than 3000 years, as the faithful guardians of the subterraneous sanctuary, looking down on the play of the waters, makes a more powerful impression on many imaginations than the forest of columns and obelisks of ruined Thebes.

With respect to the high state of art, these two

works are nearly on a level, for there is little in Thebes that can surpass the noble form, the finished workmanship, the sublime expression of these gigantic statues; all four of which, perfectly alike, represent the heroic image of the great Rameses, and manifest in the beautiful, characteristically delicate features the indisputable likeness of a portrait; one of them has been partially broken by a piece of rock that fell down; the others are nearly uninjured. Belzoni took a plaster cast of the face of the colossus on the right hand, and he certainly ought to have had so much regard for this work of art, as to cause the traces of this operation to be washed off; for the statue, of a reddish-brown stone colour, with its whitewashed face, looks like the clown in a pantomime.

Everything about and in this temple breathes profound solemnity and divine repose, but it has nothing fearful, like that of Yerf Hussein, though the whole ordinance of its architecture bears much resemblance with it. Nor does a character of mystery reign in it, nor the awful gloom of that spectre-temple.

Scarcely a third part of the portal, which is thirty feet high, is free from sand, and yet the sun shone even into the Adytum, so that we only used our torches, more closely to inspect the fresco paintings on the walls and the dark lateral chambers. If the *façades* were entirely cleared from the sand, an unobstructed view could be obtained from the water throughout the whole length of the chambers hewn in the rock, to the length of about one hundred and forty feet.

The first hall, which is about fifty feet long and

nearly as many broad, is supported, as in Yerf Hussein, by two files of square pillars, four on each side; but here they are of larger dimensions, the passage before them is broader, and the intervals between them larger. All the colossi leaning against them, like those on the outside, are likenesses of the great Rameses, and carry the scourge (the Egyptian sceptre) and the crosier crossed over the breast. The colours on their garments and girdles are preserved in several places, but they are injured by the damp, and this is still more the case with the paintings on the walls.

It would require many weeks' study, perfectly to understand these frescoes, which represent sacrificial processions, battles, and sieges, and abound with numerous figures, from the colossal to the diminutive. Many are as singular in their arrangement as admirable in their execution; but some appear to be of less perfect workmanship. The compositions often approach the *naïveté* of our old German painters, others attain the perfection of the antique. Thus, on the left side from the entrance, there is a raised and painted representation, on a sunk ground, of Sesostris standing in his war-chariot, and ready to discharge an arrow at the flying enemy; which in its carriage and form, at once recalls the Apollo Belvidere, but to my mind, even surpasses it in the youthful, divine beauty of the indignant countenance, in the inimitable grace and boldness of the attitude, and in the noble, faultless contour of the body. The lower part of the face has unfortunately suffered some damage, otherwise the whole figure has hitherto remained untouched. The

chariot and horses too are perfect, the latter are very richly adorned, and the execution is admirable: indeed I think they are far superior to all similar representations in Thebes.

Among the prisoners whom the victorious Osiris (as usual in the figure of Rameses) holds by the hair, on each side of the entrance door, there appear to be individuals of all the principal nations of the earth, and the characteristic traits of the physiognomy are so striking, that we cannot doubt their being portraits.

The ceiling is most richly ornamented with large vultures of a dark blue-and-yellow colour. Many travellers are of opinion that this was gold, but I have never been able, anywhere, to discover the slightest trace, that the ancient Egyptians used gold or silver in their paintings, they always represent these metals by yellow and white; under the Ptolemies and Romans, however, gold was undoubtedly employed. In more remote times, these ores must have been disdained as colours, or the mode of preparing them was not sufficiently known. I do not speak here of gilding on wood, which is mentioned by Herodotus; yet even then, for instance, gilded heads on the mummies have always been found, so far as I know, only of the age of the Ptolemies.

Before quitting this temple, I must notice a strange optical delusion in the same hall. In the darkest corner of it, the tall figure of a royal hero, in a splendid dress, is painted on the upper part of this wall. This corner, for what motive it is difficult to divine, has in later times been inclosed with a partition, which is now partly in ruins. We mounted this partition to

examine the picture more closely; and, as often as we held our torches in a particular position, we all repeatedly saw a frown on the fierce countenance of the warrior, who turned his eyes, and looked angrily to the right and left, in the most deceptive manner possible. The spectre-like effect which we were thus able to produce and to repeat at pleasure, is still vividly present to my mind, and recalls those pictures which are painted in such a manner, that place yourself where you will, they seem to stare at you. Who can tell whether a similar trick of the Egyptian artist, may not have been at the bottom of this effect, which inspires a kind of superstitious awe?

Beyond this hall are two others of rather smaller dimensions, the latter of which has three doors, that lead to as many apartments, of much less extent than the halls. The middle one, exactly opposite the main entrance, contained the adytum, as is invariably the case in all the rock temples. The sitting statues are much defaced; and an altar, which is still in the centre of the adytum, consists only of a plain granite cube, without sculpture. Besides these apartments the temple contains several others, fourteen in all, to which there are side-doors from the great halls; they are long and narrow, and some of them contain massive benches two feet and a half high, which run round the walls. They are ornamented with a variety of painted sculptures; but in some only the outlines are marked, with great freedom and precision, in black and red lines.

Every book of travel describes the heat within the temples as equal to that of a Russian vapour-bath, and I was

therefore greatly surprised that I did not perceive the slightest trace of it ; on the contrary, we found it much cooler in these apartments, than under the scorching rays of the sun in the open air. Designed, fanatic, devastation seems never to have been committed at Abousambul ; it is only from modern amateurs and from the inhabitants who occasionally take up their abode or keep their cattle here, lastly and chiefly, however, from the dampness of the rock, that this splendid work has suffered considerably ; but, so easily accessible as it is, and without protection from the Government, we cannot hope that the sculptures in the interior, which are only in stucco, and the splendid colours of which are, for the most part, faded, will long resist the effects of time.

A second rock temple, resembling the first, but only half its size, has likewise escaped premeditated Vandalism. It is close to the larger temple, and was built by the wife of Sesostris, who dedicated it to Hathor. It is separated from its companion only by a broad fall of sand, which, by its dazzling splendour and smooth surface, perfectly resembles a glacier. I attempted to climb up this sand, as I was anxious more closely to examine the frieze of the great temple, which consists of twenty-one monkeys, standing upright, eight feet high ; but I found the attempt above my powers, for, at every step, I slipped back as far as I had advanced.

The internal arrangement of this second troglodite monument resembles that of the first ; and the colossi of the king and queen, leaning against the outer wall, appeared to be of superior workmanship to those of the larger temple ; especially the delicate contour of

the female figure, as well as the transparency of the beautiful cast of the drapery, which are very remarkable in such colossal proportions. A pleasing effect is also produced by the groups of the sons and daughters around the knees of their parents. This arrangement enriches the whole, and softens the austerity of the colossal figures, by milder feelings. The hieroglyphics with which the pillars are covered, are nowise inferior to the best of their kind in the buildings at Thebes, though the stand-stone of these parts, on which they are carved, is almost as hard as granite.

In the representations in the interior, instead of the king, the queen is constantly represented as bringing offerings to the gods, and other sculptures allude to the mysteries of the initiation of a young female by the priestesses of Isis. In the adytum there is a singular statue of the king, over whose head the horned cow Hathor projects so far, that the horns seem to have been placed upon the king himself: rather a comical union in the temple of the queen, according to our notions. It is most revolting to see how shamelessly modern visitors have degraded the sculptures, by the most indelicate additions, carefully drawn with charcoal, and even with black paint: truly the lowest of the natives would not be guilty of such vulgarity; and it is disgraceful to think that men who have come so far from civilised Europe should leave behind such traces of their visit.

About one hundred paces from the temple are several small recesses, formed singly in the rocks, high above the water; the last of them, which is quite

distinct from the others, contains a figure in a state of perfect preservation, and which struck me as one of the most charming productions of Egyptian art. It is the standing statue of a young girl, of touching beauty, with an expression of deep melancholy in her countenance; her folded hands hang down, and, as if mourning her own premature death, she gazes thoughtfully, with sad yet angelic patience, on the ever-restless waves that flow at her feet.

The country about Abousambul is peculiarly characterised by the form of its rocks, several of which, as we proceeded further up the river, assume the shape of regular pyramids; and a broad, sharply-defined wall rises close by, the narrower end of which so nearly resembles the upper part of a colossal countenance, that it seems as if Nature herself had given the ancient Egyptians the first idea of their pyramids, and of their colossi.

On the following morning a favourable wind carried us to the plain of Wadi Halfa, in front of the great second Cataract. We had scarcely reached it, and begun to unlade our barks, which we were obliged finally to leave here, when another chamsin set in, which as usual lasted three days. Distressing as this peculiar visitation of the country is, we had great reason to congratulate ourselves that it overtook us now, and not later, in the Desert, where besides the usual inconveniences, it would have been attended with much danger. The wind was so violent this time, that we found it impossible to pitch any of our tents, and we were consequently forced to remain on the water; but in spite of the protection of the creek, our Daha-

biah was so incessantly tossed about by the foaming waves, that during dinner we were obliged to load the table with stones, to prevent its being thrown down. These were our unpleasant days; and the vexatious business of unpacking all our effects was unfortunately rendered still more troublesome, in such bad weather, by a general indisposition, from which hardly any one of our party was free, during the third attack of the chamsin.

CHAPTER VI.

RIDE THROUGH THE DESERT TO DONGOLA, BY SEMNEH.
DAHL AND SAKI-EL-ABD.

ON the 14th of April the sky had again become serene, and all our preparations were so far completed, that we were enabled to set out on our expedition to Dongola. As the countries through which we were now to pass, are some of those which are seldom visited by Europeans, I think this a proper place to premise a few remarks on the best manner of travelling through them:—the dryness of which information I beg my reader to excuse for the sake of its utility.

The best mode is to join a large caravan, if you are so happy as to meet with one, but this is unfortunately not often possible now, since there is seldom an opportunity, because the principal course of the inland trade has chiefly turned into other routes, to the country of the Berbers and the kingdom of Tunis. This is the injurious consequence of the impolitic vexations of the system of inland custom-houses, which is in every respect truly defective and often absurd; and likewise the oppression of the traders by the provincial governors, over whom it is doubly difficult to exercise any control in these remote countries. If the traveller cannot join a caravan, it is extremely difficult to find any convenient and safe mode without the aid

of Government. Every European of any consideration may, through his consul, easily obtain a firman, recommending him to the several governors and deputy-governors, at the same time granting him the favour of having all the necessary articles which the country produces, supplied to him at the price paid by the Government itself. This is especially important with respect to the price of cattle, employed in conveyance of effects, for otherwise the stranger is almost entirely dependent on the will of the Arabs, who are often very exorbitant in their demands. The camel-drivers of this country, besides, have a trick of loading a camel with scarcely a third part of the weight which, among the Berbers for instance, such an animal carries without any difficulty.

Though I left more than the half of my effects at Wadi Halfa, I required ten camels, for which in Tunis three or four would have sufficed, besides six dromedaries, for the Doctor, myself, my two servants, the kawass, and the Arab guide; the rest of the people sat on the beasts of burden. These animals were not provided by Berbers, but by Bedouins of the Desert, who, on the invitation of Mehemet Ali, have settled in the vicinity of Wadi Halfa, and claim as their right, the privilege of accompanying travellers with their camels across the Desert. On first loading the camels they made as many difficulties and useless noises as the Greek Aboghati in the Morea, with their mules. As soon, however, as everything was in train, they behaved in a much more orderly and quiet manner than the Greeks.

It was the first time in my life that I had mounted a

dromedary. I must observe, by the way (for what is quite common and well known here, is not always so among us) that what is here called a dromedary, is not a different animal from the camel, but identically the same beast with one hunch; and the difference between a dromedary and a camel is like that between an elegant saddle-horse and a clumsy cart-horse. It is not by any means difficult to mount them, because the animals are accustomed to kneel down when they are saddled, while one of the forelegs is bound fast with the long bridle, and the leader holds it by the head to prevent its rising too rapidly, by which the rider might easily be thrown upon the sand. These singular animals have three joints in their hind legs, and require three movements to rise as well as to lie down; this action always appears very violent to the unpractised rider, who must be exceedingly careful to bend forwards and backwards with precision, or he will inevitably lose his balance, of which we had more than one diverting instance among our party.

The pace of the dromedary in walking is very inconvenient, jerking, jolting backwards and forwards; but he is generally made to go at a pretty quick pace, which gives the rider much the same sensation as what we call the short jog trot of a very hard trotting horse. Hence riding in this manner six or seven miles, and often longer, without intermission, is very fatiguing, but for a short distance it is not by any means disagreeable, and the uniform, continued shaking is certainly advantageous both to the health and appetite. The seat itself on the wooden frame of the saddle, round the high pommel of which the

rider must lay his legs cross-ways, is likewise not a little inconvenient to a European till he has become accustomed to it. It is therefore advisable for every one coming hither in his boat, so to arrange matters that the first stages of his journey may be very short, in order to wean himself after the long repose which makes a voyage, on the Nile at least on account of this want of exercise, a truly indolent life.

The dromedary, when going as slowly as possible, travels nearly five miles an hour; in its quick trot, twice or thrice as much, and continues at this rate for ten or twelve hours, without resting. Mehemet Ali once accomplished the journey from Suez to Cairo, a distance of 115 miles, on his dromedary, in 12 hours, in order to prevent a conspiracy of the Mamelukes, and his sais, holding on by the tail of the animal and running on foot, reached Cairo at the same time. Sonnini affirms that the Nedshi dromedary can travel an hundred leagues in twenty-four hours; but it strikes me that this must certainly be an exaggeration.

Both dromedaries and camels are ill-tempered and disagreeable animals: I never mounted mine but it testified its displeasure by a snarling noise, and sometimes even by an attempt to bite me. Yet when once set a-going, I found it, like its leader, to be always docile and tractable, and a slight touch with a kurbatsh on its long neck was sufficient to excite it to the most rapid trot. The bit of the bridle is not in the animal's mouth, but it is drawn through one nostril, and there fastened by a wooden peg. When the rider wishes to dismount, he must make a kind of hoarse groan, which it is extremely difficult to imitate,

on hearing which the dromedary immediately lies down. No sign is necessary to make it rise again, for it invariably does so of its own accord as soon as ever the rider is mounted and has taken the bridle into his hand.

For my own part, notwithstanding the heat, I should greatly have preferred travelling in the daytime, in order to have a better view of the country, but I was universally assured that the animals could not hold it out; and we were, therefore, obliged to travel during the night, which fortunately was illuminated by the brightest moon. This arrangement rendered the following peculiar mode of life necessary: during our whole tour, we *breakfasted* at nine o'clock in the evening and mounted our dromedaries at ten, the camels, with the greater part of the baggage, having set out five hours earlier. The dromedaries had to carry, besides ourselves, the most necessary articles, such as a small tent, some carpets, a chest, containing everything necessary for breakfast, the toilette, and writing. Before, or at sunrise, we generally reached our night's quarters some hours later than our caravan, where we found our tents and beds prepared, and the cloth laid for dinner; so that after spending a short time in dressing, we were able to sit down to dinner about seven o'clock. After dinner we lay down to sleep, and towards evening, our early hour, we viewed the curiosities of the country. The latter part of the evening, till the time of starting, was devoted to reading and writing. In this manner (a truly diverting, watchman's life, which I venture to recommend to all my successors)

we experienced but little inconvenience, and all went on admirably, without any useless delay or confusion whatever. If, as is usually the case, travellers accompany their caravan, they find it extremely fatiguing and tedious; independently of which, after arriving at the halting-place, they must wait for hours without shelter, before the tents, beds, repast, &c., can be ready.

With respect to the things which a traveller must take with him, nothing can in general be determined, since the wants of every one, and his ideas of convenience, are very different; but what everybody here needs, whether he has many or few effects with him, are, in the first place, very solid and durable cases to put them in; and secondly, the art of most carefully packing them, for he may expect, as a matter of everyday occurrence, that part of the baggage will fall from the camel, or that the animal will stumble and throw down the whole cargo; or, that in an access of fear, it will gallop off with it. As for glass, china, instruments, &c., we learned by melancholy experience that it is absolutely necessary to have double chests with springs, otherwise they will inevitably be broken to pieces by the violent motions of the camel, which of itself, without any accident, is quite sufficient to damage such delicate articles. With respect to provisions, I would recommend merely a supply of rice, coffee, dried dates, wine, and tobacco. Do not smile, gentle reader, it is not without reason that I include the latter under the head of provisions; since experience herself has taught me that nothing appeases or rather hinders hunger and thirst more effectually than

coffee and a pipe, with which in this climate you may, if needs be, hold out for several days together without any great inconvenience. It is necessary to take a considerable quantity of rice; because it cannot be obtained in the Soudan, except occasionally at the principal places. In spite of the counsel of most European physicians, who would forbid the use of wine in hot countries, I strongly recommend it to everybody who is accustomed to it, as the best and most powerful means of preserving health during this fatiguing journey. I give the preference to champagne, mixed with two-thirds water; because in the long run I found this beverage more cool and refreshing than any other. Next to champagne light Rhenish or Moselle wines are the best; because the chief cause of the climatic disorders to which strangers are exposed, is nearly always a relaxation of the digestive organs, which must be prevented, not by violent, but by the mildest tonics. In fact, I was assured by an able German physician at Cairo, that he was indebted solely to the bitter Bavarian beer for the preservation of his life in the baneful climate of Yemen.

As our troublesome packing occupied more time on the first day than in the sequel, we were not able to set out on our march through the Desert till 11 o'clock at night on the 14th of April. The stage on this occasion was therefore only six leagues, which our dromedaries accomplished in three hours. The night was splendid, clear, and cool, and even the Desert was more varied than we are accustomed to fancy it; for in general, we picture it to ourselves as an interminable ocean of sand. This is certainly the case

in other parts; but here there are many hills and valleys scattered over it, with grotesque isolated rocks rising above, which greatly vary and enliven the scene. The sand is seldom deep, and in general so hard, that the many traces of the caravans, regularly running near each other, are as clearly marked upon it, as if we were riding over a ploughed field.

The clean, snow-white bones of dead animals, bleached by the sun, and now and then those of human victims who have perished here, and which have been dug up by hyænas, and also little black pyramids of stone, which are set up to mark the route, wherever a wrong path might be taken, contribute in this solitude, destitute of vegetation, to give a very peculiar and striking character to the Desert. When tired with looking at the earth, we raised our eyes to the starry host, which shine with wondrous splendour in this zone, and which not only lighten the lone traveller, but afford such an abundant source of subjects of contemplation, that a feeling mind will never be able long to give way to *ennui*.

At two o'clock we already descried our bright green tents, set up among dark rocks of every shape, on the banks of the Nile, near to some huts which bear the name of Saleh, and belong to the district of Dar-el Hadshar, which separates Wadi Halfa from Sukkot. The river foamed in cataracts between a hundred strange fantastic shapes of the black primæval rock, which, as I have already said, most travellers erroneously call basalt, though it is only granite blackened by fire and disintegration. Real, primitive volcanic

basalt is nowhere met with, as far as I am aware, along the Nile.

We ascended a sandy eminence on the bank, and enjoyed, for half an hour, amidst the music of the foaming waters, the view of this wild moonlight landscape, which is not destitute of some trees—a few thorny mimosas, which here and there crown the rocks in the river. It was a melancholy tract, but full of originality; and M. Cadavène is right when he says—“As far as Wadi Halfa, you have always more or less of Egypt;—here a new world begins.”

On the 15th the Arabs desired to go no further than Saras, but, guided by M. Cadavène's map, I insisted on making a longer march to Semneh, in order that I might have more leisure to view the temples there. The men held out a good while, but they were at last obliged to submit to our will; we found afterwards that *they* had stated the distance much more correctly than the *map*, and the fatigue of our tour completely exhausted us; thus for once they were right. Our caravan was sixteen hours in accomplishing the distance, and we just half that time; and as we had followed it rather too soon, and therefore overtook it by the way, we were obliged (in order that we might find our sleeping quarters in good order on our arrival) to bivouac for several hours in the Desert, without a tent and without a hill to shelter us.*

Notwithstanding the great heat of the day, the nights, especially during the high wind which now

* After this unpleasant adventure I always carried a small tent with me on my dromedary, to set it up, in case of need, as I have before recommended.

blew from the north, are often piercingly cold, and though we were warmed by the exercise of riding, we were glad to equip ourselves in a great-coat and cloak. During our bivouac this temperature was still more intolerable, and after a restless sleep, we all rose so lamed by the frost, that we found it difficult to remount our dromedaries. In consequence of this chill, I was obliged to halt for a day at Samneh, nor was I sufficiently recovered to view the country and the people till the following morning.

We had again a very uncomfortable halting-place on the Nile, under Doum palms, mimosas, and a broad-leaved shrub, with round green fruit, from which the inhabitants prepare a very powerful poison. Pseudo-basalt rocks still rose out of the river, and ran along its sides, yet a part of the bank is well cultivated, and some huts are scattered about. At no great distance are the remains of an ancient city, supposed to be Tasitia: it was originally built of bricks burnt in the sun, and among their ruins, upon an isolated rock, stands a small but elegant temple, with the cartouches of the Pharaohs, Osirtesan III., and Thothmes IV. Opposite, on the right bank of the Nile, are the ruins of another larger, much more dilapidated temple, which we could not visit for want of a boat to set us over, and we therefore reserved it for a future opportunity.

The sculptures and hieroglyphics of the little temple, which contains only one chamber like a corridor (for it cannot be called a hall), are in part very graceful, and some colours, for instance the azure ceiling with its yellow stars, are in a tolerable state

of preservation ; but, at a later period, a long hieroglyphic inscription has been carved, amidst the ancient figures on the *façade*, which is so wretchedly executed that Coptic Christians could not have done it worse. Here, again, we found two of those fluted ancient Egyptian columns, which resemble the Doric, and they are the only ones which the temple seems to have had, for on the side towards the river it is ornamented with a species of gallery, supported by four pillars.

A series of rocky islands extends from this place directly across the river to the other temple, and most of them have remains of old walls, probably fortified castles, which could easily command the river at this place. An English traveller has thereby been led to a conjecture that these may be the castles, surrounded by water, which appear in one of the battle-pieces at Thebes ; though this conjecture seems rather bold, it is, however, certain that the conquests of Rameses must have extended not only thus far, but much further to the south ; of these we have more proofs than of those to the north ; for, if he really conquered all the countries into which Diodorus Siculus makes him carry the terror of his arms, the total silence of history respecting him, and especially that of the Jewish historical records, must appear very extraordinary.

M. Cadavène affirms that in the neighbourhood of these ruins he was disturbed by large hyænas ; we, however, saw only some yellow gazelles, which crossed the road at a short gallop, and, being pursued by our dogs, soon found a safe retreat in the desert. Like M. Cadavène, we here met a large caravan of

slaves from the interior; we could not, however, agree in the remarks which he makes respecting them. M. Cadalvène, in that morbid temperament which seldom left him in Egypt, saw everything as black as the colour of the slaves themselves, and they therefore appeared to him like miserable wretches plunged in the depths of despair; whereas, we saw them quietly proceeding onwards, without any trace of care or sorrow, laughing and joking about us in their own language, and sufficiently clothed for this climate, where almost all the people go naked. Why exaggerate matters, and represent them different to what they really are? Slavery, abstractedly considered, is unquestionably revolting in a civilised state of society. Nobody denies this; but that the individual lot of the slaves in this country—having regard to the state of *their* social condition and *their* habits—is so unspeakably melancholy and wretched, even in the worst period (that of their conveyance to Cairo), I must decidedly dispute, after all that I have repeatedly seen: for that they are half naked; that, where they cannot be conveyed on the Nile, they must go on foot, unless they are sick, in which case they ride; and that the only food which they receive is Dourra bread, and occasionally some vegetables or dates, with Nile water, is not so bad as at first sight appears; for it is the common lot of all the people of this country, who are equally temperate and equally poor. But as soon as they are sold, their condition in the East is upon the whole much better; nay, often it is one of comparative ease and comfort; yet, notwithstanding this, they frequently pine with a longing for home,

and perhaps the chief hardship of their fate consists in their inability to satisfy this longing.

But how many among us are not better off in this respect! How many Christians does the slavery of necessity often condemn, under much more oppressive and painful moral relations, to the same lot of banishment from their native land! Let us not abide too strictly by words, but by things; and we shall not seldom learn to judge more correctly and charitably of foreign matters. In truth, in the relation of the slave to his master here, there is often more poetry for both parties than our modern, often very prosaic, reformers of the world, are capable of fully appreciating; for most of them attach only the idea of increased industry to free slave labour.—I say free *slave labour*, because the privations of the people of our manufacturing districts in many parts of Europe fully equal the sufferings of slavery; nay, they often surpass them, and the effects are equally demoralising. I am very far, however, from advocating slavery; I only mean that the East, in its present stage of civilisation, and with its relations so totally different from ours, must not be too partially judged by us, with respect to the slavery existing there.

Towards evening I took a walk to the neighbouring village, the habitations of which consisted only of thick straw mats, tied to stakes fixed in the ground, while others, laid horizontally, constituted the roof, and partitions of the same material formed two or three compartments inside. Well cultivated fields, though of small extent, surrounded these tents. In the first of these I found an invalid soldier from

Dongola, attended by a pretty black girl, and who announced himself to me as the present governor of the village, which consists of six families. I left the patient to view the second dwelling, which was rather larger ; here a very aged woman lay on the ground, and took not the slightest notice of me. At her side a young girl was employed in pounding dourra on a smooth stone, and, in the corner, stood a well-formed young woman, whose skin resembled the finest satin, and who appeared to be busy with her toilette, for she was fastening some strings of glass beads on her right arm, and putting a ring in her nose. Presently I perceived behind the old woman a fine, cheerful, open-hearted looking boy, with dazzling white teeth, and a head of thick curly black hair, who laughed aloud at me, but when I approached him, he ran screaming, with every indication of terror, to his sister, who was grinding the corn. I showed him a bright new piastre, but I could not tempt him to come near me, and his sister, who looked at me with surprise, also made a sign as if to reject it, and I was just going to put it into my pocket again, when the handsome young woman hastily stepped forward, took the piastre from my hand with a smile, and then, with the most graceful expression, pressed her fingers to her lips and to her forehead, in token of thanks. This *demoiselle* was doubtless rather civilised by her proximity to the military governor ; the others, in every point, resembled complete savages, and were quite naked, with the exception of the cloth round the waist, that worn by the females being longer than that of the boy.

We seldom meet with any inhabitants who can

speak Arabic, nor is it the language of the Berbers that is current in this district, but probably an idiom of Arabic origin, blended with that of the aborigines; and with the frequent immigrations, conquests, and changes of religion which have taken place throughout Nubia and Ethiopia, at such different periods, it may be very difficult, if not impossible, precisely to determine anything respecting the real origin of such manifold mixed races; so much, however, is evident from their external appearance, that they are indeed black, but not negroes; for the contour of their face is Caucasian, and their hair is curled, but by no means woolly. Among those who have proposed hypotheses respecting the Nubian tribes, our indefatigable Burckhardt may be considered as the first authority; for which reason his successors have rarely done more than copy his statements—a trouble which I beg to be excused taking.

Continuing my walk through the fields, I found about a dozen of the natives, men and women, employed in threshing corn and beans with sticks—an occupation which is generally performed by animals in the East and in Africa. In a short time, the above-mentioned young woman came, decked in all her ornaments, to take her share in the duty of threshing. When I saw these people all squatting round the heap of corn, and beating it lustily with their sticks, I could not help thinking that they looked exactly like monkeys which had seen the operation of threshing corn, and were now attempting to imitate the same manœuvres with clubs. We soon became friends; and, though our acquaintance procured me but little infor-

mation, as I could not speak with them, it was, nevertheless, of the greatest advantage to me, for they at length sold me some cow's milk and fresh vegetables, which they had before resolutely refused to the Turkish kawass, whom I had sent to them for that purpose, being probably apprehensive that they would not be paid.

A refreshing dip in the Nile, and a famous block of black granite close at hand, which served for a dressing-room, concluded my rural day's work. But I was not a little confounded, when, on leaving the river, I perceived, close to the spot which I had chosen for bathing, the fresh traces of an enormous crocodile, imprinted on the smooth white sand of the bank, as distinctly as an Egyptian hieroglyphic.

We left Samneh at midnight, and after a quick ride of more than five hours, reached Tangur on the 17th, a little before sunrise; here we were once more on the Nile, in sight of the most beautiful green bushes on the opposite bank, but were compelled to encamp amidst burning sand, without a single shrub to protect us. The camels had again taken twice the time that we had, and this continued during the whole journey, so that in the sequel we were always able to send them on before, according to this calculation.

During our night's march (when, after the moon had set, about four o'clock it became rather cold), we found, by the way-side, two slave-caravans and three droves of camels in profound repose, all of a heap, and as motionless as if they were dead; so that till we came up close to them, we took the first

of these heaps, in the uncertain light of the moon, only for a strangely formed mass of stones. In this manner many thousand camels are annually brought from the Ethiopian countries for the use of Egypt, and the demand for slaves is still greater.

The day which succeeded this cool night was the hottest that we had yet had, the thermometer being at thirty-five degrees, Reaumur, in the shade. Whatever we took hold of was painfully hot, metal glowingly so, and a bottle of eau-de-cologne, which I laid in the sun, almost boiled in a short time.

While we were dining in the tent we observed an enormous white vulture, attracted by the smell of the food, come stalking towards us, with much gravity, and apparently without the slightest fear; we suffered him to approach within ten paces, and then received him with a volley of large shot; and although we afterwards found that they had all entered his body, he flew away, and we had to pursue him a long time before he could be caught, and killed by throwing stones. He was a fine bird, measuring six feet from wing's-end to wing's-end, and had immense claws, which must be dangerous weapons. As we had no means of stuffing him, I made use of my capture only to replenish my stock of pens, of which I procured a considerable quantity; they were, indeed, very colossal, but they proved most useful.

In the evening, a negro, in the service of the Pasha, coming from Dongola, arrived at our station; he brought us much useful information, and amused us at the same time with all sorts of fabulous tales. Thus he pretended that in the Island of Danghos,

beyond old Dongola, there were enchanted Albinos, and, farther on, secret cannibals ; and still farther in Sennaar, syrens, of whom he asserted he had himself seen more than one. It is strange that this last fable has obtained in almost all countries, in almost every age.

In the night of the 17th, the Desert assumed a really fairy-like appearance. Boldly-formed blue mountain-chains bounded the distant prospect, and in our vicinity the most grotesque figures continually presented themselves before us. Sometimes we might have insisted that we rode past deserted towns and castles ; or that we saw ancient works of art, sometimes in the form of a gigantic goblet, of an urn, a pyramid, or an obelisk. When the moon was gone down, the morning red immediately followed, and the sun rising unclouded above the mountains like a ball of fire, illumined the immense solitude around us with the purest golden splendour. The road in many parts resembled a causeway, above 100 feet broad, in the best condition possible, as hard and level as though it were macadamised, and bordered on both sides with rows of granite hills, as with regular dams. In the middle of this road we occasionally found a neat tomb, formed of only two hewn stones, between which a mosaic of pebbles was very prettily traced in arabesque figures. Many bleached bones of camels lay around, but there was no inscription to tell to whom the monument belonged, or who had here found his solitary grave.

At seven o'clock we approached the Nile, which, surrounded by high mountains, here forms a charming

archipelago of many verdant islands. Other islands of black masses of rock, piled one upon another, rise above the verdant scene, and several of them are crowned by the picturesque ruins of extensive fortified castles, built as usual of bricks of dried earth. Among these piles we frequently saw erections in the form of propylæa, which were doubtless imitated from the Egyptian, or handed down by tradition, for the more wealthy inhabitants even now construct their palaces in the same style. The largest of these heaps of rubbish, to judge by its extent, must have been the castle of an ancient sovereign, or a vast monastery; and the whole country to the west of the river, which from the flatness of its superficies far into the interior, is capable of being inundated, still shows, though now wholly neglected, some traces of having been formerly in a flourishing condition.

This spot is certainly one of the most picturesque on the Nile, and the immediate vicinity of the river is well cultivated, and enlivened by isolated brick dwellings, which extend to the distance of a league along the river, to the island and considerable village of Dalh. We observed among them the remains of some old Christian churches, in one of which there are still several paintings of stately apostles and saints.

At Dahl, where our tents had been pitched, is a tolerably thick palm grove; we found the people, who were commanded by a very respectable nazir, far more civilised and familiar than we had met in Dar-el-Hadshar. More than twenty of them came with the sheikh to welcome us, and offered for sale everything they had; and assuredly a person who wishes to live

economically should come here. For the value of two francs I purchased the following articles:—a fat sheep, four cans of goat's milk, a wild duck as large as a goose, and two pair of very neatly woven sandals of palm leaves. I must mention, as a singular exception, that fowls, which are met with everywhere in the East, and in Egypt especially are set before you till you are tired of them, seem to be entirely unknown here. The people are acquainted only with the eggs of wild birds, but seemed to dislike to use them as food.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the heat was again thirty-five degrees in the shade, and we found it far more tolerable under a palm tree in the open air, on account of the greater draught, than in the tent, where the air had become as suffocating as the heat of a furnace, although we were even fanning ourselves with little flags of many-coloured straw, which are fastened, like fly-flappers, to a short reed, and are well adapted to the purpose. At dinner we were obliged, as yesterday, constantly to dip the glasses into cold water, for standing on the table in our tent for one minute was sufficient to make them burning hot.

The employment for the day is necessarily pretty uniform on a journey of this kind, not without some extraneous attractions, it is true, but they must, for the most part, be of a contemplative character, for in this temperature even reading is a task, and writing is a real burthen. Every day I lamented not having a secretary, whom, otherwise, I am always accustomed, like Prince Facardin, to take with me.

The individual himself, however, who is destined to accompany me in future, may congratulate himself highly, that he is not already in office, for his services, which for want of him I am obliged to perform for myself, would doubtless have been intolerable just now.

My tent was at this time imbedded, as it were, in verdure, and had about it a wreath of those poisonous shrubs which are now becoming more and more common on the Nile, full of green fruit the size of an apple, and here and there richly adorned with white and blue flowers; but this plant deserves, still more than the crown of the kingdom of Italy, the inscription, *Gare à qui la touche*. The flowers, the fruit, the branches, the leaves, are all full of a thick milky substance, which issues on the slightest pressure, and if it gets into the eye, infallibly causes blindness; taken inwardly, it is fatal, and the natives never failed carefully to warn us of it. Less dangerous, but more disagreeable, was the long thorny acacia, a projecting branch of which, as I was taking a short walk along the banks of the river, in spite of the heat, caught such fast hold of my silk kaftan, that I needed the help of two blacks, whom I called to my assistance, before I could obtain my liberty, and even then I left a part of my garment behind me.

A most amusing scene occurs every evening in the loading of the camels, which regularly lasts from four to six o'clock. The habits of this singular animal, which has a giraffe-like head, the neck of a swan, the body of a stag, and the tail of a cow, and such curious hind-legs, which look as if they were provided with

hinges, and which it so cleverly folds up in three parts—are so comical, that it is impossible to look at it without laughing. These creatures cry and squeel like naughty children at the least touch, always look extremely melancholy and angry, but never even in a passion do they lose a moment to ruminate most diligently, an operation, which, as they only move the lower jaw right and left with great earnestness, and with an equal cadence, gives them completely the appearance of an old toothless woman, who in vain tries to bite a crust of hard bread. They have plenty of teeth, however, and those very good ones too; and, at a certain season, their bite is so fearful, that in the preceding year a camel bit off the head of an officer who was on guard at the Peace Gate! I myself have seen them with astonishment bite off the branches of the mimosa, with thorns five inches long and as hard as iron, and chew them as unconcernedly as though they were regaling upon lettuce leaves.

With the last groan of the camels, which announces the conclusion of the packing, and on which the whole caravan, one animal fastened to another, immediately sets out, I daily repair to the invigorating bath in the river, which, notwithstanding the piercing coldness of the Nile water, has hitherto always done me good. But I can scarcely explain why the Nile, flowing through an immense plain, and exposed the whole day to the burning heat of the sun, never attains the warm temperature of our rivers in summer, unless it may be ascribed to the coolness of the night, which for the most part, here succeeds even the hottest days,

but, as far as my observation of the climate has hitherto extended, seldom or never accompanied by dew.

After the bath, we take our evening breakfast, which is seasoned by the cheerful conversation of Dr. Koch, who has seen and experienced much, and knows how to relate his adventures with satirical humour. A few hours' sleep on the carpet in the cool air are then doubly refreshing, and when the pale moon shines high in the firmament, we again mount our dromedaries.

April 19th.

The desert retained its romantic character during this night and the following morning. We observed, among other things, as a remarkable object, many scattered heaps of quadrangular and conical hills, most regularly formed like tumuli. I said to my dragoman, who has some resemblance to Eugène Sue's droll Losophe, that these must be tombs, for Nature could not have formed them in such a regular manner; he answered laconically, "Nature can form everything as a model for man." In fact, this strange formation, which frequently occurs in the great plains of Asia and Africa, is well known to geologists.

In the morning, a troop of large, white gazelles stood still, near the road-side, and would probably have remained within gun-shot, if we could have prevented my ill-bred Susannis from hunting them; this, however, at least afforded an opportunity of witnessing their fleetness—swift as the wind, they bounded over the plain as far as our eyes could follow them.

From the tameness of the animals living here in the wild state, we have ample proof that hunters do not much molest them; for besides the vulture which we lately killed, large birds of prey have since daily approached us in the same bold manner; and in Dalh, while I was taking a walk, a beautiful bird with gay plumage, and a crest like a cockatoo, flew around me, with great curiosity, for full five minutes, nor did he leave me till I returned to my tent.

When the sun had risen pretty high, we thought that a considerable part of the plain before us was covered with a bright green vegetation, but on a closer inspection we discovered that the colour proceeded from a finely-polished slate, which, close at hand, was blue, but at a distance appeared precisely like a mossy grass.

In six hours we reached Saki-el-abd, that is, the Aqueduct of the Slaves, because the slaves generally halt here. The river at this place is more than a quarter of a league broad; we found our tents pitched near a few houses and two large sakyehs, but on the other side is a very large plantation of palms, with a lofty, fine table-mountain towering above it: there is likewise a considerable village with an extensive building, flanked by two of the above-mentioned propylæa, which, at a distance, give it the appearance of the ruins of an Egyptian temple.

We here found a boat, which carried us across to the opposite village, where a well-supplied market replenished our diminished stock of provisions. The heat to-day was only 28° R. in the shade, and we found this almost cool. Before I proceed I must

observe that both on Cadalvène's and Rüppel's map, neither of which are very correct, the distance from Dalh to this place is stated at 30 miles, which is nearly half a degree too much, since, according to the constantly equal pace of the camels with that of our dromedaries, it is not more than that from Samneh to Tangour, and from Tangour to Dahl—three days' march, which do not differ half a league from each other. I mention this only as a notice to travellers; it is for men of learning, who may come after me, to correct by proper measurement, this, and innumerable other errors, in most of the maps of this part of Africa, which have been hitherto published.

In order, however, to afford a standard for the veracity of M. Cadalvène in other respects, which is so far not without its use, because in his work he purposely seeks every occasion to depreciate Mehemet Ali and his government, though while he was here he long solicited at Alexandria some employment in the service of the Viceroy, and desired to publish an Egyptian journal, which was refused him (*hinc illæ lachrymæ*)—I will here quote an amusing paragraph from his book on the very spot.

“Saki-el-abd,” he begins in his usual manner, “was nearly abandoned when we arrived there, for the greater part of the inhabitants” (N.B. of five or six huts) “had fled into the Desert, being incapable of paying the taxes required. These fugitives often return after the lapse of some months, when they hope to be no more molested.” (How can they hope this if the tyranny is really so consistent and systematic as M. Cadalvène constantly affirms that it is?) “But

many adopt a nomade life, and every year some villages are depopulated in this manner."

"In the absence of the owners" (who probably instead of having fled were only gone to market in the opposite villages) "we took some beds (engareb), from the nearest houses, and carried them to the river-side, where we established ourselves to avoid the white ants, and above all *the scorpions, which during the night creep by thousands out of their retreat.*"

We too bivouacked on the same spot, and in the same month of the year, but we did not see a single scorpion. I inquired, both of the natives, and of the persons accompanying our caravan, respecting the two points alleged by M. Cadalvène; first, the flight of the villagers; and, secondly, the immense number of scorpions. Nobody knew anything of the first, and with respect to the second, scarcely one of the inhabitants had seen any of these animals here, which, as they reported, had but lately become frequent beyond the Desert, a little before reaching Dongola.

As almost all the diatribes of M. Cadalvène against the Viceroy are precisely in the same predicament,—for when inquiry is made on the spot, a trace is seldom found of all the horrors with which he reproaches the government,—I have since never read a paragraph of this kind, in which the author takes so much pains to sting, but only emits an ineffectual poison, but what I say, with a smile, "This is another of the thousand scorpions of M. Cadalvène."

Our caravan had set out as usual at six in the evening of the 21st, and we did not start till three

in the morning, after a very characteristic scene in Saki-el-abd. I was fast asleep in my little tent, when I was suddenly awakened by a prodigious noise of drums, and the firing of many guns. I jumped up, and, hastening out of the tent, was not a little astonished to see, instead of the splendid full moon, everything enveloped in the deepest gloom, while the firing and drumming continued without ceasing. A total eclipse of the moon—a phenomenon which I had never observed more perfectly, and which no almanac had announced to us, soon explained all the circumstances. The inhabitants, who were anxious to assist the moon, that the black dragon, with which they believed it to be engaged in a desperate conflict, might not wholly swallow it up, were quite confounded at the event, which they considered as the harbinger of some dire misfortune. All the pains that my philosophical dragoman took to explain the matter to them, from natural causes, were as fruitless as if he had attempted to instil common sense into some insane enthusiast. The good people persisted in their opinion; and when the eclipse was at length over, they indulged in the happy conviction of having contributed not a little, by their resolute demonstrations, to rescue the moon from her urgent distress.

In the sequel, I heard in Dongola, where similar measures had been adopted against the same calamity, a still more refined explanation, from a faki at that place. “Only the ignorant people,” said he, “believe that it is a dragon which endeavours to swallow the moon. The moon is a living being, as well as we, but a very exalted potentate in the kingdom of

heaven, which is governed by God exactly in the same manner as the earth is by the Sultan. When, therefore, one of the governors there does not do his duty, the Lord of heaven, like the Sultan here, has his head cut off, or sends him the bow-string. Now, it is evident that the moon had incurred such a punishment, and therefore when his countenance began to be darkened, we fired lustily and uttered tones of lamentation, to testify our desire to help him, and our compassion for his situation, for he might still obtain pardon; but as we soon observed that there was no more grace for him, and that he at length totally vanished, we set up a louder noise, mingled with demonstrations of joy, in order to recommend ourselves as much as possible to the new moon; which accordingly, scarcely two hours after the execution of the last, appeared in more splendour than its predecessor had ever done." We see that people of rank here understand as well as ourselves what is befitting a good courtier, "*Le roi est mort ! Vive le roi !*"

Our route to-day lay chiefly along the banks of the Nile, through a cultivated country, so that for the most part we had only the Desert on one side. Very considerable villages, a league in length, well built of unburnt bricks, and thickly covered with palm leaves, and surrounded by fruitful fields, which in two or three months will yield a second harvest, are a guarantee of the proportionable wealth and the greater security of property which exist here since the government of Mehemet Ali. We still continued to meet caravans of camels and slaves; one of the

latter had formed a very picturesque encampment in a garden, near the ruins of Sedenga. As we passed through the midst of them, a group of wild girls jeered us in every possible manner; and indeed our white complexions and singular costume afforded them ample opportunity. On the inquiry whether one of the prettiest and most animated of them was to be sold, a surly "No" was the only reply; for the slave-dealers from the interior seem to have as great an aversion to the unbelieving Christian dogs, as the slaves themselves. I am convinced that not an individual in this whole company, if the offer could have been made, would have changed places with us. Everything in the world depends upon taste and opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

RIDE THROUGH THE DESERT TO DONGOLA.

(Continued.)

THE TEMPLES OF PHTUR, HAFFEER, AND DONGOLA.

THE antiquities of Sedenga are very inconsiderable. Only one column of the larger temple is still standing entire, amidst an extensive accumulation of ruins, together with all the fallen fragments of the ornaments of the building. A bad style manifests that the edifice is a more modern, probably Roman work. Rather further off are the remains of a second temple, with two broken columns, all of common limestone, and of equally inferior workmanship. Very different is the case with the great temple of Phtur—a work of the Pharaohs—situated four leagues from Sedenga, beyond the chain of hills of the Djebel Dosh, which separates the province of Sukkot from that of Dar el Mahass, and which, though in the wildest state of devastation, excited our astonishment. We found our tents pitched opposite to the temple in an agreeable grove near the banks of the river.

We deferred the inspection of this grand ruin till the evening, and were just sitting down to dinner, when one of the inhabitants of the adjacent village (who were as ready to serve us in everything as those

of Dalh), came running to inform us that a hippopotamus, which had been in these parts for several weeks, was now in the river some hundred paces from the bank. We ran as fast as we could, and immediately saw the immense head of the animal, much like a black rock rising out of the water, without moving for a considerable time. Meanwhile I had ordered the table, covered as it was, to be brought out, and placed close to the river, near the remains of an antique mole of the town of Phtur, and sat down to a comfortable meal, under a lofty tree. Behind us were the columns of an ancient temple or palace of Rameses, and before us in the water, the interesting spectacle of one of the most singular animals in the creation. This scene was rendered still more attractive by the lofty mountains in the distance; the graceful windings of the river towards both sides, with dark reefs of rock interspersed with little waterfalls, and the opposite green banks, with a large brick palace, and propylæa, surrounded by a grove of date-palms; it was altogether one of the most pleasing landscapes that we had seen on our voyage. The hippopotamus remained for above an hour at the spot which he had chosen, and amused us by rising more or less above the surface of the water, with various evolutions, till at length on reaching a sand-bank he suddenly stood erect, and as if taking leave, enabled us to admire his whole gigantic figure. He vanished, however, beneath the waves almost as suddenly as he had appeared, rose to the surface for a few seconds only, at a great distance, and then finally descending to his crystal home, was not again visible.

A group of naked boys and youths, accompanied by two aged persons and three girls, seated themselves near us, and took as much pleasure in watching the hippopotamus as we did. Now and then some of them leapt into the river, swam towards him, and endeavoured to provoke the imperturbable animal, while others on the bank attempted to assist by their cries and noise, like their countrymen yesterday during the eclipse of the moon; but whenever their attention was not drawn to the monster, it was turned exclusively upon us. They looked with astonishment at our telescope; were delighted with a knife inlaid with mother-of-pearl, belonging to the doctor; and, like genuine South Sea Islanders, became half-mad with joy when I showed them a looking-glass, the like of which none of them appeared ever to have seen before. It was remarkable that the young men manifested much more pleasure and vanity in looking at themselves than the girls. Almost all of them wore a kind of rosary made of glass beads round the neck or arm, to which was suspended a small leather pocket containing amulets, which their learned men, the Faki, write for them, and for which they are well paid. Some of the boys also wore tin ear-rings, and the girls coloured glass beads round their neck and arms. I presented some of the latter with ordinary Parisian ornaments, and gave the lads who had fetched water for us, or had otherwise rendered us service, rings of the same kind, which were received with gratitude and pleasure, but at the same time in a very becoming, quiet manner.

The two old people were most comical originals.

One of them had in his hand an Egyptian gold coin (karie) with a hole in it, wrapt in paper, and though he was constantly repulsed, he ever and anon made a fresh attempt to induce us to change this gold coin for silver piastres; the other carried two pieces of coarse linen, manufactured here, on his head, and endeavoured, with similar resolute perseverance, to prevail upon us to buy them, but with so much patience, gentleness, and politeness,—nay, with all the gravity of a diplomatist who treats about provinces,—that in the end we could no longer resist, and yielding to their importunity, purchased both the linen and the gold coin.

Some of them spoke a little Arabic, which greatly facilitated our intercourse, and shortly before sunset we parted very cordially with both old and young, and our friendship was further augmented by our leaving behind us, as presents, the gold coin and the linen, though already paid for. This kind of linen, I must observe, was formerly cut into long strips, and passed for money in the country of the Berbers, as well as in the Soudan. The inhabitants are now everywhere obliged, on pain of decapitation, to take the government coin according to the fixed tariffs: rigorous as this measure may appear, it was nevertheless unavoidable, for without it the natives would never have been induced to take the coin.

As a remarkable instance of the careless indolence of these savages, I must mention the following circumstance. They told us that the same hippopotamus which we had seen, occasioned them very much damage, for when it landed at night to feed, it gene-

rally laid waste three or four feddan of their crops at a time. "Why then do you not hunt the animal?" I asked. "We have already thought about it," they replied, "and have sent word to a man at Wadi Halfa, who understands this kind of chace, that there is an hippopotamus in the neighbourhood. He has told us in reply, that as soon as he can obtain a harpoon he will come." This statement was fully interpreted to us by an Egyptian soldier. It is now a month since the people applied to the hunter, during which time the hippopotamus is said to have devastated forty feddan, yet no one has as yet summoned resolution to undertake the chace himself, though there is no lack of weapons and muskets; indeed, a post of negro soldiers, well provided with everything necessary, is stationed only half a league off, so that nothing could have been more easy than with a little exertion to put an end to the affair long since. The same indolence prevails along the whole river, and keeps them from profiting by the abundance of fish in the Nile; since we left Assouan we have not seen any of those delicate inhabitants of the water, and we have been unable to supply ourselves, for unfortunately we have neither nets nor fishing-rods.

In the coolness of the evening we proceeded to the temple, the columns of which, consisting of reddish-striped, hard sandstone, are some of the lightest and most elegant specimens of Egyptian architecture that I have seen. There were about seventy of them, of which scarcely a third remain, and of these only ten are standing entire. As the cartouches of Sesostris, and many others of the most ancient Pharaohs are

found here, it cannot be doubted that this structure belongs to those times, and its destruction must be ascribed, either to an earthquake, or to the sinking of the foundation, which is composed of unburnt bricks. The edifice has a large fore-court, in which there are still some mutilated sphinxes, and traces of a splendid flight of steps, 57 feet broad, leading to the temple, which seems to have consisted of three large principal halls, supported by columns differing in their ornaments and form.

There is an immense quantity of rubbish lying about, and as only some of the fallen materials have been carried away to be used for other purposes, it is very difficult to climb over the enormous masses of ruin, which fill every part of the temple. We here roused a hyæna, which immediately crept under the walls, and as we did not see it run away, it had probably a lurking-place here, into which it retreated.

The temple, with its accurate measurements and other particulars, has been described in detail by several travellers; yet, as it contains a great number of undeciphered hieroglyphics, and very peculiar sculptures, it is much to be regretted that no one, gifted with the knowledge of Champollion, has hitherto more accurately examined it, as it might certainly afford highly interesting historical information.

Many of the columns are surrounded at their base with a row of figures, representing prisoners with their hands tied behind them, the lower half of whose bodies is always covered by a cartouche (which we call a ring, but from its shape and import I would rather call it a coat of arms). On these cartouches,

according to Waddington's statement, the names of conquered cities and provinces are inscribed, and most of the figures (all of which seem to represent inhabitants of northern countries,) wear a head-dress, resembling the Persian cap, and the others a covering exactly like the Egyptian tarbush of our day. The workmanship is particularly good, and quite in the simple, noble style of the best period. The same may be said of the friezes, capitals, and other ornaments, which often approach to Grecian elegance, and, indeed, the whole building deviates considerably from the heaviness and gloomy austerity of other Egyptian temples of that period.

This temple is not so colossal as others of the same date. The first and largest hall is 88 feet deep and 103 broad; the columns 5 feet 7 inches in diameter, and none are more than between 40 and 50 feet high. The other two halls are gradually smaller, and beyond them was the adytum, surrounded by twelve columns. As the representation of Jupiter Ammon occurs several times, it may be conjectured that the temple was dedicated to him. There are likewise sculptures of owls and vultures, and one of Apis. The dilapidated pile, in its entire extent, on the confines of the Desert, backed by a palm-grove and the mud huts of the village of Solib, is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful in Nubia, from the rosy-pink colour of the stone, and the picturesque grouping of its masses of ruins, and it must leave an indelible impression on the mind of every traveller who is able to appreciate it.

At Solib the river makes a great *détour* to the east,

which obliged us, on the following night, to ride between thirty-five and forty miles across the Desert. It so happened that, in order to find a spot sheltered from the cold wind, where we might enjoy a few hours' rest, we took a different route from that pursued by our caravan, and this apparently accidental circumstance probably saved the life of a sailor belonging to the bark, who had accompanied the caravan; for, having fallen asleep on his beast, he had imperceptibly strayed from the rest of the party, and we took him up just at the moment when, in the greatest anxiety to rejoin it, he was on the point of hastening at full speed, in the wrong direction to the interior.

Going astray is a very dangerous matter here, and scarcely a year passes but what government couriers, or other persons travelling alone, vanish in the Desert, and are never heard of more. The rapidity and perseverance with which these couriers perform the longest journeys, on such awkward animals, and during such heat, is almost incredible: we often found them in the most appalling nocturnal solitudes of these deserts, lying quite alone in the sand, by the side of their dromedary, with the bridle twisted round their arm, that man and beast might enjoy some hours' refreshing sleep.

We did not reach Fakee Bint till past nine o'clock, when the sun was already high, and the air very hot; here the late governor of Dongola erected a mosque and a khan, as a charitable foundation, where every traveller receives gratuitous lodging and cooled water. For this latter purpose the filtering pitchers, which are made at Keneh, are truly invaluable resources in these

countries, and as they are not always to be met with, every traveller will do well to provide himself beforehand with as large a quantity as possible. The warmest water, when it is exposed to the draught of air only a few hours, becomes cool in these vessels, and during the night it is as cold as ice. In a week or a fortnight, however, the pores of the pitchers are choked up, and then they do not perform their duty quite so effectually. These pitchers are, besides, as light as a feather, but so brittle that the slightest knock injures or breaks them. I have seen plenty of filters in different countries, but none that I know of can be compared with the pitchers of Keneh, for the rapidity of the process. Thanks to them, hitherto we have never been in want of cooled water, even in the hottest days, when our halting-places are chiefly on the Nile.

The benevolent founder of the khan had also planted trees in front of it, which already spread their umbrageous crowns, and we took up our temporary abode, under their refreshing shade, over against the river, which is here again full of rocks. Soon after our arrival I received a visit from the Nazir of the village, attended by a small suite. He was a native, and one of the most considerable landowners of the place; his manners were mild and engaging, and he manifested that shrewdness, and quickness of perception, in which the Arabs are in general so much superior to the lower classes of Europeans.

I took the opportunity to make several inquiries of this trustworthy man, respecting the real relation between the subjects and the government, which were

subsequently confirmed to me by well-informed and impartial persons. All the information which he gave me differs materially from the accusations of several travellers, though in this instance the speaker was a considerable landowner, who was himself an interested person, and who, with the praise which he bestowed, did not refrain from censure where he thought it due. I shall have various opportunities hereafter of speaking more at length on this subject.

The next station is Haffeer, which is twenty-five miles distant. After the first half of the way, the Desert fell entirely into the back-ground; and the plains of Dongola, which are indeed much neglected, gradually began to widen before us. There was almost as much abandoned, as cultivated land, because of late years severe epidemic diseases had swept off a great number of the inhabitants. *Here* there are really frequent emigrations to Darfour, which is governed by a very enterprising Sultan, who favours foreign colonists, and whose extensive dominions, which are daily increasing, are represented by several slave-dealers, with whom I conversed, as a paradise of wealth and plenty. In the deserted fields, the artificial irrigation has, of course, ceased; extensive thickets of mimosa have sprung up, and the poison-tree flourishes in its greatest beauty. Antelopes are frequent in these thickets, and we also saw many partridges, of a larger species than ours, and small birds of a beautiful plumage, which fluttered familiarly about us.

Haffeer, which is about a league distant from the Nile, indicated its vicinity to the capital by better dwellings, more careful cultivation, and a more civilised appear-

ance of the inhabitants, as well as by the presence of Egyptian officers, with a detachment of thirty men. Here, too, the Katsheff was a well-informed person, not a Turk, but a native.

The white ants, the dreadful *termites*, which destroy all kinds of goods; commenced their devastations at Haffeer. They are so peculiarly partial to books, that they will devour nearly a whole folio during one night; of this I afterwards saw an instance at Dr. Iken's in Dongola. The inhabitants of the village immediately brought us several *engarebs* (a kind of sofa of antique form), upon which they advised us to lay our portmantoes and other effects, as everything that remained on the ground would stand a good chance of falling a prey to the ants during the night.

These *engarebs* are as durable as they are convenient, and for two years I carried one of them about with me, which served the alternate purpose of bed, sofa, and garden bench, and happily succeeded in bringing it as a model to Europe. It consists of a frame of very solid wood, resting upon four short, turned legs. The whole is covered with a network made of strips of fresh ox-hides, which collapse in drying, and impart both durability and elasticity to this very convenient piece of furniture. The *engareb* will stand several days' continued rain or scorching heat; and it is only necessary to spread a carpet upon it, to form the most comfortable couch, free from the annoyance of insects, and it is at the same time so light that it may be transported with the greatest ease. These [strips of hide are used in the manufacture of various other articles, and were formerly employed in

their barbarous executions. The delinquent being bound with them to a tree, was thus left exposed to the heat of the sun, till the thongs contracting as they dried, gradually squeezed him to death.

We found Haffeer afflicted with the epidemic fever which is peculiar to the province of Dongola; it commences with bleeding at the nose and vomiting, and proves decisive in the course of a week at the most; after which either death or speedy recovery ensues. Three months ago, the disorder raged in Dongola itself, and it seems now to be extending farther northward. Many consider it to be a modified form of cholera, and some of its symptoms really seem to resemble it. Yet it is generally attended with less pain. Dr. Koch, a great anti-contagionist, who had studied the plague and the cholera at Alexandria, visited some of the patients, and gave directions for their treatment, from which he expected a favourable result, at the same time lamenting that he had not a longer time to observe what he, as a physician, called *a very interesting disorder*.

The distance from this place to Dongola is 35 miles. The character of the country was the same as yesterday; we passed many abandoned fields, but they were more rarely planted with trees. Dongola itself, which is a place of some extent, though built only of rude unburnt bricks, or clay mixed with straw, appeared to be quite destitute of trees on this side, having fields only towards the Nile.

The town of Dongola is divided into two distinct parts, one of which is fortified with embattled clay walls, some towers, and along a portion of it by an

inconsiderable ditch ; this, however, is quite sufficient as a defence against the natives. All the officers of the Government have their residences here, with the barracks of the garrison, consisting of a battalion of infantry, (partly Egyptian Invalids, partly negroes,) and of three or four hundred irregular cavalry. There is a large parade in the centre of the quarter. The other division of the town, which is larger and nearer to the river, contains the remainder of the population, comprising about 4000 souls. We here found a well-furnished bazaar and a few neat houses of the more wealthy inhabitants, built of burnt bricks, with regular rows of windows, which are still without glass.

The Turkish governor, Mudir, had made so little preparation for my reception, and assigned me such an inferior house in the vicinity of the river, that I preferred pitching my tent in the adjoining field, after which I sent my kawass with an angry message to the governor. When he visited me on the following morning, I received him in my tent without rising, presented him neither coffee nor a pipe, declined the offer which he now made of his own house, and declared that I would have nothing whatever to do with him, but would leave it to his Highness, the Viceroy, to reprimand him for his uncourteous behaviour. It is advisable to treat a Turk in this manner, if you have the means of supporting this character throughout; that is, if a Turk has good reason to believe that you have the power to injure him, you must not offer the slightest affront from him, for a haughty, reserved behaviour generally produces more effect

than the most obliging familiarity or marks of politeness. After this scene, which took place in the presence of his whole suite, and the commander of the troops, who accompanied him, the Governor of Dongola and myself became capital friends; when he had succeeded in appeasing me by many apologies, he would not let me want for anything, but loaded me with civilities, both during my present stay and on my return some months afterwards, during which time he also gave me the use of his own two Nile boats for the whole of my subsequent voyage.

On examining my portfolio in the evening, I discovered, with no little dismay, that the last volume but one of my travelling journal was missing. An author feels attached to trifles such as these, as to a treasure, however foolish this may be. It appeared, from the inquiries that were instituted, that the book, on our leaving Haffeer, in the middle of the night, must have been overlooked and forgotten in the tent. I immediately despatched one of our Arabs, mounted on the swiftest dromedary, in search of it, and he brought it back safe on the following morning. This was, however, owing to a fortunate circumstance, for all the houses in the village had already been searched in vain, under the direction of the katsheff, and my Arab had mounted his dromedary to return, when one of the peasants, under the promise of secrecy and a bakshish, disclosed to him that the book he was in search of, was in the hands of a faki, two leagues off, who intended to cut out of it very powerful amulets against the raging fever.

It was well for me that the honour intended for my

unimportant handwriting had scarcely commenced, when the Arab arrived at the residence of the thief, and by the help of his kurbatsh soon compelled him to give up his plunder. I received the whole quite uninjured, with the exception of a single leaf, which had been cut out, and which was easily supplied. We celebrated this happy event by emptying a bottle of champagne, for our party was now augmented by two Europeans; Dr. Iken, who has the appointment of army surgeon, and was formerly a Hanoverian officer; and the apothecary, * * * who used to be a French captain of dragoons, and, during the war, was, for a time, Commandant of Pirna, in Saxony.

During this libation the scene around us,—for we were seated beneath the mimosas and sycamores which encompassed my camp, with a thermometer at 36° R.,—looked like Paradise, and everything around was charming and animated; several dogs were playing beside us; horses and camels were roaming among the green barley; fat cows, sheep, and goats, belonging to the neighbouring farm; a young giraffe, and two little gazelles, which the Governor had given me—and on the first of which I had already made no very successful attempts to ride,—sported in concord around us, while red, blue, and green birds twittered in the branches; and, in the tent itself, several pretty lizards with light blue tails, and above twenty colossal spiders with legs more than an inch long, ran up and down the wall, and sometimes even honoured us with a visit on our table. The tormenting insects of Egypt, on the contrary, bugs, flies, lice, and even mosquitoes, were become rare, nor did we again meet

with them during the remainder of our journey. It is doubtless too hot for them in these regions ; on the other hand, we were tormented by small ants, which nestled in our clothes and beds, and we were always compelled to use precautionary measures to secure our effects from their invasions.

Provisions, especially meat, appeared to us to be remarkably good in Dongola, and the prices were still very low. A kind of beer, too, is made here of dourra; it is called *bil-bil*, and is used as far as Khartoum. It resembles small beer which is beginning to turn sour: but it is cooling and not unpleasant to the taste, in hot weather, though it ought to be made fresh at least every two days. Its taste completely changes while it is fermenting, when it becomes a highly intoxicating and unwholesome beverage; but when it is quite new none of us felt any bad effects from it.

On the 21st I visited the Governor in his clay palace, where he has his wives, as well as several Abyssinian and negro slave boys, whose effeminate and affected manners are very singular to an European. The slaves are not cheaper here than in Cairo, and Dr. Koch had to pay 2000 piastres (five hundred francs) for a young lad fifteen years of age.

Accompanied by the Mudir, we afterwards visited the indigo manufactory established by Mehemet Ali. It already produces indigo of three different qualities, the first of which is equal to that of India. The oka of this quality costs the Government twenty-four piastres, and is sold for eighty piastres. On the whole, 50,000 okas are annually manufactured, and no European is now employed on the works. The Government,

likewise, possesses several gardens, which are kept in good order, and include plantations of vine and many other fruit-trees, which come in part from Kordofan. In one of these gardens is an elegantly-adorned sakyeh—for the Nile water is everywhere found at a moderate depth, in the neighbourhood of Dongola. It was worked by the finest oxen I ever saw in my life. The oxen of this country are truly magnificent, of colossal size and admirable symmetry; they have straight backs, and are distinguished by a singular elongation of the skin on the neck, which hangs down a foot and a half, and gives them a very stately appearance. In an adjoining stable, which was kept with more than ordinary care, and had a courtyard planted with trees, we saw some dromedaries of the finest race, and four giraffes of different sizes. Beneath the shade of the trees were *engarebs*, covered with carpets, which invited us to repose. Giraffes are so common in the neighbouring desert about Dongola, that they may be purchased at fifty or sixty Spanish dollars a head; but a special permission of the Government is required for their exportation.

The Governor is supposed to be very rich; and I was informed, under the promise of secrecy, that he had discovered a diamond mine in the neighbourhood. According to authentic information, however, which I was enabled to obtain, this diamond mine seems rather to consist in the lucrative management of *appalte*, which, unhappily, furnishes an opportunity to persons in office to practise the most shameless frauds, which injure both the inhabitants and Mehemet Ali himself, who is charged with all the blame by super-

ficial or ill-disposed writers. It may suffice to mention one of these manœuvres, of which I received the most convincing proof. By order of the Viceroy, all the corn, rice, &c. delivered to the government, must be re-sold to those who require it for their private use. It is taken at a fixed price, which although rather higher, is yet not unreasonable. In order to evade this, the following expedient is adopted in Dongola:—

A rich merchant of the place, and a Coptic officer of the Governor's, who, with a salary of some 1000 piastres, spends twenty times as much, had, when I was at Dongola, already purchased all the government stores at the fixed price. When any person required a supply, he was dismissed under this pretext, and desired to wait till fresh supplies came in. Being urged by necessity, which would not allow them to wait, the people were forced to purchase privately what they required from these two individuals, at double or triple the price, and they shared their profits with the Mudir.

In the same manner, military officers in these countries, which are so remote from the seat of government, exercise the most oppressive tyranny in the levying of recruits, &c., to escape which the individuals affected are constantly compelled to give bribes in money. These abuses may certainly contribute to the partial emigrations, but they are founded solely on the unparalleled immorality of the higher classes; and even if Mehemet Ali should have fifty governors beheaded every year—which the meanest Turk considers, with philosophic calmness, as nothing more than an inevitable dispensation of God—these abuses

cannot be remedied except by the better education of the rising generation. Mehemet Ali is using every exertion to effect this, and, as we are all aware, spares no expense to bring it about. If, however, the means employed for this end are not the most judicious or efficacious, let it be remembered that Mehemet Ali is only a Turk, that his education is most defective, that he has elevated himself by the greatness of his own genius so far above his countrymen as to be enabled to see what they need; and that, with very few exceptions, he is unfortunately surrounded by selfish and ignorant counsellors, who, far from giving effect to his liberal ideas, only endeavour to check them, whenever they are able to do so unobserved and unpunished.

In the evening I rode to a cemetery out of the town, which contains the monuments of several famous santon; these have the shape of our haycocks, and certainly did not display much taste; indeed, a barbarous fancy was manifested in most of the tombs: some were inlaid with various devices, such as of animals and flowers in coloured pebbles; others were in the form of small houses; and others, again, shaped like rude vessels, with handles, &c. At the moment of our arrival they were about to inter a person who had died that same morning; while they were preparing the grave, the corpse lay beside it on a plain bier, the face and breast wrapped in a cloth, and the legs bare, surrounded by a number of persons of both sexes, who were uttering the most disagreeable lamentations.

The young women of Dongola are considered great

beauties, and indeed they are often well made and have mild, agreeable features. A few among those here present possessed these advantages; but their bodies were so smeared with fat and oil, and their hair so clotted with grease, that they certainly did not please our European taste.

During our stay at Dongola, we sometimes went out gun in hand, to procure a supply of gazelles and partridges for our table, and one day succeeded in shooting two wild cats, the skins of which were very beautifully marked. The doctor and the apothecary were always of the party; which the latter (who had the advantage of manufacturing his own spirituous liquors), cheered with an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes of his former military career. Among others he related that, in the bivouac before Ulm, whither he was sent in the night with an important despatch, he was conducted to a tent, where everybody was asleep. Intending to rouse somebody, who should wake the Emperor, he unfortunately gave Napoleon himself a violent push in his back. He affirmed that the Emperor was very angry (*on le serait à moins*), and that in consequence of this untoward circumstance, he never could obtain the order of the Legion of Honour. Another story which he repeated, had a greater appearance of truth.

When Napoleon returned from Elba, and Monsieur went to meet him, our apothecary served in a regiment of cavalry, which was in garrison at Lyons, and being drawn up in the market-place, was harangued to no purpose by his royal highness. As no *Vive le Roi* was heard, the Prince ordered money to be distributed among the soldiers, and caused one of his aides-de-

camp to offer a piece of money to a subaltern officer who was standing near, which present the aide-de-camp accompanied with the words, "*Allons, mon enfant, prenez, vous voyez que les Bourbons sont plus généreux que votre Buonaparte.*" "*Qu'est-ce que ça te f—, toi, si nous lui faisons crédit,*" replied the bearded warrior angrily, disdainfully rejecting the proffered money, and immediately cried out "*Vive l'Empereur!*" which was reiterated by the whole regiment, and convinced Monsieur that the best thing he could do was to return as quickly as possible to Paris.

Dr. Iken, a man of vigorous mind and body, who intended to try his fortune in Darfour, spoke to us of the Doctor Francian policy of the sultan of that country, who permits any one to enter his dominions, but suffers no one to leave them. Two Englishmen are said to have been residing with him for five years, and to be very well treated, to have everything in abundance, but not yet to have found any means to effect their escape. Dr. Iken is resolved, notwithstanding, to venture, and, as an able physician and a well-informed military man, he believes that he may be able to render services by which he will make his fortune. He said, however, that if he should be better off in Darfour than in Hanover, he should have no desire to return to his own country. At that time, indeed, he did not know that King Ernest now reigns there over a faithful people, who have wit enough to understand a joke.

In his capacity of army surgeon in Dongola, Dr. Iken has succeeded a Frenchman, of the name of Germain, who was poisoned by a negress whom he had

married. The apothecary was present when this woman, quite unconcernedly, presented him the cup of coffee which caused his death. The poison had been prepared from the juice of the noxious shrub, which is everywhere at hand; and it was so potent, that in a few moments vomiting and convulsions ensued, and the unhappy victim expired the same night, retaining the use of his faculties to the very last. He pardoned the negress, though she manifested little contrition for what she had done, and only made an awkward attempt to deny it. However, she thought proper, as M. Germain, with great magnanimity, had hindered her from being arrested, to collect everything of value that she could lay her hands on, and to abscond before daybreak. When the storm had blown over, she returned, without being molested, and still lives in Dongola, where she has married a second time.

It was a singular circumstance, that a few days previously poor Germain had been stung on the lip by a scorpion, which occasioned him great pain; but he soon recovered from this accident, by the use of a specific which is here applied against the sting of this reptile, and which consists in instantly taking twenty drops of spirits of ammonia in a little water.

Dr. Veith, and another member of the Austrian naturalists' expedition, arrived here from Khartoum, sick of fever, very miserable, and in a most melancholy mood. When, in the course of conversation, I told these gentlemen that I intended to follow their footsteps, though I had previously resolved to go no further than Dongola, and my provisions were suffi-

cient only for this distance, they unanimously and urgently advised me not to pursue the journey further, and painted the hardships and manifold privations which attended it, in the most gloomy colours. I had, however, already made up my mind to proceed at least to Djebel-Birkel, as far as M. Cadalvène, and would not suffer myself to be dissuaded by all their remonstrances.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE TO MERA VI (MEROUEH).—AMBUKOL.
—DJEBEL-BIRKEL.

WHILE at Maraka, or New Dongola—which has been constituted the capital of the country since Mehemet Ali's conquest—I visited the few curiosities which it can boast of, sent off all my numerous despatches to Europe, and arranged my journals, not neglecting every evening to refresh myself by a cool bath in the Nile, after the heat and fatigues of the day. On the 1st of May, I embarked with my little suite in two boats belonging to the Mudir, and set out with a favourable wind for Meroueh.

The number of sakyehs, which henceforward form an almost uninterrupted line, and of which there are between 4000 and 5000 in the government of Dongola alone, are indisputable proofs of an extent of cultivation, which I certainly should not have looked for in these remote parts. Both banks of the river are everywhere clad with the most lovely verdure, often intermingled with groups of trees; but they are all of the same kind, and therefore tiresome by their monotony. This is certainly a great drawback to the scenery; and, as I have already said, it is a disadvantage which is common to all these countries, from Alexandria hither, and it would render a residence in them exceedingly unpleasant, at least to me; for there

is, perhaps, no river in the world which can boast of so little variety, during so long a course, as the Nile.

The taxes of the inhabitants in the kingdom of Dongola, nearly as far as Shendy, are almost everywhere levied, according to the number of the Sakyehs. M. Cadalvène, therefore, affirms falsely, that "these taxes are very arbitrarily levied by the government (impositions of individual officers do not come under this head), and amount to twenty-two spanish dollars for each sakyeh; but that an indefinite quantity of natural produce must be delivered besides, which the Fellah is afterwards obliged to re-purchase at high prices from the government." The largest sakyeh, which can irrigate four feddan (equal nearly to a Magdeburg acre), which may in the first crop produce forty ardeps, pays only fifteen Spanish dollars, and the smaller ones in proportion. There are no farther payments in kind, but it is left to the discretion of the heads of the district to require a part (legally not more than five ardeps) of the said sum in kind, according to a tariff annually fixed by the government, which productions, however, are not always deducted from the total amount of the tax.

This arrangement may indeed often give rise to abuses, but on the other hand, when the chiefs are honest, it frequently affords them an opportunity of facilitating the Fellah in the payment of his taxes; and I have myself seen several instances, in the course of my journey, when the peasant preferred being allowed to pay in kind. It is not true, as is asserted in many books, that the Fellah must deliver *all* the corn which he has raised to the government at a low price, and

repurchase it at a higher rate, an absurdity which is self-evident, since no government could, in the long run, carry such legal tyranny into effect. The case in question can, at the most, occur in respect to that part of his agricultural produce which he has delivered in kind, and which, as I have already said, is deducted from the sum total of his tax, if a failure of the crop, or bad management, or any misfortune compels him to purchase seed-corn from the government, in which case he must certainly repurchase it at a higher rate than that at which he delivered it, but always according to a fixed ratio. This year the prices were so fixed by the government that the difference between the payment for delivery in kind, and the price to be paid to the government on making a repurchase, was only two Egyptian piastres for an ardep of dourra; three for barley, and ten for wheat.

If the Fellah gets into debt, either by the mal-practices of the officers, which undoubtedly often occurs, or by his own indolence and carelessness (which is no less frequent), his situation may indeed become very distressing; but those who owe nothing to the government have altogether the free disposal of all the produce, which they retain after paying the taxes. The *appalte* which are afterwards imposed upon the corn, which is sold in the towns, do not fall upon the farmer, but on the merchant who deals in it.

I am perfectly convinced, by observation, that, considering the extraordinary fertility of this soil, which produces ten-fold in comparison with other countries, the contributions which *the government* requires of the Fellahs are by no means oppressive; that is to say,

every one after payment of these taxes may, with a little management and diligence, gain the necessary subsistence for himself and his family, though he may not be able to lay by much in store.

Any person who knows and has carefully observed the inhabitants of this country, must confess, that this is precisely the most suitable condition for them, and the only one that can keep them from idleness and ruin, because it *compels* them to work. If the mal-administration, which it is here so difficult to control, enforced only the demands of the government, there would be no wretchedness among the population, and there would be neither emigrants nor abandoned fields; then would there be in the dominions of Mehemet Ali, only that condition of the working classes of which the now unfashionable, but notwithstanding practically philosophical, Voltaire says in his "Siècle de Louis XIV.":—" *Le manœuvre doit être réduit au nécessaire pour travailler ; telle est la nature de l'homme*"—(that of the Fellah more than any others). " *Il faut que le grand nombre soit pauvre, mais il ne faut pas qu'il soit misérable.*" This is also the view of Mehemet Ali, and it is unquestionably folly to desire that *all* people should live in superfluity and luxury, just because it is impossible.

With a brisk, searching wind, which covered us with clouds of dust from the land, we sailed rapidly past the large village of Hannek, and the ancient fortress of Handack, and on the first day reached Dongola Aghauss, formerly the capital of the country, but now almost entirely destroyed. On the succeeding

days our voyage was much slower, the weather was gloomy, and so affected us, that we all became ill.

On the 3rd of May I had the gratification of leisurely observing two large live crocodiles, at least eighteen or twenty feet long. They were of a grayish yellow colour, and could scarcely be distinguished from the sand on which they lay. I ascertained afterwards that most of the crocodiles are spotted with yellow and black, very different from the stuffed specimens which we see in Europe, because after death they assume a general blackish colour. The largest of these animals lay quite motionless on the bank, with his capacious jaws wide open, either looking for prey, or waiting to have the leeches picked out of his jaws by the well-known little strand snipe, a circumstance which was so long believed to be a fable of Herodotus, till it was confirmed by modern naturalists, at the same time a playful sport of nature, giving occasion to a comparison which every one may apply. The sailors caught a young bird of this species (it is of a gray colour, with a short bill and long legs), which for a considerable time continued to be our amusing companion while on board.

We steered directly towards the crocodiles, and about twenty blacks, drawn up in a long file, exactly as represented in the frescoes of the tombs of the kings, tugged our vessel by a rope, in the middle of the stream, wading where it was shallow, or occasionally swimming where it was deeper; they seemed to have very little fear of the crocodiles, and merely sought to keep them at bay, by a kind of musical cry, uttered

in cadence. In fact, the two monsters, as soon as we approached them, hastily plunged into the water.

I observed in this locality a strange continuous fall of sand, similar to a waterfall, except that it was of a yellow colour, which being driven by the wind from the Desert, poured down a steep declivity of this black bank of the Nile, and, as long as we remained within sight of it, did not for a moment abate the rapidity of its course.

After we had passed Debbah, from which place the caravans set out for Kordofan, our progress was very slow, because the Nile here turns almost to the north, from which quarter the wind was then blowing briskly. Happily, by command of Mehemet Ali, the inhabitants are obliged to lend their assistance, on these occasions, to all Government vessels. This does not give them much trouble, for the navigation is very inconsiderable, and they relieve each other from sakyeh to sakyeh, and are consequently not employed in towing the vessel for more than a quarter or half an hour. They set up a peculiar shrill cry, which is heard at a great distance, to announce the approach of every party to the next sakyeh, so that the change is effected as rapidly as at an English post station. As we seldom landed, I shall not at present say anything of the places which we passed, but on my return I shall take an opportunity to mention those that are in any way interesting.

On the 5th we reached Ambukol, the residence of a katsheff, which is half-way between Debbah and Meroueh, but is quite erroneously laid down upon the maps. A market, or fair, was just being held in a

sandy field near the clay huts of the village. Nothing could exceed the miserable appearance of the whole, yet half the goods consisted of European manufactures, such as small looking-glasses, trifling articles of hardware, glass beads, and some coarse English calicoes; the remainder were the most ordinary productions of the country, chiefly articles of consumption, and the only new thing that I met with, was a pair of coloured sandals, from the Hedjas, which I purchased at rather a high price.

The katsheff was a fine, soldier-like looking man, who regaled me in his house with a very good Turkish repast, while the floor of the room, beyond the mat on which we sat, was constantly moistened with water to cool the air. Handsome arms were suspended on the unwhitewashed clay walls, and among them was an old-fashioned guitar, of a strange shape, with three strings. The katsheff, who seemed to be a great lover of music, played to us after dinner, a most grating, unharmonious piece upon this instrument, which, however, was soon far surpassed by the martial music, which our Amphitryon had ordered for our entertainment. It was accompanied by the dancing of two young Almehs, who were on a professional tour from Egypt to the Soudan, and displayed their talents by the way with much success; thus it appears there are travelling *artistes* even here. Notwithstanding the merry humour of the katsheff, I could not induce him to take either wine or rum, of which I had made the people bring a few bottles from the boat. A Kourd in his suite, however, who had a singularly German physiognomy, was less scrupulous, for he emptied a bottle of

rum, which was presented to him, almost at one draught.

After we had had dancing and music to satiety, I took leave of the katsheff, who accompanied me to the boat, attended by all his people mounted on horseback. In front of the party rode two soldiers, who had very small drums, in the shape of gourds, suspended from their saddles, which they kept beating incessantly with the thick end of the bridle, and thus produced a sound exactly like the noise of a distant mill.

As soon as we were in the open field, the katsheff, with his people, in honour of our visit, began the djerid game, in which he himself was very expert. He told me that he was obliged to be very much on his guard, because the strength of his arm was such, that in this game he had once involuntarily killed one of his own people, with the short stick which they throw at each other.

In the district of Ambukol, which is not large, there are 340 sakyehs; and it is computed that there are on an average eight or ten inhabitants for every one of these Persian wheels.

On reaching my boat I was sorry to learn that the crocodile bird, whose wings we had clipped to prevent his flying away, had fallen into the water and was drowned. The name which the natives give to this bird signifies in our language, "the body-guard of the crocodile;" for they protest that they have often seen it awaken the sleeping crocodile in order to warn it of approaching danger. I had a few other animals with me: a very young gazelle from the village of Solib, which name I gave the pretty creature, and by

the addition of a single letter converted it, in German, into "*Solieb*," a name which the graceful little animal deserves in every respect. It is so tame, that at night, when it feels cold, it often comes to my bed, to seek a snug place near me. In the day-time it walks on the bank and crops the green herbage, on which occasions Susannis always bravely defends it against the attacks of strange dogs, but becomes very jealous when it is caressed. The good-natured Spartan expresses this in a truly affecting manner. He first comes to me and licks my hand, and then mournfully turning away, he kisses the gazelle in the same way, which, on its part, suffers all this with the greatest composure.

We are also accompanied by a goat from Kordofan, of a strange form and colour, which travelled with us all through the Desert, and daily supplied us with milk for our tea. Our animal suite is completed by a tortoise, as full of restless motion as quicksilver. Its shell glistens in the sun like mother-o'-pearl; its feet are webbed, and furnished with sharp claws; its snout resembles that of a hedgehog; and its eyes, as bright as stars, are surrounded by a radiant circle.

We stopped a few moments to witness a burial on shore. The women danced wildly round the corpse, and made loud lamentations. After this we departed, and on the 7th arrived, without further adventures, at Meroueh. Here again we saw a market, which appeared to be not much better furnished than that at Ambukol; but it supplied us with beef for our table, for the first time since we left Dongola.

M. Cadalvène, who describes such a market at

Meroueh, is shocked at the horror of slaves and asses lying pell-mell in the sunshine before the stalls. I see nothing more lamentable in this than in the fact that, during the balls in our capital cities, horses and servants must freeze during the whole night, pell-mell, in the streets, or, as is the case in Russia, even freeze to death.

The katsheff of Meroueh was everywhere represented to me as a very honest man; and his province, which contains 1200 sakyehs, is distinguished by its particularly flourishing appearance, and the evidently greater prosperity of its inhabitants. The villages were better built than others; the fields clothed with the richest crops, and the banks animated by numerous herds and flocks. Meroueh itself contains some handsome houses, among which the new indigo manufactory is the most deserving of notice.

Our attention was, however, chiefly directed to the isolated, square, mysterious Djebel Birkel, at the foot of which once stood the wealthy city of Napata, which the Romans, with their usual vandalism, destroyed, to avenge themselves on Queen Candace, because she had commanded the statues of the Emperor on the frontiers of Ethiopia, to be thrown down. This holy mountain, which, from the most remote ages, was the seat of a celebrated oracle, was visible several hours before we reached Meroueh, facing us, apparently beyond the Nile, which here resembles a large lake. Our curiosity was too much on the stretch to detain us at Meroueh, longer than was absolutely necessary to procure the provisions of which we were most in need, and we set out so early that, on the same evening, we obtained

the first view of the ruins of the temple of Napata, as well as of its pyramids.

Djebel Birkel is about a league beyond Meroueh, and the voyage thither was far more picturesque than any we had enjoyed for some time. Besides Djebel Birkel, two other pointed mountains, of considerable height, rise from the Desert; and the frequent windings of the river, the numerous villages clustered on its banks, amid verdant groves and luxuriant fields of dourra, the tall, umbrageous stems of which waved in the wind, afforded us, near at hand, more than one charming landscape.

It was not till we were close under the mountain, at a short distance inland, between the lofty palms of the village which now stands on the site of the ancient Napata, that we discovered the pyramids in which its former rulers are interred. One of those delusive effects,—with which images in the clouds, and mountain forms, sometimes deceive us,—is produced by the south side of the Birkel rock, from one point of view on the Nile. The rock presents the most accurate representation of a gigantic female bust, and an oval aperture in the upper part, through which the sky is visible, gives it a bright eye. The ancient Ethiopian statuaries themselves could not have modelled a more imposing countenance of a divinity than, seen from this point, is produced by a mere *lusus naturæ*, and I purposely caused our bark to tack for a considerable time in the stream, that I might the longer enjoy the sight of this remarkable object.

We were received on the bank, near the village of

Birkel, by its sheikh, a very handsome young man, scarcely eighteen years of age, who was slightly disfigured by several deep cuts in the cheeks, which here are beginning to be common, and are considered ornamental. He was of the tribe of the Shaki Arabs, of reddish-brown complexion, and to the natural dignity of most Arabs, he added a gracefulness of manner which would have been admired in any European drawing-room.

After we had procured a sufficient number of asses (for no one, unless compelled by necessity, ever goes on foot here), we immediately proceeded, under the direction of the young sheikh to visit the ruins of the temple. Interesting and remarkable as they are in many respects, yet not only Cadalvène but even Dr. Rüppel, who gives a detailed description of them, have been rather too poetical in their account, and, in fact, of all the books of travels which I have seen, I have invariably found Burckhardt, Linant, and Cailaud's accounts alone, perfectly correct and true.

The whole pile of the ruins lies immediately in front of the extensive base of the mountain, facing the river, so that they can be seen at one glance. Yet the total impression is nothing less than imposing; for the majestic, rocky, deep-red Birkel rises perpendicularly behind them to the height of 400 feet, and by its proximity diminishes the effect of the mouldering heap. Nor were we more satisfied by a closer inspection; we seemed to come upon them all at once, and entering the largest palace-temple, which is situated on the right side, the furthest to the south-east, we found, that although it covered a large space,

and its length must have been formerly above 400 feet, the proportions both of the propylæa and of the columns were of very moderate size. The propylæa, which Dr. Rüppel designates "prodigious," if we judge by what remains of them, could scarcely have been fifty feet high, and the largest columns, which the same traveller calls "colossal," are not more than three feet in diameter, and twenty odd feet in height; only one of them is still standing entire.

The architecture and sculpture also are far inferior to the Egyptian masterpieces of this kind, but a remarkable feature in them is the great variety of styles, and many peculiarities, in comparison with the purely Egyptian edifices, though the characteristic type of the whole remains identical with them. Now, though the temples here are not so old as the edifices at Thebes,—nay, very far from it,—yet, after having seen these ruins, and subsequently those of ancient Meróe, I will not absolutely dispute the point that Egyptian architecture, in its most remote beginning, may have come from the countries of Ethiopia, whither it was brought at a still earlier period from India, probably by means of the ancient commercial route, pointed out with such acuteness by Heeren; but, unquestionably, this architecture afterwards acquired its highest perfection in Egypt, which has constituted it an almost inimitable model for all posterity. Without doubt this high perfection, or, more properly speaking, new creation, exerted, in the lapse of time, an influence on Ethiopia; even supposing that the ruder commencement proceeded from it, though Ethiopia was never able to produce anything

at all comparable to the stupendous Egyptian monuments.

It is at the same time evident that a peculiar diversity of style, which was never adopted by the Egyptians, was preserved here in all periods; and I consider the greater part of the remains of Djebel Birkel and Meróe, of which I intend to speak by-and-bye, as such works, of a much later epoch, which, with a bad imitation of Egyptian art, still retained a peculiar type of, perhaps, a yet more ancient age.

If there be any foundation for the assertion of M. Cadalvène that he saw on the propylæa of the large temple, the base of a statue with the cartouche of King Maraka, the first monarch of the Ethiopic-Egyptian dynasty (which statue we could not find), this would not militate against my view of the time when this temple was built;—I confess, however, that whenever neither Champollion nor any other preceding traveller was at hand to direct M. Cadalvène, I venture to place no more confidence in his antiquarian statements, than I do in his political information, and should consider the buildings here to be of a still later origin.

Among the ruins of the Great Temple we found the objects described by Dr. Rüppel, such as the basis of black granite, with an elevation on it in the shape of a foot, in which Dr. Rüppel imagines that he recognises the representation of a sandal of Perseus; the beautiful cubic altar of black granite, which is still almost uninjured, and the hieroglyphics and sculptures of which he justly describes as uncommonly beautiful; but he does not mention a circumstance which is extremely remarkable, that the only repre-

sentations on one side of this altar are two women in armour, who stand opposite to each other as if ready for combat; and lastly, the slab of red granite, eight feet square, which is likewise adorned with finely-carved hieroglyphics.

The colossal rams of grey granite, in front of the entrance, which Dr. Rüppel likewise speaks of, are now almost entirely cleared from the sand, and are placed on the outside, under huts made of brushwood, whence they are to be conveyed to Cairo. In removing the immense quantity of rubbish, it was discovered that an unbroken series of such rams leads to the temple, two of which are already partly uncovered, and the others are probably still lying on the spot buried in the sand. The figures of these rams, which have no horns, and whose woolly fleece is carefully executed in the stone, differs as materially from the usual method employed in treating such objects in Egypt, as all the other representations of natural history, especially the horses, which it is still possible to distinguish on the propylæa.

After what I saw in the sequel in the ruins of Mesaurat and Naga, which have been hitherto visited only by Caillaud and Linant, I am inclined to take these supposed rams—which, besides, have a small female figure between their fore-feet—to be of the feminine gender, that is to say, not rams but sheep, and to connect this singularity with the female government, which continued for centuries, of the Queens of Meróe and Napata, who always bore the same name; at the same time, I willingly leave the archæologist at liberty either to laugh at me or to set

me to rights respecting this hypothesis, and the new species of sheep which I fancy I have discovered in the interior of Africa, for it is certainly possible that they (I mean the sheep) may formerly have had horns of metal, of which, however, no sufficient traces are to be found on the stone.

The uncovered hall to the west of the temple, which seems formerly to have been connected with it, contains the altar of sandstone mentioned by Dr. Rüppel, on the base of which are sculptures of male and female slaves bound together; whence that traveller infers, that this was doubtless an altar intended for human sacrifices, a very rash conclusion, which has nothing to justify it, since the representation of slaves bound together is constantly met with in most of the temples and tombs both of Egypt and Nubia; and if we were to conclude from this that they always indicated human sacrifices, the venerable Egyptians must have been the greatest cannibals in the world.

The following adjacent building (always in a westerly direction), which Dr. Rüppel supposes to be the ruins of a palace, has lost the two lions of red granite, of which he gives a drawing. They have been made presents of by the Viceroy, and, if I am not mistaken, they have found their way to England. We were likewise unable to discover the obelisk, five feet high, with hieroglyphics, stated to be near this spot; but we found two tolerably executed torsos of female figures, one with a lion's head, and the other, who seems to be attempting to press milk out of her breast, without a head.

The immediately adjoining remains are nothing but

shapeless heaps of *débris*, and it would be labour in vain to attempt to guess their former destination; but the least injured of all the temples is the Typhonium, close beyond them, which is half excavated in the rock. This temple alone is in the pure Egyptian style, and differs very essentially from the others, whence I conjecture that it owes its existence either to some Ethiopian king of Egypt, or to a later Egyptian conqueror, perhaps to Ptolemy Evergetes, who is said to have penetrated to this place, and even further.

Dr. Rüppel's description of this temple is very graphic, except that here, as well as in other places, he invariably includes anaglyphs and hieroglyphic writings under the same general term of hieroglyphic sculpture, which sometimes causes confusion.* The sculptures on both sides in the last hall of the Typhonium (the adytum), which represent a series of Egyptian divinities to whom offerings are brought, are intact, as well as several hieroglyphics, which may be easily distinguished; whereas the posterior wall is wholly destroyed, and it appears as if this were done for the purpose of making excavations. Similar traces of having been forcibly opened, are apparent in a lateral chamber, which is destitute of ornament.

A portion of the gay colours in the cella and the pronaos, still retain their pristine brightness, and the majority of the columns of the colonnade in the

* The following are more trifling errors: 1, The last god but one on the right-hand wall of the Adytum has not merely a globe, but a globe with high feathers on his head. 2ndly, The third god on the opposite side is not Horus, and has not the finger on the mouth; but holds in both hands a variety of emblems.

pronaos, which have expressive Isis heads and Typhon-caryatidæ, are still standing. Only in the first hall, or sekos, the ceiling has fallen, in consequence of an earthquake, and it is now extremely difficult to scramble over the heaps of fragments and rubbish, in order to effect an entrance into the cella and the adytum.

Above the Typhonium are the ruins of other much smaller cavern temples, which bear the stamp of a higher antiquity than all the rest; but they are so totally dilapidated that it is impossible to make anything of them. It is deeply to be regretted that these places have not hitherto been visited by any one able to decipher the hieroglyphics on the several ruins, which of themselves might throw some light on the real age, the founders, and the destinations of these temples.

We now turned to the pyramidal sepulchral monuments, which stand in two groups, only a few minutes' walk from the last-mentioned temple; one of these groups contains only a few pyramids, but the other has twice as many in good condition. Among the former is one that is almost entirely fallen in, which is larger, and different in its form from the others; and it appears to be of a more remote age. The others, seventeen in number, vary considerably from the style of the Egyptian pyramids, but they are certainly not older, nor indeed are they very old; nay, I am inclined to call them, in comparison with the other group, almost modern. In fact they look as smooth and uninjured as if they had been but just

completed. I ascended one of them, which may be done without difficulty—because each layer of stones forms a convenient step, and only the four corners, from top to bottom, are covered with a polished, rounded stone moulding—and found on the summit, a square, wooden beam, fixed in the wall, which had come to light by the falling of a stone, and though thereby exposed to wind and weather, was still as sound as if new.

None of these pyramids are above 80 feet high, and they are comparatively smaller at the base and more taper than the Egyptian. Almost all of them have a low projection at the south side, with a door, and it seems that the bodies were here let down for interment. Hitherto no complete investigation has been made, though there are evident indications that they have been often commenced. It may be very clearly seen that some of these entrances were erected simultaneously with the pyramids, and that others were added afterwards.

Only a few of these pyramids had sculptures, the forms of which were softer and more voluptuous than the Egyptian style admits; one of these high reliefs represented a queen seated on her throne, the pedestal of which consisted of lions, with a rich covering thrown over them. These animals, also, were not in the Egyptian style; they had rather the appearance of Persian representations of the same kind: no hieroglyphics were found here. On another sculpture the queen was making offerings to Egyptian divinities, among whose attributes the Nile key fre-

quently occurred; while other figures bore various objects, the signification of which I could not clearly make out.

As is frequently the case here, the natives have chosen the vicinity of the sacred temples for their own tombs, and made use of the ancient potsherds, which lie about the mountain, to adorn the modern ant-hills.

At sunset we ascended the rock and its *plateau*, which, as it can be accomplished only on foot, is a rather fatiguing expedition. Of the vultures, with which M. Cadalvène was surrounded *again by thousands* (as before by the scorpions), we did not see a single trace, but only two wild cats, which climbed up the rock before us. When we reached the top, we had an extensive prospect of the wide-spread Desert; and on the other side of the river we clearly perceived the large group of pyramids of Nour, or El Belal. Dr. Rüppel states the distance of these pyramids, which he did not visit, and which may be reached without difficulty in three hours, even on foot, at seven leagues, though he affirms that he ascended the Djebel Birkel, from which he must have been immediately convinced, by mere inspection, that, as the crow flies, it can be scarcely two leagues. Such a palpable miscalculation appeared to me very unaccountable in a writer who commences his preface with the following defiance: "In the present age, a mania for writing appears to have seized many learned, and a yet greater number of unlearned persons. Book-making has become a regular trade, and the object aimed at is, for the most part, rather pecuniary profit,

than the desire to communicate interesting scientific discoveries. Another peculiarity has taken root in these days: the majority of readers very often judge publications by the number of sheets that they contain, and suffer themselves to be attracted or repulsed by the appearance, indifferent whether the contents are useful and the information *original*.

“Under these circumstances it was no light resolve which induced *me* to appear in the ranks of authors. I had always a natural aversion for books in which, amid an unmeaning deluge of words, only a few *original* observations of an author are given—in order to discover which the reader is obliged to wade through a mass of information long since known, and partly compiled from other works.”

These are high sounding words, and very humiliating to us poor scribblers, who are very sensible that we can make no claim to so much sterling excellence. Yet, if we easily conceive the natural aversion of Dr. Rüppel from bad books, we must likewise remember, that in the required *original* observations it is above all things necessary that *they* should be *true*. False original observations help the reader far less, than copies of such as are correct, even when the sublime genius of the author required no little resolution to induce him to condescend to communicate them. The term “original observations” has also its comic side, and reminds me of the late M. Kramer, who published none of his many novels without printing in large letters on the title-page, “German Original Novel, by Kramer.” Again, Dr. Rüppel, who in his Preface denounces useless words, does not always

avoid them himself, of which among many examples that might be cited, I will add only the following *original* passage as a specimen. Respecting some quite insignificant stumps of columns, Dr. Rüppel writes:—"Burckhardt, p. 83, says that these columns are of limestone. I have stated the material in my notes as sandstone, *one of us, therefore*, must have made a mistake." What an important circumstance, and what an acute conclusion is this! How far Dr. Rüppel belongs to the class of learned or unlearned writers is a question which I will not venture to decide, because it is far above my comprehension. Thus much, however, is unquestionable: he is not guilty of attempting to bribe the public by his method of treating his subject, an accusation which he lays to the charge of others, for if his learning be occasionally unfathomable, he certainly has seldom reason to reproach himself with being entertaining; nay, his *original* German style might even be taken for a clumsy translation from a foreign language, and at the same time the reader would find it rather strange that so profoundly learned a man always writes Tiphon for Typhon, &c.; converts the Ethiopian Faki into Oriental Fakirs; and disfigures many of the names of the country in such an extraordinary manner, that they cannot be distinguished on the spot, since they agree neither with the Arabic orthography, nor with the sound, according to our pronunciation. He always speaks of Meravi (Meroueh) as Meróe, a name not known either by Europeans or by natives of that place.

Notwithstanding the ponderous *grandezza* of the

author, his account of the real Meróe, as well as the view which he gives of it, is equally incorrect, and superficial; whereas the description by Caillaud, whom he censures, is a model of the most conscientious accuracy, of which, as well as of Dr. Rüppel's equally incorrect accounts respecting Manderah, I shall say more by-and-bye.

When I met Mr. Russegger at Khartoum, a man who is *really* learned in his department, he told me that he had found Dr. Rüppel's long list of astronomical observations, his measurements, and his geographical determinations, as well as several of his statements respecting Kordofan and Nubia, not to speak of the very unsatisfactory map which accompanies his work, both defective and inaccurate; a view which Mr. Russegger has since expressed in several German journals. Thus a great portion of the *auréole* of infallibility with which some hyper-ecomiastic countrymen have endeavoured to invest Dr. Rüppel's performances might be justly removed; while, at the same time, if the number of his successful researches is taken into account, there still remains a considerable amount of real services.

One of the most indisputable of these services consists in his indefatigable collection of rare zoological specimens, and in the able manner in which they are stuffed. In this respect the lovers of Natural History, and above all his native city Frankfort, to which he has generously presented his collections, undoubtedly owe him well merited gratitude, even if he had never been able to prevail on himself to enter the lists of German *original* writers of travels. The

concluding observation forces itself upon us *à contre-cœur* that those who commence with arrogant depreciation of others, in order to pass for being more able than they, are not the persons who can be more depended upon: exactly as, in a parallel case, we do well carefully to avoid every one who is incessantly talking of German honesty, and German sincerity;—the unthinking mass alone are awed and deceived by both.

Our gallant young Sheikh, presuming that we should be thirsty after our fatigue, had very considerably caused a favourite beverage of the people of this place—sour milk with bruised garlic—to be brought up to us on the *plateau*, and he was greatly surprised that we did so little honour to this refreshing drink!

We contented ourselves with half-an-hour's repose, and the "shades of evening had closed o'er us" ere we reached the river. Though I was much heated, I could not resist the temptation of immediately bathing in the Nile; and in the temperature here, which is equal to that of a Russian vapour-bath, this may be done with as much impunity, as people there stand under a cold shower-bath, or as the Russians roll themselves in the snow.

On the following morning, after having crossed the river, we rode on very powerful horses, lent us by the Sheikh, to the pyramids of Nour. I consider the majority of them to be the most ancient of all the Ethiopian monuments now extant. They are not so taper as the pyramids (*tarabyls*) of Birkel, and consequently more nearly resemble the Egyptian; neither has any of them the peculiar projecting entrance of

those at Birkel, nor do the layers of stone form steps by which to ascend them. On the whole the remains of rather more than forty may be distinguished, but only sixteen of them are in tolerable preservation, and even these are much injured by the weather, and in a dilapidated state. They are entirely built of rough-hewn sandstone and a kind of ferruginous pudding-stone, cemented with earth, and many of them even appear to have been tumuli of mould afterwards covered with stones.

The nature of the circumjacent ground affords reason to conjecture that not only all these pyramids were encompassed by a canal communicating with the Nile, but even that several others traversed the place on which they stand. One of these monuments exceeds all its companions in extent, and its outer sides are so broken and shattered, that we had no difficulty whatever in ascending its summit. The form of this singular structure differs entirely from those that surround it, and it appears to have consisted of several stories of various degrees of steepness.

Notwithstanding the most careful examination, we could not find anything which tended to confirm the assertion of travellers that a smaller pyramid serves as a nucleus to the whole, and that the remainder was executed only as a covering to it. The entire height of this truncated pyramid as it now stands, is still nearly 100 feet, and its circumference above four times that extent.

It has been irrefragably ascertained that the ancient Necropolis of the city of Napata was in this place, and that it was subsequently transferred for the sake of

convenience to the vicinity of Djebel Birkel. It is more than probable that the city itself stood on the same bank of the river, and it is surprising that no one has yet made any excavations in this very remarkable place, though it is true that here they would be attended with a great sacrifice of time, and no small inconvenience. The inhabitants carry off a number of the stones, some of which they employ in making clumsy imitations of the pyramidal figures for the adjacent tombs of the santons, others they lay in heaps, to protect the fields against sand-drifts ; with others again they render their clay dwellings a little more substantial. We found three men encamped on the top of the large pyramid, who pursued their work of dilapidation with unwearied diligence.

During this excursion, which was undertaken in an overpowering heat, my poor Susannis showed the first symptoms of the pernicious effects of this climate upon dogs. I had previously read that these effects generally prove fatal to foreign animals of this class in a very short time ; and indeed there were but few native dogs in the neighbourhood ; and I was, therefore, much afraid that I might lose my faithful companion. My otherwise intrepid Spartan threw himself, in despair, upon the sand, under every little bush, to obtain a little momentary shelter from the sun, and after moaning piteously several times, to which we did not take sufficient heed, he remained behind, perfectly exhausted. On our return I immediately sent messengers in quest of him, but they did not find him without great difficulty. Man can bear more than

beast; for, notwithstanding our previous fatigue and exertions, we heroically paid another visit to all the ruins of Birkel the same afternoon, and in the cool of the evening returned, by water, to the village of Meroueh. We rested here, in a *dolce-far-niente*, on the 10th, when the katsheff gave us an entertainment. Here we held a long consultation whether we should extend our journey or should here terminate our expedition, which was already considerably protracted. Curiosity triumphed over every other consideration, and we determined that our canjas should await our return at Meroueh, the time of which was, of course, uncertain; and that, on the following evening, we would commence our new tour by starting for Shendy, directly across the Desert, which mode of travelling would oblige us to bid adieu to the refreshing Nile for eight days.

Meroueh can also boast of some antiquities. In the divan of the katsheff stood an altar of black granite, with the well-preserved cartouche of an ancient sovereign, which I did not find marked on Champollion's table (my only resource on such occasions); and, therefore, I cannot with a good conscience give it a name, though if I were to put into requisition the first of the venerable Pharaohs that came into my head, it would not be very easy for any one to prove the contrary.

In an open space at the extremity of the village, towards the river, we were shown the remains of two statues larger than life, and of indifferent workmanship. The katsheff assured us that a couple of years ago, an

Englishman who spoke Arabic fluently, and wore the costume of the country, remained forty days on the Djebel Birkel, during which time he lived in the Typhonium, where he was constantly engaged in excavations, in which he daily employed above thirty Arabs, but always sent them home in the evening; and whenever he thought that he had made a discovery, he continued the prosecution of the work at night with his own servants alone. When he went away he was not observed to take anything with him except a small black granite chest, which he said he had found on the upper *plateau* of the Djebel Birkel, and which the katsheff assured us was covered with many letters (*i. e.* hieroglyphics), that it had a kind of keyhole, and at the top bands of green metal. The stranger had however refused to open it in the presence of the katsheff, or to say anything respecting its contents. Soon afterwards he set out for Khar-toum and Kordofan, and, according to later accounts, had gone still further, but had not returned by way of the Nile. He never mentioned his name. In Meróe I found traces of this enterprising traveller under still more remarkable circumstances. Those who have felt the total relaxation of all the powers of mind and body which overcomes the European in this debilitating climate, cannot but admire the rare perseverance of this unknown traveller. He must either be still detained in Darfour, or else he must have perished; for no person in Egypt has heard anything of his return, and even his name could not be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

It is said that Djebel Birkel was chiefly indebted for its reputation for sanctity in ancient times to its property of attracting thunder-storms, which must be quite invaluable in these hot countries. This evening we had a very violent thunder storm, with a beautiful rainbow ; but it was very distant, and therefore, on this occasion, was certainly not attracted by the mountain of the oracle.

CHAPTER IX.

UNAVOIDABLE POLEMICS.

THE air was not in the least cooled by the thunder, but continued overwhelmingly sultry. Before, however, advancing any farther in this close atmosphere, I must move, for a few moments, into the no less oppressive atmosphere of literary polemics. It is an unfortunate necessity, which, however, I will endeavour to render as palatable as possible, for the narrow circle of my indulgent readers.

The mistakes of Dr. Rüppel, which I have pointed out in the preceding pages, have induced him to honour me with a remarkably intemperate, and no less arrogant reply, to which I gave the following answer, and which I here repeat, for such of my readers as are not acquainted with the literary journals in which they were published.*

* It was my intention not to insert in this work, either the preceding or the following passages relative to Dr. Rüppel, which have already been printed in the Augsburg Gazette, and especially because I afterwards became personally acquainted with the Doctor in the Museum of Natural History at Frankfort, and cordially offered him the hand of reconciliation : but as I have since seen with surprise that in the preface to his new work on Abyssinia, which has been received with well-merited approbation, he has again attacked me, under the not very witty, and still less courteous, appellation of a scribbler totally unknown to him, I have thought it right not to suppress anything which I had before written concerning him, and which, though certainly not flattering, is nevertheless perfectly true. I leave the public to judge of the differences between us.

The following is the paper which I wrote : “ I once heard of a common man, who was gifted with a touch of practical philosophy, and who, on the last day of every year, treated his wife with much violence, till, in the excess of her anger, she poured forth whatever insulting personalities it was possible to produce against him, and of which he could not have obtained so complete a knowledge, by any other method, from his more polite acquaintance.

“ Experience has since taught me that a similar agreeable result may be more easily obtained in a rather higher sphere, by pointing out some errors of a German pedant in our literary world. Immediately after such an exorcism, a volcano (of which, as is well known, there are three different species, namely, fire, water, or mud-spitting) begins to pour forth its contents. Sometimes we have the pleasure of seeing all three elements come out at the same time; and for such an interesting natural phenomenon I am just now indebted to Dr. Rüppel, *I*, the tourist, as he calls me—not Prince Pückler, who is brought into connection with him, and who is not concerned in this case, because he has never acknowledged himself the author of the accounts which are attacked, and whom consequently only the uneasy restlessness and want of tact, which characterise ill-bred rudeness, could have thought of mixing up in this matter. I must submit to being designated by Dr. Rüppel sometimes as *Semi-lasso*, sometimes tourist, scribbler, and other flattering epithets of the same kind; but he has no right whatever to speak of me as Prince Pückler, and the less so as it is entirely superfluous for his object,

because 'Semi-lasso,' and 'the author of the Letters of a Deceased Person,' happen to be much better known in the world than Prince Pückler, who acknowledges himself to be far more insignificant than these books.

"I regret, on the whole, that the good-naturedly mediating editor of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, (probably from respect to his own paper,) should have turned aside a part of the above-mentioned explosion; for I am really proud enough to believe that, in my intellectual sphere, I am too high above attacks of this kind to receive any injury from them. Nay, I should sincerely regret if the worthless representation of such an insignificant tourist, who is supposed not even to have a conception of the profound mystery of determining the latitude of a place by occultation of the stars, or meridian altitudes, could stir up the anger of a learned man,—who does himself so much justice as Dr. Rüppel,—to such a pitch, that every unprejudiced person must see that he is sensibly wounded in some vulnerable point; I say, I should sincerely regret this, did it not serve to place before the public the important truth, that of all the tyrannies exercised in our times, that of scientific pedants is the heaviest, and consequently the most disagreeable and the most insufferable. The blind arrogance of these (often only so called 'men of learning' by profession) laborious beasts of burden, who are laden with the refuse and residuum of knowledge, and who, because they carry the husks, imagine that they are likewise charged with the kernel; and that nobody knows anything or has the ability or pri-

vilege to write anything save and except themselves, is such ridiculous and contemptible arrogance, that, for the sake of society, it cannot be too often or too strongly exhibited in the clearest light.

“As, however, I am very reasonably much more fearful than Dr. Rüppel of wearying the public, I shall be content, as my unpretending reply, with the few following remarks.

“1st. It is interesting to see, from Dr. Rüppel’s own declaration, that the violent reproof directed against me, which had before appeared anonymously in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and which I erroneously attributed to the pen of an encomiastic countryman of Dr. Rüppel, came from the worthy Doctor himself. Of *this* error I confess myself guilty.

“2nd. With respect to Saki-el-Abd, and the ‘marvellous’ sophisms which I am said to have employed on this occasion, I must pertinaciously, and in spite of all the imposing measurements of my learned adversary, abide by the simple fact that Saki-el-Abd, as well as many other places essential to the traveller, are vainly sought for in Dr. Rüppel’s map: and that this omission still appears to me to be a defect. With respect to Ambukol, Dr. Rüppel may be perfectly right; but I beg to observe that on this occasion I have made no mention of him. I certainly said that Ambukol was wrongly placed in the maps; but when this was written on the spot, I had three or four maps by me, and it is very possible that, as Dr. Rüppel says, ‘I did not take the trouble of looking at his map.’ Perhaps I thought that he had forgotten to note Ambukol on it, as well as Saki-el-Abd. There

only where I have named Dr. Rüppel, can I take upon myself the responsibility of what I have said. This is the case with Number

“3rd. Where it is granted that what I affirmed, according to Dr. Rüppel’s expression, ‘with overweening pride,’ that the distance of the pyramids at Nour from Djebel Birkel, instead of seven leagues, as stated by Dr. Rüppel, is not more than three: but—this is a mistake of the press, as Dr. Rüppel informs us; and though written in letters, the careless compositor read seven instead of three. With respect to the incorrect orthography of another word, this too is said to be only a printer’s erratum, which, in this instance, would be a more plausible excuse; but this compositor must certainly be the most obstinate of his race, since not once in the whole of the Doctor’s book, which lies before me, has this wise compositor, who persists in being wrong beyond all conception, been able to make out this word, which occurs more than fifty times. That I have judged falsely of such errata is perhaps the more deserving of excuse, because these are all passed over in silence in the list of their companions at the end of the book.

“4th. We will not dispute any further respecting the style. *Le style c’est l’homme*, says Boileau: Dr. Rüppel therefore writes like Dr. Rüppel; the tourist like the tourist, and thus the decision is a matter of taste.

“5th. With respect to] Mr. Russegger, I do not indeed know what he has published in the Frankfort *Oberpostamts Zeitung* (an article which is said to be disfigured by many errata); but I must repeat, that he

spoke to me of Dr. Rüppel's statements and maps, as being in many respects erroneous, and not to be depended upon. Mr. Russegger's work, from which the acquaintance I formed with him leads me to expect much, will in the sequel, best prove, by a comparison of his statements with those of Dr. Rüppel, how the matter stands; even his paper, in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, of the 16th of January 1844, which has just been communicated to me, gives us a foretaste of this, though the endeavour to spare Dr. Rüppel, as much as possible, is evident; and this consideration was easily explained by the fact, that Mr. Russegger is on the point of visiting Frankfort, and might therefore feel reluctant to expose himself unnecessarily to the danger of facing the lion in his own den. Yet I cannot refrain from quoting here what Mr. Russegger published in the *Steyrmärekischen Zeitschrift*, page 110, Year iv. No. 2.

“ ‘Rüppel,’ writes Mr. Russegger, ‘has adopted, in his own Travels, on the authorities of others, many incorrect notices respecting the country of the Nubas, which he did not see himself. *In general I am not at all satisfied with the journal of his Travels. He is too superficial; passes too lightly over the most important subjects, and is too poor in real perception of nature.*’

“ This appears to me to be extremely clear, and I, who only pointed out some isolated mistakes of Dr. Rüppel, have in general passed a less unfavourable opinion of him than the above. But what I have said I believe, and shall abide by it, whatever number of authorities may oppose me, unless they can induce me by conviction to change my opinion.

“6th. As I must decline returning to every trivial charge which Dr. Rüppel’s declaration contains, I beg to assure him in conclusion that, wholly unacquainted with his honoured person, I had no other motive in pointing out some of his mistakes than the interest of truth, mingled, it is very possible, with a little spleen, at the unbecoming arrogance which he displayed in his preface, and in several parts of his book, which in other respects possesses much merit. Yet I believe that I have shown more moderation than will be found in his reply, the tone of which I have now been reluctantly compelled in some measure to adopt; but I strongly protest against the absurd assumption of Dr. Rüppel, that I have accused him of being rather superficial in the account of his travels, only because he has represented Mehemet Ali as a tyrant. I can affirm with a safe conscience, that I was hitherto totally ignorant that the hero of Egypt had the misfortune of having an antagonist in the hero of the Museum of Natural History at Frankfort. Seriously speaking, I believe that Mehemet Ali has not much to fear from this circumstance, nay, that all this learned knowledge of Dr. Rüppel, however great it may be, is, nevertheless, inadequate to enable him to appreciate the genius of Mehemet Ali; and though the insignificant tourist is perfectly content to be an object of supreme contempt to Dr. Rüppel, he will, however, do well, in sight of the glorious star, the occultation of which he probably in vain hopes to observe, no longer to follow the example of those wretched barkers who cannot bear the light of the moon without venting their spleen in useless noise.”

CHAPTER X.

RIDE THROUGH THE DESERT TO SHENDY.

IMMEDIATELY after a refreshing bath in the Nile, I set out with my caravan, towards midnight on the 11th of May, leaving a part of our effects, and the *ménage* of the boats' cargoes, with the single exception of my faithful Susannis, under the care of the obliging katsheff. I was also compelled to leave behind a very useful Arab servant, whom the Governor of Derr had given me, because he was dangerously ill with a malignant fever, of which, as I afterwards learnt, he died in a few weeks.

We proceeded slowly on a hard sandy soil, and in the morning arrived in a rocky valley, covered as with a forest, by many half-withered mimosas, where we found a deep spacious well of tolerably good water. It is called Mscali, and our encampment for the night was fixed in its vicinity. On our journey during the bright star-light night we observed that the Desert was full of black granite rocks, and that in many places there were traces of vegetation, which led us to infer that there was water below the surface. I had subsequently so many opportunities of making this remark, that I am persuaded of the possibility of converting thousands of square miles of the Desert of

Ethiopia and of the Soudan into arable land by means of Artesian wells.*

We were informed that in Baden-el-Gasali (the Valley of the Gazelles), two leagues to the side of our road, in an easterly direction, there is a tolerably well-preserved temple of reddish sandstone, which from the description appears to be of small dimensions. I would not have spared the trouble of looking for it, since no European traveller had seen it, but our guide declared that he was not well acquainted with the way, and was fearful that he might go astray, so that I was obliged to give up my projected visit.

We slept till about five o'clock in the afternoon, when I rose to view the surrounding country, and at the wells found several Bedouins, who were loading a supply of water upon their camels, most of which were black. They were armed with elegant light spears and narrow shields of hippopotamus-skin, pointed at either end, which I in vain endeavoured to prevail upon them to sell. They were accompanied by two girls, one of whom was still very young, and who the men told me was the most celebrated beauty of the village, which was stated to be only a few leagues distant. She was certainly not ugly, and instead of having scars on her cheeks she was handsomely painted, and wore, by way of ornament, two heavy metal fetters on her ankles, not unlike those put upon our prisoners who are employed on the public works.

* It is not a little remarkable that the French have lately discovered what appeared to be real Artesian wells, and which the Arabs informed them are very common, and frequently from 100 to 200 yards deep, in Africa.—H. E. L.

At first she looked at me with a cheerful smile, but when I approached her, to look at her more closely, she seemed to be seized with a panic, and, accompanied by the elder girl, bounded off like a deer through the mimosa wood to the distant bare rocky mountains. I took the same direction accompanied by my dragoman; when I reached the summit of the eminence I was surprised by an extensive prospect over a hilly country, dotted in the valleys by several green Oases, but we descried not a single trace of a human dwelling.

In the time of Burckhardt, all this portion of the Desert, which was inhabited by the Hassanyeh Arabs, was very unsafe; but under the present government travelling is as safe here as in Egypt.

When we returned we found the Doctor's servant seriously ill from a *coup de soleil*. It was necessary to bleed him several times, and though he soon became rather better, yet the lad never entirely regained his former health during the whole journey.

On our next march the caravan was again sent on before, and we followed at two o'clock in the morning. The distance was nearly the same as on the preceding night, and the character of the country was similar, but it was diversified by a little adventure. It was rather dark, and we were obliged to keep close together that we might not miss the way, when, suddenly, while riding through a withered thicket, we perceived in our midst a spectre-like figure. It turned out to be a very venerable black man, with a long, snowy beard, who was quite naked, but armed with a large straight knight's sword, which

he wore suspended to a strap over his shoulder, not on one side, but across his back. He rode on a swift-footed dwarf ass, which was not above two feet high, so that the man, who was rather tall, was obliged to raise his knees high above the saddle, to keep his feet from touching the ground. There he trotted close by the side of my tall dromedary, under the belly of which he might easily have passed without touching it. We were all greatly surprised that he did not appear to take the slightest notice of us. At length, he muttered to himself, and then crying out in the yell peculiar to the Negroes, he called to our guide, who usually rode on a little before, and pointed out the right road, the direction of which through this Desert, which has neither tracks nor land-marks, is truly difficult to find, but our leader, who appeared to be more afraid of the strange being than we were, paid no heed to him, and only rode on the faster. The old man laughed, murmuring to himself, and, before we were aware, he disappeared amid the trees as suddenly as he came, like an apparition of the night.

Notwithstanding all our attempts, we could not obtain from our leader any satisfactory explanation of what had passed; but I am convinced in my own mind that he connected some superstition with the appearance of this phantom, for he was evidently quite overcome, and afterwards talked a great deal about a malicious spirit which dwelt in the Black Mountains, and which was known to all the world by the name of the "Old Man of the Mountain;" that he assumed various forms, and that his visits

generally foreboded evil; but he never would declare, in so many words, that what we had seen was this Spirit of the mountain. Thus it seems that the savages have their tropical Rübzahl.

We again halted in a valley, covered with mimosas quite destitute of foliage. These leafless trees, which look as though they were totally dead, appear not to enjoy a winter sleep, like ours, during the cold season, but in the hottest season of the year, and we were told that after the rain they all reassume their brightest verdure. Most of them are of a peculiar variety, here called *samra*.

During the night we found the heat almost as oppressive as in the daytime, because not a breath of air was then stirring; whereas in the day, especially about noon, the wind blew freshly, and continually changed to almost every point of the compass.

As we were not very tired, we took our guns, and for a long while amused ourselves with shooting; but our sport was confined to turtle-doves and partridges of the desert. As soon as ever we shot a bird, the large black and white vultures, which manifested not the slightest fear of our guns, immediately flew to the spot, to snatch away the wounded birds that were hanging in a tree, or endeavouring to escape. Nay, on several occasions, they even disputed their prey with the sportsmen, and it was positively ridiculous to see one of the latter compelled to have recourse to sticks and stones, in order to get rid of them.

A few singing birds, with very beautiful plumage, frequently animated the dry thickets; and both night and day we constantly heard the hoarse howling of the

jackals, but we were never able to kill one of them. There was no trace of any other animals of prey.

On the following day the heat suddenly rose to an almost intolerable height—when I was in my tent, at two o'clock in the afternoon, where the refraction of the sun's beams makes the heat still more intense, Reaumur's thermometer, in the most shady part of it, was at 39°, and on the sand in the sun 55°, a temperature which returned, with very slight variation, for three days together, at about the same hour of the day. The wind blew due-south, and instead of cooling the air, it was glowing, as if it issued from the mouth of a heated furnace. Not only metal and glass, but even paper, linen, silk, wood, &c., without distinction, felt burning hot to the touch; we could find nothing cool but our own skins, because the temperature of the atmosphere was higher than that of the blood. A sheep which was killed at eleven o'clock in the forenoon had to be thrown away, as wholly unfit for eating, at five in the afternoon; our live stock suffered even more than we did, a couple of sheep died in the night, as well as most of the poultry which we had brought from Meroueh, and of which we, unhappily, saw no more till we reached Khartoum. Poor Susannis, too, was almost dead, and whining and lamenting piteously, dug for himself a deep hole in the ground, into which he crept.

It is inconceivable how the inhabitants can endure this fearful heat, almost naked as they are; with only a small waist-cloth round their bodies, their heads destitute of all protection, save their long hair, exposed to

the dreadful heat of the sun, and their unshod feet to the burning hot sand.

Our bivouac was near the huts of some natives, who have a numerous breed of cattle, though but little agriculture, and who subsist almost entirely on meat and milk, called marua.

A great part of the Desert in this region is covered with rushes and several kinds of acacia and mimosa; these, as I have before observed, now look as if they were dead, but recover their verdure in the rainy season, which likewise calls into existence many other plants used for forage, of which there is at present not the smallest indication. Vegetation then assumes a vernal garb, which it retains from July to April, during which time there is abundance of fodder that may be obtained without the slightest difficulty. As soon as April sets in, all the plants begin rapidly to wither; and, during this and the two succeeding months, which are the hot season, the cattle must be content with dried rush-straw, withered branches, and occasionally some dry corn; but as only a very small quantity of the latter can be cultivated, this nutritious food cannot be depended upon. All the cattle that we saw in this Oasis were excessively lean and in a most wretched condition.

We encamped about one hundred paces from the village, at the base of a rock, in a wide level surrounded by mountain chains. In the evening I ascended this rock for the purpose of enjoying the prospect from its summit, and, to my astonishment, found that its masses, which were blackened by the sun and rain,

consisted of the most beautiful hard-grained marble. I knocked off several pieces of it, which appeared of the most dazzling whiteness, traversed in many places with red veins, and in others with black.

From the top of this rock, which might be about one hundred feet high, I clearly perceived several considerable channels of rivers winding between the groups of trees; here the water collects in the rainy season, and when flowing in great abundance, must convert the landscape into a garden.

Shortly after sunrise the wind veered to the north, and in a few minutes rose to a hurricane, which threw down our tents, for, unhappily, all the cords were rotted by the heat. In fact, almost everything we possessed, especially articles of wood, were gradually going to pieces; our trunks and chests would no longer hold together; nay, even my English desk, which is of the best workmanship, is so out of joint, that I am obliged to carry my money in a napkin.

May 14.

Yesterday's storm was speedily succeeded by a dead calm, and as no dew fell in the night, and not a breath of air stirred, the atmosphere was oppressive in the extreme, and rendered travelling most fatiguing. One of our dromedaries refused to go on; the poor beast was quite exhausted; it laid itself down, and nothing could induce it to rise again. Happily we met, almost at the same moment, two travellers mounted on good camels, one of which our kawass—for necessity knows no law—took perforce, on pay-

ment, however, of its value. Had it not been for this summary proceeding I know not what we should have done, because the camel which had become ill belonged to the guide, and moreover carried all our most necessary effects. The Arabs left the poor animal on the spot where it had laid itself down, declaring that in some way or other it would take care of itself, and be found there safe and sound on their return.*

The tracts through which we passed, this brilliant starlight night, retained scarcely any of the characteristics of the Desert, but assumed such a cheerful and diversified appearance, that it might justly be called the Switzerland of the Desert of Bahiouda. The whole extensive tract lying between Shendy, Debbeh and Berber, and which is enclosed by the Nile like a peninsula, is comprehended under the denomination of the Desert of Bahiouda. Dark jagged mountain chains, rising from 1200 to 1500 feet high, almost uninterruptedly bounded the valleys, which were covered with thickets, sprinkled with a few trees, which still retain their verdure.

In these mountains, veins of primæval limestone formed broken strata, both above and between porphyry and granite. We were obliged to traverse one of these mountains, but it was almost too picturesque for our convenience, for dromedaries are bad climbers. We then proceeded for two hours along the windings of a deep ravine, shut in by high steep walls, through the rough, gravelly, dry bed of a river, till we reached some pretty little valleys, the ground of which was as level as

* This actually was the case, when we came back.

water, and which, in the rainy season, are said to form large lakes, with beautiful verdant islands. The substratum everywhere consists of stone or hard sand, and beneath the gravel, beautiful onyx and other stones of the most diverse colours are frequently found.

There is no want of wells here, and though the water is often lukewarm, and so impregnated with sand that it looks like clay-wash, yet it is wholesome, and has by no means a disagreeable taste. It was the more welcome to us because the water which we had taken with us in rude skins shortly became unfit to drink, on account of its bad smell: this was a most unpleasant circumstance, especially as each of us needed five or six bottles every day, in some degree to slake our incessant thirst.

The spot on which we pitched our tents in the morning was wild and romantic in the sublimest style. A dark blue rocky hollow, without the slightest sign of vegetation,—the rock consisting of the most beautiful porphyry and yellowish granite,—was piled up, as if by an earthquake, in masses of the most heterogeneous forms; and many of these gigantic blocks were balanced upon each other in such an incredible manner that we expected every moment to see them hurled down by the rushing wind. What a treasure would such a quarry be in a country where a proper use could be made of it; here the most profound solitude reigned, a silence unbroken by the slightest sound, and even the neighbouring well seems to attract no living creature. I climbed about the rocks for more than an hour, but could not obtain any distant prospect, because, wherever I ascended

mountains rose beyond mountains and shut in the view on every side.

The well in this wild spot contained clearer and cooler water than any we had hitherto seen, or met with afterwards. Our guide called this place Magaga, but not a village or even a dwelling is to be seen far or near. A keen wind blew between the narrow openings in the defile, and we therefore suffered less than usual from the heat; but it again carried off our tents at rather an unlucky moment, for the Doctor and myself were lying half-dressed upon our beds, busy writing our journals. This sudden exhibition and the consequent confusion presented a highly comic scene, but it unfortunately occasioned some slight damage.

We could not procure anything eatable here, and had no reserve stock, as provisions will not keep; we should therefore have been obliged to observe a compulsory fast, had we not been released from our distress by a covey of partridges, which we shot at the well, and half-a-dozen turtle-doves, which our indefatigable Ackermann brought back after an hour's absence. The latter bird may be obtained daily, in any quantity, from Alexandria to the most southerly frontiers of the Soudan; so that if the traveller is provided with a sufficient stock of powder and shot, he will have no need to starve, even if he cannot procure any other provisions in the Desert, in which predicament we were at this moment placed. It is more difficult to take a successful aim at the gazelles; indeed, we did not succeed in obtaining one during the whole of this tour, although we saw great numbers of them.

Scarcely any insects make their appearance at this season, except spiders and locusts, and since I left Cairo I have seen only two butterflies; I did not make chase after them, because the English critics have reproached me for indulging in, what they term childish sport. In the evening, however, we found numbers of a splendid species of hornet flying about the well, one of which I took the liberty of adding to my entomological collection.

The prevalence of the high wind during the last few days, induces me to give a hint or two respecting the tents, and I will subjoin a few others for the benefit of future travellers. In the first place it is an essential point to train the people to select the best site for erecting the tents. They must of course be placed in the shade, whenever it is possible, but it is yet more indispensable that they should be exposed to a draught of air, and that the entrances of both ends of the tent should be placed *obliquely* against the wind, in order that a current of air may be preserved without driving in the dust in a straight line. When the heat is more than commonly oppressive, it is advisable to leave the sides entirely open, and only to have the roof spread as an awning. When the sun shines upon it, the roof should be covered with thick straw mats, and whenever there is an ample supply of water, they should constantly be kept wet; the ground about the tent should also be well moistened. These apparent trifles, when properly attended to, will certainly produce a difference of eight or ten degrees in the temperature of the interior, which, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, is no small relief.

With respect to clothing, I have invariably found that in consequence of the sudden alternation of heat and cold, light-coloured half-cloth or cashmere garments, and a fine flannel-waistcoat next the skin, are the most suitable, and very preferable to a light linen dress; but the main point, however, is to have a triple or quadruple covering for the head; to protect it against the sun; and, on feeling the least chill, instantly to put on a woollen burnous, or cloth cloak, both of which should always be at hand, as a cold or chill is attended with the most dangerous consequences here.

With respect to diet, I have never followed any fixed system, but have partaken of as much, or as little, as I happened to have, or as was suitable to my wants. If my appetite was good I did not stint myself, and unhesitatingly lived upon meat or fruits, fat or lean, sweet or sour, indiscriminately, but never to excess. Sometimes I drank wine, sometimes fresh or sour milk, beer or brandy, but the latter for the most part mixed with water, likewise the bilbil of Dongola, the mishmish of Ethiopia, ordinary lemonade, or *limonade gazeuse*, artificial soda-water, prepared with the English powders, or sherbet with lemon-pips, and milk of almonds, which latter, by the way, when neither milk nor eggs can be obtained, is an excellent substitute for them in coffee or tea.

I partook of these various beverages as fancy or convenience prompted, without ever experiencing any ill consequences; but, at the same time, I used the precaution to have the water first boiled whenever it was not pure, and to avoid drinking anything cold

when I was internally heated; and I never ate or drank more or less than hunger and thirst dictated. There is, however, nothing against which travellers must be more on their guard in these climates than unnecessarily taking medicine; for I have seen more than one person lose his health, nay, even his life, by using applications which by us are considered trifling remedies for a slight indisposition.

I myself was so happy as to escape all the ill consequences of the climate and air, which have proved so fatal to Europeans, and though often surrounded by epidemics, was never laid up with fever or any other disorder, for headaches and slight indispositions of that kind cannot be taken into account. The only exception was a dangerous dysentery which I subsequently drew upon myself during the rainy season, in Sennaar, solely by unnecessarily taking a dose of Seidlitz powders, at a time when I unfortunately had no wine left to counteract the injurious effects of the medicine: my reader is already aware that I commend wine as the greatest Hygeian power, yet only so far as we may feel the need of it, and perhaps have been in the habit of taking it.

I have laid it down as a rule, always to follow the impulse of nature, and to consider the doctrine which recommends the traveller to be guided in every country by the mode of life pursued by the natives, highly pernicious and absurd, unless they are entirely subordinate, both to the first principle and to a regard to long-established habits. This my constitution, at least, requires; and every person

who has a similar one will be benefited by following my advice.

Again, I believe that a traveller who carefully avoids sudden chills, who abstains from partaking of any food that is not fresh and wholesome, and who frequently bathes his eyes with cool water, need not be apprehensive of the ophthalmia so prevalent in Egypt; and I attribute the fatal fevers which during the rainy season prevail in tropical climates to nothing more than either a cold and its effects on the stomach, or to the mixture of poisonous insects in impure water. We had daily occasion to observe the extreme carelessness in both these respects of the inhabitants of the countries whom we are desired to imitate, and in consequence of which they fall victims to these disorders as well as Europeans.

As soon as the moon rose above the tops of the mountain heights, we pursued our journey, which for the space of four hours lay over an extensive plain; we then halted, and took advantage of the intervening darkness, between the setting of the moon and the rising of the sun, to enjoy a few hours' sleep.

In the cool of the morning we proceeded on our way, but we had not gone very far, when we were astonished to see the camels of our caravan, which, according to our calculation, ought already to have arrived at the appointed station, scattered over a wide extent in the distance before us. Soon afterwards, we perceived isolated traces in the sand of their having lain down, surrounded by fragments of glass, lanterns and bottles, broken china, loose boards of

chests, &c., which announced to us that some disaster had happened.

It appeared that, shortly before midnight, the leaders of the caravan had halted near a herd of oxen belonging to a neighbouring village, for the purpose of resting, and refreshing themselves with milk, when the herd was suddenly attacked by a lion, which they said was of a prodigious size. Fortunately for us, the lion seized upon a cow and an ass belonging to the Arabs, the former of which he mutilated, and carried off the latter in triumph. A general panic was spread among man and beast; our camels, maddened with fear, galloped away in every direction, many threw down their burdens, others fell upon the sand, and it was several hours before they could all be brought together again. Nothing remained for us but to collect the scattered chests and sacks, to tie together, as well as we could, our broken crockery and effects, to pick up our baggage, which was lying pell-mell upon the ground, and replace everything upon the backs of our camels.

Our loss was even more considerable than at first sight appeared, for many of the most requisite articles, and others which luxury had almost rendered necessities, were injured or destroyed; even several of our water-skins, which had been replenished at the last well, had burst, and almost the whole of our stock of wine, liqueurs, oil, vinegar, &c., of which we had been so economical, had been thrown away upon the sand of the Desert. The reader, in the enjoyment of comfortable repose, may perhaps smile at our misadventure, but the scene of disaster and confusion which

was here so unexpectedly presented to us in the glare of the tropical sun, was a truly tragical spectacle; added to which, we fancied we could hear, from the neighbouring mountains, the roaring of the monster which had played us such an ungracious trick.

We were now compelled to remain with our caravan, and to travel at snail's pace, which was infinitely more fatiguing than the most rapid trot, especially as the heat was almost intolerable, and we did not reach the rocky valley of Gagdool till eleven o'clock. Dr. Rüppel, with his usual perversion of names, calls it Gekdud, and places it on his map above a day's march too far westward, a mistake which I find accurately copied in several later maps. Thus error is propagated as an hereditary disease, and it is unquestionably the duty of even the unlearned to rectify it if he can, for when upon the spot ocular inspection gives him an advantage which often makes him the more learned of the two. Dr. Rüppel, who I believe was never here himself, likewise speaks of a deep lake in the valley; this must have been in the rainy season, for we saw only a very remarkable deep recess or cavern in the rock, at the end of the valley. This reservoir is full of water of a considerable depth at all seasons, but especially when the tropical rains extend to this northern latitude. The temperature was low, and the surface completely covered with a green viscous coat. The vault of the grotto is really splendid, and at the same time a remarkable natural curiosity, because the lower half consists of porphyry, and the upper, as if cut off and exactly fitted to it, of granite. In the darker parts of the grotto we clearly distinguished

many narrower hollows and cavities, which lead into the interior of the rock, and are said to penetrate it to a considerable distance.

The perforated summit of this rock, which rises above the grotto to the height of some hundred feet, forms natural cisterns, which supplied us with excellent water; and there are several indications in the grotto itself, which prove that, in the rainy season, it receives the contents of a considerable waterfall which pours into it from the overflowing of the cisterns above; this body of water accumulates to such a depth at the bottom of the grotto that it can never be totally dry.

The valley itself, which is hemmed in by rocks, has at present no trace of any reservoir of water; it is covered with stones and nodules of various sizes, interspersed with numerous trees, which even at this season retained all their foliage, and made our halting place doubly agreeable. Besides several large specimens of acacia and mimosa so common here, I observed totally different species of the latter in great abundance; the elegant form of the mimosa looked as if it had been under the hands of a French gardener of the old school, who had clipped it into the exact shape of an inverted goblet with a slender foot. There was also a fine species of plum, that resembled our wild apple-trees, and which we had before met with in the Desert.

After the disasters that we had suffered, we thought it advisable to halt here another day, during which time the weather was very misty, and, throughout the greater part of the day, the sun, shorn of its beams

was visible, in the firmament, but it presented the extraordinary phenomenon of a pale blue colour. A gentle east wind cooled the air and brought us the agreeable temperature of 92° Fahrenheit. This invigorated our nerves, and gave us strength to encounter fresh fatigues.

In the evening there was an arrival of several travellers from Khartoum, with their attendants, and also droves of camels and oxen from Sennaar, they halted here to take a supply of water from the grotto. Some of the draught-oxen of this herd were of the greatest beauty, especially one, of a jet-black colour, whose tail was tipped with white, and which presented a fine model of the sacred Apis of ancient times. Our encampment was a scene of manifold animation, because all the herds of the neighbourhood also came to the valley, morning and evening, to water.

I had taken up my abode in a small cave, half-way up the amphitheatre of rocks which encompasses the valley, whence, as from a box at the opera, I had a *coup-d'œil* of the changing scene of our bivouac; it presented a most singular spectacle, strangely illumined by an azure sun, which was traversed by clouds in fantastic forms. Immediately opposite was the mysterious grotto, involved in impenetrable darkness, and, by the side of its sedge-green waters, a large blazing fire produced a wondrous effect; below me lay the rocky valley, with its cup-shaped mimosas, enlivened by camels, horses, asses, oxen, sheep and goats, which were walking about, or stretched at their ease in the refreshing shade. Now and then a naked

negro, or an Arab, in his white garment, made their appearance among them, and gazed with astonishment at the ant-like activity of our Europeans; one of whom was attempting to shoot one of the large eagles, which build their eyries on these rocks, and are much more shy than the vultures; the other, *sans façon*, caught hold of a cow from Sennaar to milk her for our tea, while our cook paraded among the cattle, waving his soup-ladle like a sceptre; and lastly, the fourth was swimming about in the green and yellow vegetating puddle of the grotto, which cooling though dirty bath, under the protection of its invisible nymphs, he preferred to everything else.

As we had a march of 60 miles to the next well, we thought it advisable to perform the entire distance at once, with short intervals of rest, in preference to stopping a whole day by the way without water, for the greater part of our water-skins had become leaky by the unhappy adventure with the lion. We accordingly left Gagdool on the 16th, as early as five o'clock in the afternoon, and rode for thirty miles through the interminable plain, which here and there could boast of a few withered trees and rushes.

When night set in, and the crescent moon was bright in the firmament, our two sable guides saluted her by a melodious song, which struck me the more because it was the first time I had heard African vocalists, who sang, not through their nose, but like Europeans, from their chest. The strain was cheerful, nay, almost playful and not without grace.

It may help the reader to form an intelligible local picture if I here sketch these two natives in a few

lines. The elder of the two was a compactly built little man, about thirty-five years of age, who had accompanied us from Meroueh; we designated him the Spirit of the Wood, on account of his thick jet-black hair, which hung wildly over his shoulders, like serpents, and mingled with an equally luxuriant and equally black beard, nearly reached his waist; his enormous teeth, white as ivory, were almost always visible, and his fiery little eyes, peering eagerly from his round countenance, which in its unwashed condition was of the colour of an old copper kettle blackened by soot, gave him a most original appearance. His breast and shoulder blades were excessively prominent and fleshy, while his legs, on the contrary, with protruding knees, were miserably lean, with scarcely any calves—a defect which is very common among the Arabs, and almost universal among the Berbers, Dongolese, and other inhabitants of these parts. His hands and feet were well shaped, which indeed is the case with most of the natives, and each cheek was cauterised with five deep parallel lines, partly for ornament, and partly as a preservative against diseases; for this latter purpose, he likewise wore on his right arm a leathern bracelet with a tiny case of the same material, in which a written amulet was enclosed. On his left arm, as a *pendant* to this ornament, he had a dagger somewhat like a knife, and a sword with an iron hilt was suspended by a short broad strap across the shoulder, much in the same way as we carry our fowling-pieces.

I was assured at Khartoum that these arms, which are in very general use here, are manufactured in

Holland, and form a considerable article of trade in these countries; it was evident that they were of European manufacture.

With the exception of a short linen skirt round his waist, our Spirit of the Wood, like the rest of his countrymen, was quite naked; and he rarely buckles on his leather sandals, or throws a handkerchief over his head. His body and hair are always greased with fat, and after the servants' dinner, in which he otherwise takes but little share, he never fails carefully to scrape the butter or fat which may remain on the plates and dishes, and to treasure it up as a valuable cosmetic. Disgusting as this may appear the result is very satisfactory, for it entirely keeps off the insects, and gives the greatest beauty to the skin. I have never seen even a lady in Europe, whose skin had such a beautiful faint lustre, and perfectly smooth surface, and such a velvet-like softness, as is here almost universal, both among men and women. I must confess that a reddish dark-brown complexion appears to me the most beautiful; white, on the contrary, always looks sickly, while the black of the negroes has the appearance of being burnt. It is impossible to describe the beautiful effect produced by the sun's shining on the neck of an individual of the colour which I commend; it seems like a dark silk gauze spread over a gold surface, and both satin and velvet look harsh by the side of it. I look upon this hue as the standard of perfection, and am, therefore, disposed to think that our great progenitor must have been of that complexion, and that his northern descendants have grown paler and paler from cold, distress, want, and too much

thinking, and his southern children have been baked iterally black by the burning sun.

The mental powers of Habib-Allah—a name which literally signifies Theophilus—were weaker than his physical energies, and his mind was not as polished as his skin: indeed, his stupidity was often a trial of patience to us. Thus, we have a habit, useless, perhaps, in itself, but yet affording some relief in a fatiguing, long journey (much the same as crying out when in pain), of asking whether we are far from our journey's end, whether we have travelled half or a third part of the way, how many leagues we have still to ride, &c., &c. Now, Habib-Allah could never be made to comprehend these questions, and his answers were invariably most unsatisfactory, because by the word "far" he could understand only a day's journey or more, and by "near" something less than a whole day's journey; and he was totally incapable of comprehending a division of the day into several smaller parts, and still less a calculation according to hours. If we asked him, pointing to a distant mountain or other object, "Does the place to which we are going lie before or behind that mountain?" his invariable answer was, "The place to which we are going lies before and not behind *us*." He was, however, always in good humour, and satisfied with everything.

Indolence and cheerfulness are the principal features in the character of these children of nature. Good-natured and obliging, gifted with acute senses, almost without wants, inured to circumstances, like the beasts of the field, content with the smallest gift, and regarding the slightest fortuitous incident as a boon of

fortune, they appear to live perfectly satisfied; nay, they thus, perhaps, enjoy the only real freedom which it is possible to obtain: for he alone who needs nothing for himself, and consequently has no need of others, can justly call himself free; compared with them, what galley-slaves are we ill-fated Europeans in this respect!

We were made fully sensible of this disadvantage during our last day's journey through the Desert, when we were all reduced to rice without anything to make it palatable, and impure water, which put us gentlemen completely out of sorts, and made all our European servants obstinate and careless, while these happy people were quite superior to all this—every temperature is the same to them, any water palatable, and the smallest portion of moistened flour is amply sufficient to satisfy their hunger.

Habib-Allah's good-humour on this occasion overflowed to such a degree, that he often leaped from his camel, and, without delaying our progress, ran by the side of the animals, during the most parching heat, and performed a martial dance, with his drawn sword; his grotesque vaultings, and the awkward contortions of his body, compelled even the most ill-humoured among us to laugh; but the more we laughed at him, the more happy and flattered did he feel himself.

Our second guide, whom we had engaged at Magaga, was of a somewhat different stamp, and a kind of *petit-maitre* of the Desert—much quicker than Habib-Allah, though not much brighter in point of intellect, but more talkative, inclined to joke, and, above all, much more vain. This was very evident

in his dress; for besides his elegant apron, dagger, and amulet, he wore glass beads of many colours, tied round various parts of his body. His hair, like that of the women, was plaited in a hundred little braids, and was very accurately cut of equal length in the nape of the neck. In order to keep this precise, antique Egyptian head-dress always in perfect order, he wore a thick rush stuck behind his right ear, just as the clerks in our counting-houses place their pens; when not talking he was always singing, although he was obliged to run nearly the whole way by the side of our animals, while Habib-Allah more frequently rode, and seldom gave him his place on the dromedary for more than half-an-hour. They, however, agreed perfectly well, though Habib-Allah, as the elder, always preserved the tone of a certain superiority towards his companion.

We did not reach the wished-for well of Abadlech, till eleven o'clock at night on the 17th. The animals were almost exhausted, and we ourselves tired to death.

It is well known that the camel is called "the Ship of the Desert," and a celebrated traveller affirms that the motion of the dromedary resembles that of a ship. Nothing can be more unfounded than this assertion; it is true that when it goes at a slow pace you are rocked backwards and forwards, but so ungently, that it has not the slightest resemblance to the motion of a ship: while in a trot the animal jolts so terribly, that on a long journey this continued shaking gives most people a constant headache, which they do not lose till after some hours' repose. This motion may, perhaps,

be wholesome for hypochondriacs, for the whole body is most thoroughly shaken.

To this is added the highly inconvenient shape of the saddles, the bad effects of which are not entirely remedied by tying cushions and carpets over them. When mounted on my dromedary, a handsome animal, almost as large as an elephant, I sat upon a pile of cushions, which raise me as high as the box of an English stage-coach. It was a splendid animal, and enjoyed a great reputation in the country, and I was very anxious to have it, but the owner would not consent to part with it. When the Katsheff caused the animals which I required to be demanded at Meroueh (demands which dare not be refused, but for which the Government however pays), he steadily refused, till a message from the Katsheff laconically signified to the obstinate proprietor, "in an hour your dromedary, or your ears and nose," which left the choice no longer doubtful.

My reader must not be too much alarmed at this tyranny. The phrase "cutting off the ears and nose," has become here a mere figure of speech under Mehemet Ali's government, just as among us the threat to pull a man's skin over his ears. The first phrase signifies here only a few strokes with the *kur-batsch*, which settles matters in a short time; whereas among us, the poor wretch gets a law-suit about his ears, which lasts a thousand times as long, and costs a great deal of money into the bargain: two points on which the Arab is more sensitive than about his little castigation.

With respect to the arbitrary measure of making

requisitions, we need only look at home, for it is no better in our own country; if we force our landowners, farmers, and peasants, to lend us their horses for a trifling remuneration, that they may be employed in the exercises of the Landwehr, after having previously taken the men without the horses, (which I do not by any means blame, as it is done for a very laudable and national object) I see but little difference in the two countries with respect to their compulsory measures. Force prevails here as well as there, with this difference, however, that with us it is so methodically organised, that the bare idea of resistance is impossible, whereas in this country, it is frequently attempted, and not unfrequently the individual escapes unpunished.

The world is the world all over, and in the main there is but little difference anywhere: the most indisputable right will always be that of the strongest, and the old French cynic will ever be in the right: "*Qu'il y aura toujours et partout beaucoup de fripons et encore plus de dupes.*" The modifications are, indeed, innumerable, and wonderful are the varieties which we meet with in the conditions of the human race.

Here an absolute sovereign reigns; among us, the people think that they are happier if a constitutional apparatus is set in motion; yet even there power knows how to maintain its influence, and (as a cunning lawyer mystifies the stupid peasant) a nation is often easily induced to impose upon itself by means of purchased representatives, such burdens as no minister and no despot could, under other circumstances, have ventured, without danger, to attempt. But it is much better

to laugh than to weep at such matters, and to be content with things as we find them. In this respect I think even the Chinese are wise.

The meat we had brought from Gagdool was spoilt before we wanted it. The water of the well, too, at which we halted, was foul and brackish, we had neither bread nor wine, and our supper consisted merely of rice, which had constituted our breakfast the day before, and would necessarily do so on the succeeding day.

While our people were loading the beasts the following morning, I had lain down on cushions, upon a carpet, under the shade of an old tree, till my dromedary should be brought. When I rose, I heard a hissing noise behind me, and, turning round, perceived a large serpent, black as jet, still half concealed in the hollow trunk of the tree, with its head and the fore part of its body coiled up, resting on my pillow close to the place where my head had left an impression. There is no doubt that the serpent, attracted by the warmth and softness of my cushion, must have remained a considerable time in this attitude quite near me, and that my sudden rising disturbed it, and caused its angry hissing. It was about two or three inches thick, and, as the natives affirmed, of the most venomous species. Thus we often escape dangers without having the slightest notion of their existence.

The part of the Desert through which we rode on this day and during the night especially deserved the name of desert, for it consisted throughout of a boundless plain, as level as the sea, and without even a trace of a blade of grass; yet the sand was still hard,

and in many places thickly covered with a crumbling black stone. Shortly before we reached the end of our march, we came to a thicket of acacias, where the growling of some hyænas made our dromedaries rather uneasy, and, as it was bright moonlight, we alighted, in the hopes of shooting one of them, but they fled so rapidly, that we could not possibly catch them.

After midnight we perceived the houses of Matamah, (which, since the destruction of Shendy, has been the capital of the district,) where all was still buried in profound repose; and it was long before we could find a guide to conduct us to our tents on the Nile, because the river comes up to the town only at the times of the highest inundation, and was now full half a league distant from it.

It may be conceived with what delight—thirsty and exhausted as we were—we hailed the cooling stream, and revelled in the enjoyment of its nectar, for now I was fully sensible that fresh water may be real nectar.

Almost equal enjoyment was afforded us in the morning by a refreshing bath, though we were strongly dissuaded from venturing into the water, on account of the crocodiles, which were becoming more numerous, and are particularly dangerous when the river begins to rise; during our two days' halt at this place we saw only one of the natives adventure into the stream. It is singular that in certain localities these animals are much more to be dreaded than at others, and even then not always in proportion to their larger or smaller numbers. At Assouan, for instance, they have never yet been seen to attack a man, whereas, at Wadi Halfa, the greatest precaution must be taken to avoid

them. Near Dongola, again, they are more harmless, though more numerous.

The katsheff of Wadi Halfa told me that he had gone the year before with a friend to bathe near the cataracts; scarcely had they advanced a few feet into the river, where the water was not up to their waists, when a crocodile rose close to them, seized his companion, and immediately disappeared with him under the water. Soon afterwards he saw the monster rise again at a short distance, playing with his victim as a cat plays with a mouse, till he landed on a small island, and there to all appearance began to devour the lifeless body in sight of the katsheff. On the same evening, and at the same spot, a boy and a goat also fell a prey to the rapacity of a crocodile.

The principal danger arises from the circumstance that the reptile buries itself in the sand of the bed of the river, and then suddenly darting up, like the antlion, pounces upon its prey. If the crocodiles come swimming from a distance, it is much easier to avoid them, yet they have often been seen at Metammah pursuing people in the middle of the river, and it is affirmed, that, if they have a choice between a black and a white man, they invariably prefer the latter. Sometimes they even pursue people on land, in which case, however, it is only necessary to run round in a circle, when pursuit is impracticable from the great difficulty which they have in turning.

About 10 o'clock I received a visit from the katsheff of Metammah, and several other Turks and Arabs, among whom Sheikh Beschir, of the tribe of the Djaalin Arabs, particularly attracted my attention,

because Dr. Rüppel mentions him, and says that this man, who may be thoroughly depended on, had furnished him with some information respecting the ruins of the town of Manderah, never yet visited by a European, and as an eye-witness, had given him an account of what he had himself seen there.

It appeared, however, as might be conjectured from the length of time that has elapsed, that the Sheikh Beschir, who stood before us, was the son of the person mentioned by Dr. Rüppel. He, too, had heard Manderah spoken of, but he denied that his father had ever been there, nor would he allow that he had ever boasted to a European of having seen that place. No satisfactory information could, therefore be obtained from him, but we afterwards found a slave of the katsheff, who confirmed the existence of the ruins of Manderah, but at the same time stated that Manderah was neither a town nor a village, but a mountain, at the summit of which, as well as at its base, some ruins of buildings were still standing, but that there were neither columns nor pyramids among them. He said that at the distance of a few leagues there was an almost deserted village, the name of which he had forgotten.

He also gave the situation of the ruins, according to the distances of certain towns which he had determined, differently to Dr. Rüppel, namely, more to the south, and nearer to the Nile. We shall see hereafter that the accounts given by this man, in the first respect, were conformable to the truth, which may be considered as a great rarity in these countries; in the second assertion he was mistaken. The accounts

collected by Dr. Rüppel were incorrect, though he concludes the passage relative to them, with his usual arrogance, in the following terms :—

“The above statements respecting Manderah were adduced two years later by M. Caillaud, in his travels, vol. iii., 138: *It would be interesting to know whether he had only copied me, or whether he has received the same information from a different source.*”

M. Caillaud has truly no need to copy from Dr. Rüppel; there is no traveller more conscientious, more accurate, more veracious, or more pains-taking, or who personally inspects everything with more assiduity than M. Caillaud, and of which I have myself had so many opportunities of being convinced, and have very often expressed my warmest gratitude to him on that account, for though M. Caillaud was not a man of learning, there is no safer guide than he is, where he had been himself; with respect to Manderah, he too was not accurately informed, and merely relates what he had heard.

The suite of the katsheff had been joined by an upper kawass of Mehemet Ali, to whom his generous master had lent a sum of 50,000 piastres for two years without interest, on the sole condition that he should lay out the whole sum in the purchase of cattle, here and at Sennaar, and bring them to Egypt, in which transaction all the profits on the resale go to the kawass. Now, as cattle are so very cheap here, that a camel costs no more than eighty francs, the finest bull from twenty to thirty, and a sheep only one franc, and the prices in Egypt are from six to ten times as high, (that of sheep often twenty times),

there is no doubt that notwithstanding all the expenses of the conveyance, and in spite of the great loss by the way (which is chiefly owing to the very bad management, and to the total want of veterinary doctors), the profits must be very great, and far exceed the capital expended.

Mehemet Ali's object (as the reader will remember he himself stated) is to make the Egyptians more sensible of the great advantages of this trade, and thereby to render it popular, which must of course be of the greatest benefit to both countries, because *here* is almost an entire want of capital, and *there* of a sufficient number of cattle, as well to till the ground, as to turn the sakyehs, which annually require many thousand oxen, because in consequence of the hard labour and the frequent epidemics, they do not live long.

There is not a single tree in this neighbourhood, far and near; we could, therefore, not expose ourselves to the intense heat, but remained in our tents till sunset. The night indemnified us; the moon was nearly at the full, and the dark blue sky was sprinkled with a thousand light, delicate little clouds, which seemed sportively to chase each other in quick succession. Under this beautiful canopy we took our meal in the open air, by the water-side, and it was so light that we were able by the lamp of the moon to read a book on that luminary, which I happened to have brought with me, alternately raising our telescopes to the splendid disc, and comparing the man in the moon with the fantastical map of the astronomer of Munich, which lay open before us.

The thermometer during this night was 28° R. This intense heat utterly deprives a person of appetite: the greatest gastronomic enjoyment is afforded by the Nile water alone, to which a great relish is given by the excellent dried dates of Sukkot.

If the camel is "the Ship of the Desert," the date may almost be called "the bread of the Desert." Strangers here soon adopt the custom of always carrying a handful of this fruit in their pockets. The date is refreshing and nutritious, and, like the pipe, it helps to beguile the time during long rides through the Desert.

We found the Nile already considerably swollen, and often heard the loose sand, undermined by the impetus of the waves, fall in small masses from the steep banks, where the water frequently dashes so high, that at first we fancied it was occasioned by a large fish or crocodile, till we had ascertained the true cause.

My return visit to the katsheff, on the 20th of May, afforded us an opportunity of seeing Matammah in detail; it is about the same size as Dongola, and, like that place, is built only of dried clay bricks, but on the whole its appearance is much more wretched. There are still melancholy tokens of the atrocious fury of the Defterdar, who caused nearly six thousand persons, guilty and innocent, to be impaled or cut down with the sword, or thrown into the flames of their burning dwellings, and thereby almost depopulated Matammah, as he had before done Shendy. He caused all the females, young and old, who were spared,

to be branded as slaves, and sent to Cairo ; but Mehemet Ali, as soon as he received information of it, ordered them to be permitted to return free, and reprimanded the Defterdar for his cruelty, with as much severity as it was then possible for him to do.

The katsheff was able to give us the fullest information of these events, because he came hither with the Defterdar when a young man, and has filled the post which he now holds since that time—a much longer period than is otherwise usual under the Egyptian Government. He seemed to be an honest and, consequently, a poor man, who knew little of the conveniences of life, and when we visited his miserable dwelling he had nothing to set before us but *eau sucrée*. He endeavoured to palliate the conduct of the Defterdar, whose cruelty he could not deny, by saying that he had been most violently provoked by the inhabitants. After he had devastated Shendy,—which was, at that time, a flourishing town, carrying on a considerable trade,—in revenge for the death of Ismael Pasha, the Defterdar announced a general amnesty to the rest of the country, and repaired, as a guest, to the Sheikh of Matammah. After a great feast to celebrate this reconciliation, one of the natives approached him, apparently with the view of preferring some request. The Defterdar had scarcely turned towards him in a friendly manner, when the resolute Negro snatched a lance from a soldier of the Sheikh, who was standing by, and pierced the Defterdar so violently below the shoulder, that the handle broke, and the wounded Bey, with the iron still in his body, sunk down on the mat upon the floor, where he remained insensible for several

minutes. The would-be murderer was not impaled and tortured, as is usually related, but immediately cut to pieces by the attendants of the Defterdar. The tragedy which succeeded, was as unjust as it was atrocious—for the sake of one guilty person, he destroyed all the inhabitants of the town, and even the Sheikh, and all the guests in his house, were cruelly massacred.

It is really a matter of astonishment, that after such horrors and devastations, the country should have been able, in the lapse of only fifteen years, so far to recover itself, that it is once more a flourishing town, with a population of many thousand inhabitants. They again carry on various trades, and, among other articles, manufacture a kind of calico, dyed a very beautiful deep red, a coarse kind of grey linen, and very elegant mats and other articles, of palm-leaves. Ostrich feathers were offered us in great numbers for a mere trifle, and I have since much regretted that I did not purchase more of them.*

We struck our tents in the evening, and, accompanied by the katsheff, proceeded northwards, down the Nile to Shendy, which is situated on the opposite bank, at a distance of two leagues; it is marked on Dr. Rüppel's and on other maps, as directly opposite to Matammah, and more to the south than that place.

Khourchid Pasha, the Governor-General of all Soudan, who usually resides here for some months during the rainy season, has a large clay palace built on the river side, about a quarter of a league from the city; and this palace was assigned to me for my

* They asked me only one franc per pound, which, even at Cairo, sold for thirty francs.

residence, but it was by no means a sumptuous one. Neither the outer walls nor any of the apartments were whitewashed; the floors were bare earth, which were watered five or six times a day; even the divans were made of clay, covered with mats and carpets. The ceilings were rough spars, with a thick mat of palm bark laid over them, which is plastered, and serves as the floor of the upper terrace on the roof; the windows are merely wooden lattices, furnished with shutters made of unplanned planks, which are so loosely fastened together that there are large chinks between the joints.

The apartments, however, have this advantage, they are all of huge dimensions, lofty and airy, and consequently very cool. This is the universal mode of building throughout the whole country.

All the dwellings are of the same kind; those of the rich and more distinguished persons differ only in extent, and in the size of the rooms. The inmates generally sleep on a carpet in the open air; and we were not slow in following their example, and found the change most agreeable. The cries of the pelicans and the croaking of large frogs were heard throughout the whole night.

The river here is animated by numerous birds, and wild ducks and geese abound in vast numbers. While I was bathing before sunrise, not far from a spot where several people were beating their linen, signs were made to me that a crocodile was near. In fact I saw the monster raise his head now and then above the water, at the distance of about twenty paces; but it was only a small one, which I did not think it

necessary to be much alarmed at. My dragoman fetched some Arabs, who placed themselves in a circle round me, and continually struck upon the water with sticks, which enabled me to finish my ablutions at leisure, besides which, the crocodile did not show himself again. The katsheff, however, blamed me severely for my temerity; and, by way of confirming his admonitions, related the following almost incredible anecdote. Several of his suite, who were present, were indeed ready to attest the truth of it, but whether true or false, it is one which might very properly be inserted in the next edition of Münchhausen's book of marvels:—

“It is not long since,” began the katsheff, “that a man from Berber settled here, and was well known to all of us. One morning he led his horse to the Nile to water, and fastened the rope by which he held it round his arm, and, while the animal was quenching his thirst, he knelt down to prayer. At the moment when he was lying with his face upon the ground, a crocodile attacked the unhappy man, swept him into the water with his tail, and swallowed him. The terrified horse exerted all its strength to run away, and, as the rope which was attached to the arm of his dead master in the stomach of the crocodile did not snap, and he could not disengage himself from it, the affrighted animal not only pulled the crocodile itself out of the river, but dragged it over the sand to the door of its own stable, where it was soon killed by the family, who hurried to the spot, and afterwards found the dead body of the victim entire in the belly of the horrid monster.”

Towards noon some hundred negro recruits arrived here by water, who were to replenish the regiments engaged in the war in Arabia. They were all dressed in white linen shirts, and, to prevent desertion, were shut up for the night in the court-yard of the palace, where they bivouacked. I visited them during the night, in company with the Doctor, soon after they had taken their meal; but they were all lying fast asleep, in the most grotesque groups and attitudes imaginable. They had drawn their linen shirts over their heads, for the inhabitants are invariably extremely careful in covering that part of the body during sleep. The mortality among these men, who look so robust and strong, is said to be fearful; and many thousands of them have already found their graves in Hejaz; where, for the most part, they died not by the hand of the enemy, nor even the baneful effects of the climate, which, though unhealthy, does not differ materially from their own, but from a pining for home.

The slave-hunts of the savage negroes in the interior, which are regularly undertaken every year, to supply the Government with these unhappy people, is a species of barbarism which is utterly inexcusable; but, unhappily, it is so general among all the nations in the interior of Africa, and so profitable to the governors of these provinces, who at the same time carry on their private trade in the captured slaves, and provide themselves with as many as they want, that it will be extremely difficult for Mehemet Ali totally to prevent it.*

* According to the newspapers, he has now prohibited it; but I

The further we advanced, the more indubitably we perceived that the personal authority of the Viceroy becomes weaker, and that all deference for the master is transferred to his representatives, who are more feared, and from whom more is expected, because they are on the spot, and Mehemet Ali is at a distance.

In Khartoum and in Kordofan his governors are in fact more powerful than himself, and as long as they fill these posts he is obliged to be cautious in his proceeding towards them, so that he may insure their fidelity, especially since his star has waned so much in consequence of European interference. In this remote part, the consequences must be doubly lamentable, as there is such an immense deal to be done, so much misery and barbarism to be alleviated, and so much happiness, prosperity, nay, even wealth, might be created, if the people and the country were in some degree more civilised. The broken power of Mehemet Ali can no longer make the attempt.

In the evening my dragoman became very ill from an inflammatory fever, which obliged me to stop here some days; but bleeding and mustard plasters soon brought him into a convalescent state.

While we were awaiting his recovery, a boat arrived here, under English colours, on board of which was Dr. Holroyd, a physician, who has been travelling in these countries during the last twelve months, and was now on his way from Kordofan. This unexpected visit was very agreeable, and we

question the execution of the mandate by the subordinates, and even the entire sincerity of it in a higher quarter.

passed several hours most pleasantly in conversation with this enterprising and accomplished young man. He had with him a very complete collection of arms, and gave much information of a singular nature respecting Kordofan.

Among other things he told us of an independent tribe of Djaalin Arabs inhabiting the districts between Sennaar and Kordofan, where the very singular custom obtains, that most of the women marry only on condition that they shall have every fourth day free: that is, that they shall be allowed to dispose of themselves on that day according to their own pleasure; and they accordingly receive at their marriage a formal written certificate to this effect.

In the capital town of Lobeid (not Obied, as is stated on the maps) is another singular custom.—Many women and girls unite to lay wait for solitary travellers, whom they surround on the road, and demand a bakshish. If the traveller refuses the required money, they all fall upon him, and, according as they are more or less irritated, they ill-use him, and give him from twenty-five to fifty severe kicks. Dr. Holroyd at first thought this was an exaggeration; but one day, when he had paid a visit to the governor at his country-house, and was returning late in the evening with a young guide, who ran by his side on foot, he was himself attacked by these female waylayers. As he was on horseback, he easily defended himself, but the young guide was captured, and on his attempting to fight his way through the midst, was thrown down, held fast, and in all probability would not have escaped the fate that awaited

him, had not a body of soldiers, on their way from Lobeid, come up at that moment, at the sight of whom the women let go their prisoner, who was calling aloud for help, and escaped laughing and screaming into the thickets.

Dr. Holroyd also told us that at Lobeid not only all dead cattle, but even slaves who had died, were thrown into the streets of the town, where they gradually decomposed in the air. The dreadful effluvia hence arising seem to be less annoying to the inhabitants than the trouble of removing the dead bodies.

Lobeid is the most populous and considerable place in the Soudan under the Egyptian dominion. It has more than 20,000 inhabitants, most of whom however dwell only in toguls, tent-shaped reed huts, of an elegant form, and only the principal people have clay houses, as here at Matammah. The whole of Northern Kordofan is a boundless savannah, covered with acacias and mimosas, partly single, partly congregated, in woods abounding with giraffes, flocks of ostriches, and numbers of antelopes of different kinds. The land is everywhere covered with alluvial sand, which contains bog-ore, which the inhabitants smelt and manufacture into very good weapons. Isolated mountains rise about Lobeid, the Kurbatsh, El Kordofan, Abugher, &c., all of recent granite formations; this is the predominant stone in Central Kordofan, and is parallel with greywacke.

Lions, panthers, and leopards abound in these parts, and Dr. Holroyd stated that the abundance of cattle in Southern Sennaar and Kordofan was quite extraor-

dinary. Many of the inhabitants possess [herds of above 10,000, all of which find pasture in the savannahs; a proof that there must be much water below the surface.

The Doctor was of opinion that these countries might be converted] into the richest in Africa, if a canal were dug from Djebel Moigl, or the Bahr el Azrek to the white Nile, which would not be attended with the slightest difficulty. By this means, a Delta still more luxuriant than that of Lower Egypt would be obtained between these two rivers, as far as Khartoum. This would indeed be a *real* gold mine for Mehemet Ali, where,—by the cultivation of cotton, sugar-cane, indigo, most species of corn, and senna, which already grows wild everywhere,—he might obtain immense revenues.

I had, in the sequel, many occasions of convincing myself of the truth of this assertion.

Dr. Holroyd brought bad news from the frontiers of Abyssinia, where the Viceroy's troops, in the annual hunt after slaves, had not respected the foreign territory, and had committed great excesses. As no attention was paid to the complaints of the Abyssinians, and 2000 of the troops of the Governor of Khartoum this year recommenced their usual employment, an army of 30,000 Abyssinians came to meet them, massacred 1200 of the Egyptian soldiers, and took the remainder, with their officers and commander-in-chief, prisoners. They then sent a list of all the prisoners, with the amount of ransom fixed for each, with the threat, that if it were not paid within a cer-

tain time, they would make eunuchs of them—a very general custom here. Thus, in consequence of a preceding revolution in Darfour a brother of the Sultan of that country is now a fugitive at Lobeid, where, for the present, he is kept at the expense of Mehemet Ali, and supported suitably to his rank. This prince carries on a profitable trade in young eunuchs, and his Highness himself, and his son, take pleasure in performing a great part of this work, which is done in a truly barbarous manner, with their own hands. I was still more shocked to hear that an *European* who carries on the slave-trade as a speculation, delivered fifteen of the children which he had purchased, to the Sultan, on condition that by way of payment, five of them should be returned to him in good health as eunuchs. In Upper Egypt there are two *Christian* (Coptic) monasteries, the principal revenues of which are derived from making eunuchs, which they do on such an extensive scale, as to supply almost all Egypt and part of Turkey.

Generally speaking, the slaves are by no means cruelly treated by the natives in Kordofan, and in the East in general; yet Dr. Holroyd saw (but in the house of an *European*) two men whose noses had been cut off for attempting to effect their escape by flight. This is horrible, but is not confined to slaves alone, since, in these savage countries, every man can treat those under him as he pleases.

Dr. Holroyd was delighted with his hunting excursions, of which he brought back many trophies: he had several slaves with him, and six remarkable goats from Kordofan, sprinkled or marbled with red, black,

white, and fawn-colour; graceful animals, much prettier of their kind than the human beings who accompanied them.

Dr. Holroyd likewise complained of the inaccuracy of all the maps of the countries on the Nile, published in Europe: he was himself engaged in making a new one, and had already corrected above 300 false names, and some twenty erroneous bends of the Nile, in the best English maps by Arrowsmith.

It was highly advantageous to my invalid dragoman that an European physician, like a *Deus ex machinâ*, came to his aid, otherwise he would, perhaps, have been obliged to remain here a long time. Dr. Holroyd told us that he himself was once dangerously ill of the climatic fever, and had at first endeavoured, but in vain, to cure himself, till he at length resolved to trust blindfold to the skill of a native faki, who, by means of cabalistic arts, happily restored him within a week.

The instructive conversations of the English physician made the time pass more agreeably than I could have hoped; and though I felt almost as ill as my dragoman, especially from a most distressing relaxation of the whole nervous system, I yet made active use of my leisure, particularly in paying some visits to Shendy. It is melancholy to look at this town, which formerly had 50,000 inhabitants, in its present desolated state. Its ruins and long-since-forsaken dwellings, still extend on every side into the surrounding fields, the greater part of which have become a complete desert. Only here and there, a pointed thatched roof is seen, indicating amid this great city of the dead, an isolated inhabited house;

all the others being deserted and without roofs, like the little clay palace standing nearly in the centre of the whole, in which Ismael Pasha met his tragical end, where the treacherous torch which was intended to kindle only the heaps of straw piled up around it, to accomplish the desired revenge, produced the fearful consequences of destroying the whole of a large province, and more than the half of its inhabitants.

It was very remarkable that the Sheikh who contrived and carried out the conspiracy, together with his son, escaped all punishment and vengeance. He now lives among the Arabs of the Desert, and Mehemet Ali has never taken any steps to get him into his power; nay, I was assured that his son had long since returned, and has been living for many years in an island, not far from Meróe, where his relations frequently visit him, without the slightest notice being taken by the Government. Mehemet Ali, who is a better politician than the Defterdar was, highly disapproved of his conduct, and has since done everything in his power to cause it to be forgotten. Most of the Sheikhs in these parts, several of whom waited upon me, receive annual pensions from him, and Sheikh Beschir has 500 piastres per month from the Government, which is here a considerable sum. I hope that my readers will forgive my entering into any minutiae respecting the catastrophe of Ismael Pasha, because the most accurate details have already been repeated to satiety by all travellers who have since visited this country.

CHAPTER XI.

RUINS OF MESAOURAT.

IT was now high time to prepare for our excursion to the ruins of Mesaourat, though this journey is attended with considerable hardships, because it must be performed with great rapidity, on account of the total want of water in the Desert. For my security, I was accompanied, by order of the Governor, by Emir Beschir himself, with eight of his best men.

We left Khourchid Pasha's palace a little before sunset, and it had already become dark ere we passed, for the last time, through the mournful ruins of Shendy. Soon afterwards a fearful thunder-storm covered the whole vault of heaven with a dense raven-black mantle. On every side, flashes of lightning darted across the firmament, and every moment alternating with the darkness of the night, illumed the pale walls of the surrounding ruins, which shone in lurid light, like a spectral apparition of the rising flames of the former fire which destroyed Shendy for ever.

This tremendous conflict of the elements was *not* permitted to do us the slightest injury; afterwards, when a torrent of rain fell, we were obliged to seek shelter in the nearest village; we could not long endure the closeness of the confined apartment of the natives, which was as hot as an oven, and full

of dirt and insects of all kinds. I therefore, notwithstanding the incessant rolling of the thunder, had a fire kindled, with much trouble, and our two small tents erected, though they are not much larger than sentry-boxes, and usually serve merely as entrances to the large tents.

Here we remained tolerably dry, while Sheikh Beschir, with his people, dromedaries, and horses, lay down quite unconcernedly in the open air, amidst the torrents of rain which poured down.

This powerful sheikh, who is an enterprising and intelligent man, has from the commencement, been faithfully attached to the new governor, and is now one of his firmest supporters among the Arabs; this is the more important, because all the other sheikhs, who still cherish some rancour on account of past events (and they can scarcely be blamed for this), notwithstanding all their apparent submissiveness, are said not to be very trustworthy; a kind of dissimulation in which the Orientals are great proficient. I was told by the katsheff that sheikh Beschir, on account of his attachment to the present government, has powerful enemies in those sheikhs, and, therefore, does not readily show himself among them without numerous attendants.

After a few hours the rain ceased, and we therefore continued our route, which lay at no great distance from the Nile, proceeding rapidly throughout the whole night in monotonous uniformity. Towards morning we passed through an extensive acacia forest, where the astonishing consequences of the fertilising storm during the night were already visible, for all

the trees were profusely covered with small leaves of a delightfully fresh sea-green colour. The air too was cooled, a gentle zephyr breathed amid the branches, and wafted fragrant odours on its wings. Here we truly enjoyed our first bivouac in the neighbourhood of a village.

Immediately after breakfast I took my gun and went out with Ackermann, in order to obtain a supply for our table. Besides the turtle-doves, which are so easily obtained, we shot a young wild-goose, and likewise a variety of gay birds, with that licensed cruelty in which man indulges, merely for the beauty of their plumage.

On the banks of the Nile, which are here rather picturesque and covered with thickets, we saw fourteen pelicans, which were fishing with much gravity, and in their immediate vicinity a female crocodile, with her young one, scarcely three feet in length; the latter received a shot, though without effect, and instantly dived after its ungainly mother.

On our return, we were informed of the arrival of three pilgrims from Darfour, who were on their way to Mecca. They were very well-formed Negroes, and wore long blue shirts, and sandals fastened with coloured leather straps. They appeared to be active, able men; they were unanimous in their praise of the Sultan, and told us that, not Kobbé, (as the geographical statements tell us) is the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the Sovereign; but Tendelti Tassir, which is not marked on any map; Kobbé, they said, was only the capital of the merchants; but the other town, which was far more

extensive and handsom, was the residence of the sovereign and the great men.

According to these statements it would appear that there is in that country a strong line of demarcation between the nobility and the merchants; most probably there are no great bankers who form a connecting link between the two classes. The capital, the pilgrims said, was only a good day's journey from Kobbé.

They affirmed that, so far as they knew, there was no large river in the whole of their country, but many brooks, which in the rainy season swelled to rivers, besides numerous wells and cisterns, so that there is nowhere any want of water as in the adjoining desert.

The country is said to abound in forests, and to be very fertile. Among the fruits, they mentioned oranges, citrons, pomegranates, melons, and many others, the names of which are unknown to me, and a list of nearly the same vegetables as those of Soudan and Kordofan.

“The Sultan,” they continued, “has, for some years past, introduced the Nizzam, which is commanded by a white man, whom he esteems very highly; but the natives do not like this service, and the troops are by no means so well disciplined as the Egyptian soldiers,” whom they had seen in Kordofan and Soudan. The Sultan likewise possessed some pieces of cannon, but had hitherto not made much use of them.

They all wore amulets and strings of glass beads hanging about them; and one of them had, besides, a sort of pocket-book, in which there was a coloured, rude picture of the sacred Kaaba, which he, at first,

made some difficulty in showing. This man, who appeared to be the best informed of the three, afterwards told us of some tribes who live far up in the highest mountains of the country, and who have no religion, "not even so much," he said, "as a Giaour" (Christian Dog). On this account they are regularly hunted every year, the prisoners are made slaves, and, as prisoners of war, the owner exercises over them as unlimited an authority as over his cattle. In other respects the Government appears to be mild, and after its way tolerably just.

These people could speak a little Arabic, and understood the language of Kordofan, which was likewise spoken by one of the attendants of Sheikh Beschir, who therefore served as our interpreter.

The division of the Desert into which we were now to penetrate, and which extends to the Red Sea, is inhabited only by a few nomade Bedouin tribes, who are nominally, and that only in part, under the dominion of Mehemet Ali, and who, therefore, consider all travellers as lawful prey.

The security which is so fully enjoyed in the dominions of the Egyptian Sovereign ceases here, and Sheikh Beschir announced to us that we might possibly be attacked by robbers, and ought, therefore, to have our arms in readiness; he likewise proposed that I should exchange my dromedary (on which we Europeans generally feel ourselves in a helpless condition) for his mare, which had hitherto been led by one of his servants—an offer which I gratefully accepted.

We set off at five o'clock in the afternoon, and soon

reached a fine plain, which was covered, as far as the eye could reach, with tall rushes and groups of low acacias and mimosas. In the blue distance before us rose isolated mountains, some pointed, and others table-shaped or jagged, and the appearance of the whole country, to the very foot of the mountains, amply testified to the universal cultivation which must formerly have prevailed here, the traces of which, notwithstanding the drying of ancient canals, and the choking-up of the wells, are still visible, after the lapse of some thousand years. I am, therefore, convinced that nothing but a general diffusion of water below the surface can have preserved these traces of fertility, which even now surround us, and consequently that care and cultivation might soon render this extensive country again capable of supporting a numerous population.

The sky was clouded, which greatly diminished the heat; but the nights were so pitch-dark that none but Arabs, with their canine instinct, which may justly be called their sixth sense, could have found their way.

Our route in this darkness, which no longer followed any caravan road, but lay through the high rushes, had already continued some hours, when our people suddenly made a dead stand, because their sixth sense had perceived that there were people among some stunted bushes at our side. Sheikh Beschir's lieutenant immediately called out with a loud voice, demanding who they were, and what they were doing here?

But before I proceed I must give a short description of Sheikh Beschir's suite. They were, as I have said,

only eight in number, but to all appearance men that might be entirely depended upon ; all black, like their master ; strong and muscular, which was the more easily perceptible as they were almost naked, and with marked but not disagreeable features. A girdle round their loins, a handkerchief over their heads, and sandals on their feet, composed the whole of their dress, except their weapons. The lieutenant alone wore over the whole an ample blue blouse, and the Sheikh the full white cloak bordered with a red stripe, which exactly resembles the Roman toga, with a prodigious turban of the same colour on his head.

All of them rode upon white dromedaries, of the capital breed of the Sheikh, whose largest possessions are in Berber, where the territory of the Tischari Arabs begins, whose dromedaries are inferior only to those of Nedshi. They were all very completely armed in the manner of their country ; that is, each of them had a lance, a large oval shield, made of crocodile or hippopotamus' skin, through which only a musket-ball can penetrate ; a dagger fastened to the upper part of the arm, and a long straight sword, with the hilt in the form of a cross, hanging over their shoulder, completed their martial array. Muskets do not appear to be common, and those which they formerly possessed, were taken away by Mehemet Ali's troops from the subdued Arabs. There were no fire-arms among the whole band, except a pair of old-fashioned European pistols belonging to the Sheikh, which his servant wore in his girdle, with a small cartridge-box fastened by straps. They were all excellent riders, and managed their dromedaries so

skilfully that the rapidity and precision of their movements were not much inferior to those of the horses; whereas, my suite had much difficulty in controlling their animals, which were however of a very indifferent quality. This often gave occasion to unpleasant delay, in order to bring up the stragglers.

Scarcely had the above-mentioned question been addressed to the suspicious strangers, when an answer, given by a hollow voice, and speedily translated by the dragoman, replied, "Come hither, and you will learn." In an instant all the dromedaries of Sheikh Beschir knelt down, and the riders leaped off; half of them with their drawn swords and covered by their shields cautiously advanced, in the dark, in the direction from which the voice proceeded. We remained perfectly quiet, with our pistols cocked, and awaited the result, to act as occasion might require. In a few seconds a loud war-cry was raised by both parties, and we heard the strokes of several swords parried by the shields; matters speedily appeared to grow serious, and we were preparing to advance, when the Sheikh entreated us not to do so till it was absolutely necessary, and he then hastened with the rest of his people to the conflict. The high threatening words, which he uttered in a voice of thunder, instantly caused a cessation of arms; we could see nothing whatever, but could judge from what we heard. The clash of arms ceased—there was a momentary pause, and the cries on both sides were redoubled with increased fury. This continued full five minutes, when all suddenly ceased; our people came hastily back, flung themselves

upon their dromedaries, and speedily trotted away with us.

In answer to our eager inquiries, they said that the strangers gave themselves out for travelling Djellabs, and that they had taken us for robbers; * the Sheikh added, that he had contented himself with this reply, though he very well knew that it was a falsehood, because there was no caravan route here where Djellabs were likely to be met with; but that he deemed it advisable to withdraw, because he could not tell whether a much more numerous band might not be in the neighbourhood, of which this was only an advanced post.

In fact, after riding scarcely a thousand paces further, when we were in a very narrow and intricate passage through an uneven, stony ground, full of thorns, we found another troop of Djellabs, but they were probably less numerous, for on the first challenge of our vanguard they instantly took flight. For my own part I felt not the slightest alarm for our safety; we could implicitly rely on the fidelity of the escort, and the number of our fire-arms would surely have given us the victory over a very superior number.

An hour after this adventure, shortly before midnight, and just as the blood-red moon rose, of gigantic size, above the horizon, its beams fell upon the imposing ruins of Mesaourat, lying in the midst of a

* Djellab properly signifies merchant; but as nobody travels here except for trade, it likewise means a traveller: it would be most correct to interpret it "itinerant trader."

spacious valley, enclosed by isolated sandstone rocks, of the most grotesque forms, which looked as if their summits were crowned with towers, walls, battlements and pinnacles. We were, however, so weary that we only cast a glance upon the wondrously illuminated ruins, and, after taking a cup of tea, which we hastily prepared over our spirit-lamp, had our carpets spread on the ground of our duodecimo tents, and, with our saddles for pillows, slept till day-break as luxuriously as if we had been lying upon eider-down.

The ruins of Mesaourat (every vowel of which is to be distinctly pronounced), which, including the extreme surrounding walls, measure, according to Caillaud, 185 metres (yards) in breadth, and 248 in length, are, I am persuaded, the remains of a large regal palace, with all the necessary appendages of dwellings, court-yards, stables, &c., and two small, peculiarly elegant temples (exactly in the style of our royal chapels), and this beautiful rural palace, lying in the midst of the picturesque, fertile valley, must certainly have been surrounded with extensive gardens.*

All the buildings, without exception, are of middling-sized hewn stones of the beautiful red granite of the neighbouring mountains; everything is elegant and executed in the most solid manner, but we nowhere observed either the colossal proportions or

* Caillaud considers these ruins to have been an institution for the education of the priests. I cannot participate in this opinion: there is too much magnificence and trifling decoration in these apartments, and everything is too remote from the solemn splendour of priestly establishments in those times.

the perfect art of the ancient monuments of Egypt; and it may perhaps be proper here to observe beforehand, that all the ruins which we saw during this expedition, and of which we shall presently speak more at large, were always of one and the same character, which indeed bears some affinity to the remarkable remains at Djebel Birkel, and partly to those near Meróe, yet there is *one* decided difference between them. This consists in the mixture of the Greek or rather Roman style with the already corrupted Egyptian, predominating in all these buildings; which aim chiefly at elegance, and are overburdened with ornament, rather than grand. Hence I conclude that they are even more modern than the monuments at Djebel Birkel, and scarcely older than, at most, the time of the last Ptolemies, if not contemporaneous with the later Roman epoch. The decoration, which is often very trifling—the ornaments which are evidently a combined medley of the Grecian and Egyptian styles—the absence of all colossal masses and the consequent imposing effects produced by them—all tend to confirm this opinion.

The far more careful attention to convenience, and the greater number of suites of rooms, which are for the most part of smaller dimensions than those which we find in the ancient Egyptian monuments, appear again to betray the influence of a female mind; and I am therefore inclined to admit the conjecture that these buildings are of the later times of those queens, who, as I have already observed, reigned for centuries in Ethiopia under the same name, which was assumed by all of them, and who had frequent intercourse,

both hostile and friendly, with the Romans, so that architects of that nation might easily have been employed by these queens to deteriorate the Egyptian style here, as they often did the Greek in their own country.

To assent to the hypotheses of some travellers, which appear wholly incorrect, even when applied to the evidently much older monuments of Meroueh and Meróe, namely, that the architectural remains of Ethiopia are more ancient than those of Egypt, would here be a complete absurdity. In all buildings of this kind we see, without exception, only a subordinate *imitation*, but by no means a subordinate *commencement*. The characteristic marks of these different imperfections are so very evident, that it is impossible to deceive one's-self on that point, except indeed wilfully, taking for granted that the observer is capable of forming a sound judgment. I must, however, repeat, that I am very far from denying that civilisation, and even the first beginnings of rude art, may have proceeded, in the most obscure antiquity from these countries to Egypt; and the view that the flat and, in part, more recent alluvial land of Egypt may have been first peopled from the high lands of Ethiopia, is quite conformable with nature, and therefore probable. I only affirm, that the *still existing* ancient monuments of Ethiopia with *which we are acquainted* certainly did not originate in those times; and are, for the most part, of much more recent date than the Egyptian antiquities of the latest period of the Pharaohs, nay in part of that of the Ptolemies.

There is something intensely interesting in stand-

ing before these ruins, and realising the fact that, at an era far remote from the present civilised world, thousands of square miles of highly cultivated land, covered with cities, temples, and palaces, existed here, where now, only a vast desert, destitute of superficial water, and of vegetation, save a few thickets and widely scattered trees remain—and then to consider that a much more refined cultivation of mind and a higher degree of art (at least of architecture) than we ourselves possess, reigned here, where, at this moment, a few nomadic savage herds of plundering Bedouins are alone met with.

The thought, too, that I was in the ancient palace of the accomplished, luxurious Queen Candace, whom I of course pictured to myself as an uncommonly handsome and graceful brownish-black beauty, imparted a double interest to the inspection of this labyrinth of chambers, staircases, passages, courtyards, colonnades, temples, and walls, which in some measure counterbalanced the fatigue occasioned by wandering through them, and the oppressive heat, which incommoded us not a little; I must confess that I indulged rather in the egotistical enjoyment than in the diligence of a tourist, because we had only a supply of water for three days, and my nervous system was too greatly relaxed, to enable me to attend to detailed measurements, and minute examinations of this kind, so as to take a correct plan of the whole, which, besides, I believe, may by this time have been done by Mr. Linant with his wonted fidelity. The indulgent reader will therefore be content with the following succinct description:—

It appears that there were several principal entrances to the whole pile of the different buildings, which, encompassed by a wall, constituted the royal palace in its entire extent, but it is now difficult to determine where their propylæa were. In my opinion the principal entrance was in the smaller side of the great parallelogram which faces the north-east. Here, after passing through an area, we came to a stately colonnade running between extensive suites of apartments, at each side, the walls of which were six feet thick (the interior of these walls is filled up with rude pieces of stone).

The shafts of the columns are quite smooth, and have neither hieroglyphics nor sculptures; they stand upon a plinth; they are ten feet in circumference, at the distance of one foot from the ground, and they are at the utmost sixteen or seventeen feet high, including the entablature of the bell-shaped capital, which is formed of leaves. Only a few are still standing erect, and all the rest are more or less broken.

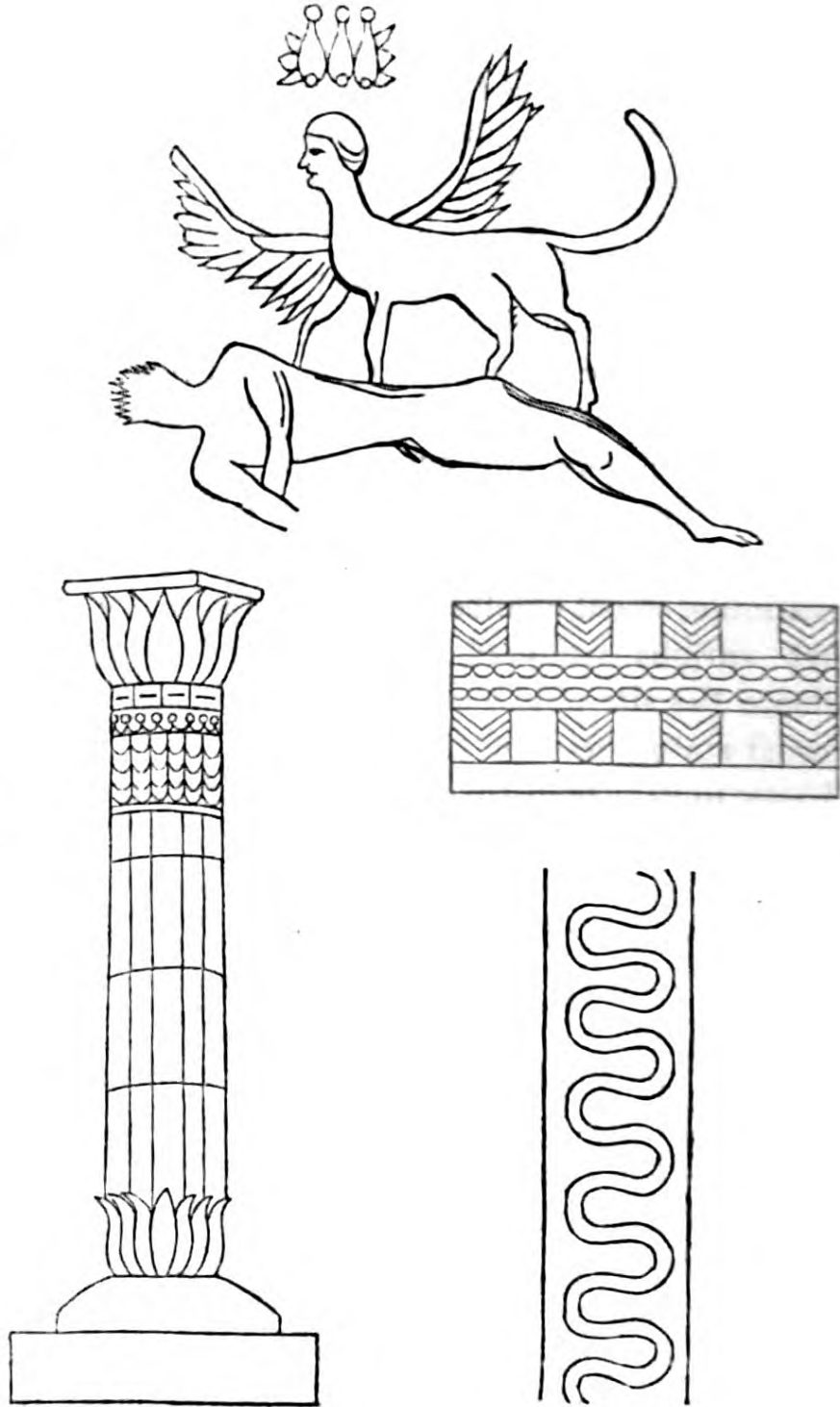
There appear to have been halls at the two extremities of the colonnade, and these to have been terminated by niches, probably ornamented with statues. From the most easterly of the halls, we entered a passage, formerly undoubtedly roofed in, 10 feet and a half wide, and 231 feet long, the walls of which are only four feet thick, and built of large rounded blocks. The passage led through several spacious court-yards, in one of which still stands a lofty column twelve and a half feet in circumference. It then winds round the foundation walls of several

buildings, through an ornamented portal, into the back colonnade of a temple, which stands rather higher than the rest, and is built entirely, according to the usual arrangement of a Greek peripteros, without opisthodomos or pronaos. It forms only one single hall (the cella), which is supported within by four columns, and inclosed on all the four sides by walls, surrounded by a double portico of ten columns on the longer, and six on the narrow side. The pillars are smooth on three sides, and the fourth, the eastern, is richly adorned in part with very elegant workmanship. On the eastern side is a broad and high open terrace, to which, as some appearances indicate, a splendid flight of steps of the whole breadth of the terrace formerly led. These columns are not much larger than those I have before mentioned, and, in general, the elegant rather than the imposing has been aimed at. Each pillar is decorated in a different manner, and here for the first time, among all the ruins, we met with some hieroglyphics and anaglyphs, very well executed, but not coloured; yet only the lowest stone of the pillars, each of which consisted of four pieces, was ornamented in this manner. On several of them was the usual procession of the Egyptian divinities with their attributes, some with the Nile key in their hands, to whom a queen brought an offering, which confirmed me in my hypothesis, that a female dynasty held its sway here. The figures on the four centre columns, close to the main entrance, were, at least, in three-fourths relief; and the designs, very correct, were treated with much grace, but were more effeminate than the solemn, pure Egyptian style admits of.

All these representations are unhappily very much mutilated. Within the temple, as I have already noticed, there are but four columns, and each of the two longer lateral walls is lighted by two windows; between those on the south wall we observed a niche, in which the presiding deity of the temple probably stood. Facing the large decorated entrance-gate of the temple, is another smaller gate, which conducts, by the outer portico, to a narrow staircase five feet in width; this opens upon a confused assemblage of chambers, probably private dwellings, whose principal southern wall abuts upon a large court-yard, which, lying considerably below its level, gives it an elevation of about eighteen feet. In the centre of this court various scattered fragments and foundations indicate the site of two obelisks, and probably of some colossal statue between them.

I was unable to discover any traces of sculptures or of cartouches upon the external walls, or within the interior of the chambers, I could only meet with two small and very similar grotesque carvings, of which I subjoin a sketch; and also one of the ornaments on one of the columns in the small colonnade.

I have unhappily lost the commencement of an old Oriental inscription upon the further wall of the temple, which I copied with great care. The remainder had been wilfully destroyed, and many of the other walls were defaced with rude attempts at writing or design, by Arabs; or, perhaps, by some scattered Egyptian soldiers. It gave me greater pleasure to discover among these reminiscences, two long modern inscriptions by Messrs. Linant and



Caillaud, the only Europeans who have, up to this period, penetrated thus far. They are as follows:—

1. “ L’an de Jésus 1822, Frédéric Caillaud a visité ces ruines renommées : il y est venu mandé par la France. Favorisé par le Prince Ismaël-Pascha, il a pénétré au-delà de Fazole par dix degrés de latitude, où il a visité des peuples payens.”

2. “ L’an de Jésus 1822, Louis Linant a visité ces ruines. Il est venu mandé par l’Angleterre, et il a pénétré jusqu’au royaume de Sénaar, grâce aux conquêtes d’Ismaël-Pascha, Général des armées de son père, Mehemed-Ali, Viceroy d’Egypte.”

As the third European traveller who has visited Mesaourat, I conceived myself entitled to occupy a place of honour with these gentlemen; but not being able to boast of any such lofty commissions,—for my country, so far from entrusting me with any commands, even declined my offers,—I contented myself with the following record, which my dragoman carved upon the stone:—

“ In the year 1837, of the Christian era, a German traveller * * * * visited these ruins, sent by his *spiritus familiaris*, and with the intention of penetrating as far as it may please him.”

In one of the innumerable courts of the palace there is yet another small temple, standing detached in the centre; it is probably a Typhonium, as the door-posts bear the representations of some hideous serpents coiling around them. Near it are the remains of two standing colossi, of very moderate workmanship, sculptured, like all the others, in sandstone; we nowhere saw any traces of marble or granite. This temple, too, consists chiefly of only a single cella, with two fallen columns; opposite to the entrance is a simple altar.

I am not aware that any other ruins have yet been discovered beyond the limits of these walls; yet if we endeavour to realise in our imaginations the romantic scenery of this valley, heightened by the beauties of cultivation, with ornamental gardens surrounding its palace, and woods crowning the neighbouring hills, we must allow that it afforded a most enviable rural retreat for the young Queen of the Ethiopians, from the bustle of her capital cities of Napata and Meróe.

In the afternoon we pursued our journey to the temples of El Aifatap. After riding for two hours among the mountains, an interminable plain opened before us, bounded by isolated hills, while a narrow and gradually attenuating branch of the ridge we had just quitted skirted the landscape on our left. This plain was more sterile than the former, but, like it, was occasionally enlivened by small groves, and clumps of the prickly acacia.

After four hours' quick riding, we came to the end of the mountain ridge, where we found four temples, built one below the other, on the slope towards the plain: this place is called Naga on Mr. Cadalvène's map, which is probably copied from Caillaud, as he never visited it himself. The Arabs who accompanied us did not know it by that name, but only by that of El Aifatap. At the distance of a thousand paces before the temples we discovered a lion, sitting upon its hind legs, sculptured in red stone. It is only slightly buried in the sand, and, with the exception of the head, which has been struck off, is in excellent preservation. Several of its comrades probably lie buried around it; and near it are various scattered

heaps of ruined buildings, which extend along both sides of the road, which would lead us to infer the existence of a city of some importance in ancient times.

The first of the temples, which occupies the highest ground, and lies eastward of the others, bears traces, on the surface of its hewn stones, of having been formerly coated with a very fine, firm stucco. The inner walls are covered with designs and hieroglyphics, engraven upon the naked stone, but they are very illegible.

The most frequent representation is that of the deity, with the ram's head (Ammon), to whom a king or hero is offering sacrifices; close to the latter a half circle was still plainly visible, of which I made a copy, as I could not find any similar delineation in Champollion or Wilkinson; this little sketch, however, was unfortunately lost, together with the inscription I had previously transcribed, which I regret the more, as these monuments have been hitherto almost unknown. Opposite to the entrance stands, as usual, a very simple altar, in the form of a cube. A vast number of ruined fragments were scattered about in the vicinity, and prove that extensive buildings formerly stood here: similar heaps of stones extend in a line far into the plain.

The second temple, situated about two hundred paces to the west of the former, was of much larger extent, and more highly ornamented and magnificent. Six successive gates, with many of their connecting columns, are still standing upright, closely covered with neatly-wrought sculptures, but without any trace of colouring. Over each of the gates is the winged

disk, encircled with serpents; and the broad avenue leading up from the west, still retains nearly all its sphinxes on both sides, many being in perfect preservation. The sphinxes here, and probably also those at Meroueh, are evidently that peculiar description of thick-woolled sheep, (not rams,) which is not found in any other district of Egypt, and therefore constitute a distinguishing peculiarity of this part of Ethiopia.

About five or six hundred paces further along the same western line, we came up to the third and smallest temple, which is in all probability of more recent date than the preceding; its corrupt Roman style of tasteless profusion of decorations betrays the total decline of the arts; and though partially covered with Egyptian ornaments, —without, however, any hieroglyphics or sculptures,—looks more like one of the fantastical nonentities of one of our old-fashioned gardens, than a religious edifice dedicated to the gods.

The fourth temple, which lies near to it, though scarcely half the size of the latter, is infinitely the finest of the whole group, and of a much earlier date. Its entrance, like that of the first and third, is from the east; only the second fronts the west. This entrance is built in the form of the Egyptian propylæa; on their narrow sides are represented two gigantic serpents coiling round the stalk of an equally colossal flower, and terminating above in the figure of a deity (Osiris), holding in his hand the key of the Nile.

On the left broad front of the propylæa, near the gateway, is the familiar symbol of the giant, repeated

on nearly every Egyptian monument, and which usually represents a ruler, under the form of the triumphant Osiris, brandishing his sword in one hand, and with the other holding some captives by their hair. The number of heads which the giant here grasps in his hand infinitely exceeds all similar representations which I have seen in Egypt. This strange design looks exactly like an old genealogical tree, rising in the form of a candelabrum; at the top are three enormous heads, growing one out of the other, with long stretched-out necks, and extending their lengthy misshapen arms horizontally on each side, and the intervening spaces are filled up with twenty-five smaller heads; the giant grasps the whole of this monstrosity by the long tuft of the hair of the upper head, and wields in his right hand an enormous club, instead of a sword.

On the right side of the gate is the representation of a colossal goddess, of the same size, in a similar attitude to the pendant opposite, and holding in her hand an equally enormous assemblage of heads. Neither of these designs is devoid of a certain striking effect; but, as a whole, they bespeak the decline rather than the first rude efforts of art; nor do any of the physiognomies bear the slightest trace of that wonderful fidelity and character of expression, general as well as particular, which distinguish the heads of the captives in similar designs; as, for instance, those at Thebes and Ipsamboul, by which we are, even now, enabled to determine their several origins simply by the traits of their countenances.

The interior of the temple is quite destitute of

hieroglyphics or sculptures, and appears to have been never finished, and the eye rests only upon bare, crumbling walls, and great heaps of stones. The external wall, on the other hand, contain well-executed colossal sculptures, which are mostly in good preservation. Those on the south side are in the best condition, and represent the very same procession of five divinities, one behind the other, which is seen on the typhonium at Djebel Birkel, and other places. Here, however, is a queen and her attendant lady, who are presenting the offerings; the other walls, too, appear to have been ornamented with various female figures in connection with the divinities, but they are too indistinct for us to come to any certain conclusion.

This temple, like No. 2, has a deep projecting cornice along the top, of which, however, only a few fragments are left, and these exhibit the first faint traces of colouring. All these remains bear evident marks of the violent hand of man, and we are led to infer, from the sign of a cross cut upon the walls, that Christian fanaticism has penetrated to this spot, and co-operated with pious zeal in destroying these works of art.

Extreme exhaustion; the thermometer at 35° R. within the shade of the temple; an excruciating headache, from which I was almost a constant sufferer, with no food, except some filthy water from disgusting skins, and half-mouldy biscuits—these must plead my excuse for the meagreness of this description, as well as my utter inability, being only single-handed, to take adequate copies of the most remarkable objects I have mentioned. I venture to affirm that very few

would have been able to effect more under similar circumstances.

Towards evening, after a short respite, we were again obliged to mount and pursue our journey about thirty miles further during the night, in order to discover the third and only remaining spot in this part of the country where ruins are to be met with. After a march of five hours, the dromedaries of my own and the doctor's servants were scarcely able to proceed; the difficulties of the rugged ground were greatly increased by the Egyptian darkness in which we were enveloped, and as we were scarcely able to keep on our saddles from fatigue, we resolved to ride up to a large fire which we descried on our left, and which the Sheikh assured us belonged to a Bedouin tribe of his acquaintance; here, therefore, we proposed to abide till the morning, or at least till the rising of the moon.

Notwithstanding the assurance he had just given us, Sheikh Beschir advanced with military precaution. He made us halt within some hundred paces of the fire, which brilliantly illuminated the mimosa forest around us, and despatched two of his people to reconnoitre. When they returned with their report, the Sheikh, from some cause which he did not explain, did not consider it expedient to claim hospitality here, and we once more turned aside and made up to a fire which we discerned in the far distant horizon.

We reached it in half an hour, and after following the same tactics as on the former occasion, we were at length permitted to pitch our camp upon an isolated sand-hill, at the foot of which all our animals

were ranged in a circle, like a rampart. We saw nothing of the Bedouins, to whom Sheikh Beschir paid a visit by himself, but what was infinitely more welcome, our careful guide brought us an enormous gourd-dish filled with excellent milk, together with a large supply of Arab bread-cakes, which made us a capital meal.

We were so thoroughly refreshed by a few hours' sound sleep, albeit on the hardest of couches, that we mounted our dromedaries in renewed strength and joyous spirits, and rode forward to meet the rising sun in the freshness of the early morning. We might, however, have spared ourselves all the fatigues of a long day's journey, for we discovered that the ruins, for which we had made this great *détour*, are quite insignificant. They are situated near the Nile, and consist of nothing but large masses of rubbish, from which rise three upright square pillars, ornamented with Isis' heads, having long pendant ears. Excavations were sometime ago made here by an Italian renegade, who is physician to the Governor of Khartoum; but he discovered only a few broken shafts of columns, and key-stones of gates with the symbol of the winged disk, of rather rude workmanship.

To complete our excursion we had to make a further march of two hours to Beni-Naga, near which I had appointed to meet my travelling caravan, who were to proceed by a shorter route, and await our arrival at the river. Our road along the banks of the Nile, though they were quite uncultivated, resembled a perfect garden, from the variety of beautiful shrubs

and picturesque groups of trees, amid which we had vistas of the loveliest distances; on one side, of the mountains we had just left, on the other, of the far windings of the river.

There was an abundance of game, especially hares, which the Bedouins kill by throwing stones at them. At one time a troop of six large, snow-white antelopes bounded past us, and near some tents we saw a very peculiar race of semi-wild sheep, which were totally different from ours, not merely in their form, but also in colour. Some resembled a doe, the wool of others was fawn-coloured, while a few were beautifully variegated like marble. Soon after, we saw, near Beni-Naga, a thick grove of tall palm trees, such as we had not cast eye upon for many a day; at the same time we discovered our bright green tents pitched beneath their shade, besides several "sakyehs," surrounded by the fertile meadows which they irrigate. I resolved to rest for the day. A sheep was killed for the Sheikh and his people, and roasted whole on the spot. I was content to diet upon dates and milk; a system which I pursued till I reached Khartoum, and thus completely cured my headache and other slight indispositions.

CHAPTER XII.

MARNAT—AERIAL PHENOMENON—ARRIVAL IN THE
CAPITAL OF SOUDAN.

BENI-NAGA, like Shendy, is a place of considerable extent, but it is now almost entirely deserted, being inhabited by two or three families only. Near the town stands the tomb of a famous Mohammedan santon, built in the form of a high pyramid, and terminating in a sharp point, which is the style of architecture still employed here for similar purposes. Some of these monuments have tiers of steps running up to the summit, similar to the ancient pyramids, which enabled us to ascend them with great ease. The Mohammedan pyramids, however, are never square, but invariably of a round form. They are occasionally built of hewn stone, but more generally of bricks dried in the sun, or mud mixed with straw; but rarely of burnt bricks.

Immediately on our arrival we were told of a melancholy occurrence which had happened close to our encampment the day before yesterday. Two lions advanced unawares to one of the sakyehs, where several head of cattle were fastened up, and the largest of the lions seized a cow as his prey. As he was about to carry it off, he was boldly assailed by its owner, who was attracted to the spot by its moans. In utter despair at the loss of what probably consti-

tuted the whole of his wealth, the poor black confronted the lion, and hurled his spear deep into its breast. Unhappily, the wound did not prove instantaneously fatal, and the enraged beast, at once quitting its prey, made a sudden dash at his aggressor, and tore his face with its claws, and mangled his right arm with its teeth. In the meantime several individuals belonging to the sakyeh had come up, and quickly despatched the lion with their spears; but its companion, which was a young one, effected his escape. With the indifference which characterises these men, the dead lion was roasted, and greedily devoured the same night! and its skin sold on the following morning to a Djellab, who happened to be passing. The wounded man lingered throughout the day in the most excruciating torments, and had just been buried as we arrived.

During our stay in this bivouac we had an opportunity of observing some of the peculiar phenomena of this climate, and I must confess that they are more wonderful than agreeable to witness. The wind had been very high and variable, the heat sultry and oppressive, and the sky overcast, when suddenly we were struck as by the approach of a dense mountain of sand from the south. I immediately gave orders to close my tent, in which I had just before retired to rest, and to secure it by lashing additional ropes to the surrounding trees; it happily stood firm while the hurricane of wind and sand swept over us, but it was impossible to defend ourselves against the earth and soil which it drove before it. In less than a minute such quantities of this element had penetrated

through the chinks of my tent, that my own person, and everything within the tent was covered with a black dirt, an inch thick, and but for the silk handkerchief which I had thrown over my face, I think that I must have been suffocated. All the Arabs had taken the same precaution, and thrown themselves with their faces upon the ground, where they remained motionless till the storm had passed away, which it did in about ten minutes.

In the evening I wished to cleanse myself from my sand-bath, and therefore proposed to bathe in the river, but here I was fairly tossed from Scylla to Charybdis. The only suitable spot for bathing was situated about a quarter of an hour's walk from the tents, and on my way thither I remarked a singular yellowish-red tint spreading over the northern part of the heavens, while distant lightning darted from behind the black clouds. I did not lose a moment, therefore, in plunging into the water, and I had scarcely made my first essay in swimming when large drops of rain of the size of hazel-nuts fell slowly, the sky became black as night, and in the midst of the darkness a fiery-red cloud advanced upon us with a portentous howling. I jumped out of the river as quickly as I had just before plunged into it, that I might at least have my clothes on before the threatening storm broke over us. But it was too late, and I had barely time to throw on my bathing-cloak, when a cloud burst in a torrent such as I had never before witnessed, accompanied by fearful crashing of thunder and flashes of vivid lightning. I cannot sufficiently admire the presence of mind of the three

negroes of the Sheikh Beschir by whom I was accompanied. It was the work of an instant to roll me up with all my clothes in the large carpet which lay spread upon the shore, and to throw themselves over me on the side from which the storm came, like a living wall of flesh and bone. We thus formed a compact mass, able to resist both the fury of the storm and the sweeping flood; I suffered nothing beyond the discomfort of remaining for some time drenched to the skin, and dressing in the rain when the storm abated, after which I did not fail to seek the shelter of my tent with the utmost speed.

The storm, however, continued throughout the night, raging with unequal violence, and by the morning my double tent-roof was no longer able to resist the entrance of the water. Happily this little adventure was not followed by any attack of fever; in this climate you are certainly not so liable to catch cold as in one under northern latitudes, for the heat continues nearly equal under every change of weather. However, I remained here till one o'clock the following day, in order thoroughly to dry our effects, as well as ourselves, in the sun, ere we again set out on our journey.

At first the country was still diversified with shrubs, though mostly leafless, and we met many travellers on foot, or mounted on camels, horses, and asses; they were all armed with shields and spears, and were generally fine, tall, well-made men; they were natives of Soudan, and greatly superior, especially in the form of the leg and calf, to the Arabs we had hitherto seen, and who, notwithstanding their muscular strength,

are commonly not gifted with anything better than spindle-legs. They returned our greetings with much friendliness, and their whole demeanour, though less dignified and *distingué* than that of the Shaki and Djaalin Arabs, was more pleasing, free, and good-natured.

After a few hours' march all traces of vegetation vanished, and the dead, level plain was skirted only by an isolated, long and low granite-ridge, which resembled the ruins of a city, and, by the fairy *mirage* of the desert, was surrounded by a lake of the most deceptive reality. The soil is everywhere much impregnated with salt.

The route from this place was extremely monotonous till we arrived, in the evening, at the region of the last, or sixth, Cataract of the Nile, where the eye is gladdened by the sight of a fresher vegetation; granite rocks of varied forms, and more pleasing character of scenery than those at Assouan, stretch directly across the country to the distance of several leagues from the banks of the Nile. According to the partition of the Arabs, the highest of these rocks, lying near the road, marks the boundary line between Nubia and Soudan; it is a spot of romantic beauty, skirted by a thick wood towards the river-side, while a blue mountain chain rises on its southern front, and making a bend eastward terminates in a singular rocky group. It looks at a distance like the tombs of santons, or an assemblage of gigantic hay-ricks of similar size and form, but ranged in irregular clumps, and rising singly from one base, without having, from this point of view, any apparent connection.

This spot recalled the enthusiastic feelings with which I had formerly entered Nubia at Assouan, and how little I then dreamt that I should ever emerge on the other side. Dr. Koch, to whom I communicated this remark, observed, "And how many penetrate beyond Nubia from this point, who will never return."* "This, indeed," I replied, "we *must* leave to the future, and I hope for the sake of those who love us that Heaven has designed some other fate for us. Yet in my unceasing migration through the world, it is all one to me on what spot of earth my soul shall deposit its earthly tenement, to pursue under a new form of existence a more interesting and extensive field of research. I am always prepared for such a result, though by no means desirous to hasten it, and least of all by needless anxiety; in this calm state of mind I am able to act in the spirit of the most difficult precept of our religion, and to bless them that curse me. And for the rest," added I, "a physician and a practical philosopher have surely less cause of apprehension than others. You will cure both yourself and me, should we become sick, while I on my part, will not fail to fortify our minds with the maxims of wisdom, whenever we are attacked by spleen, or are home-sick, or the heat proves insupportable; it is only necessary that we have faith in each other, I in your skill of healing, you in my philosophy, and as this is for our mutual interest we must lay aside all scepticisms in this respect." The Doctor was con-

* These words proved prophetic in the case of the poor Doctor, who died in the course of the present year, 1844, at Khartoum, during his second journey to Sennaar.

tent, and we pursued our journey with renewed confidence, like the blind and the lame.

We now turned westwards, in the direction of the wood and the river, and being no longer able to penetrate through the high and luxuriant thorn bushes, we rode along the meandering course of a dry canal, which is filled only during the inundation of the Nile, till we reached the small village of Marnat, where our caravan had made a halt. We were enraptured with the luxuriance and inimitable beauty of this tropical region; it was truly an ideal wilderness, and here probably unique in its kind, especially as the proximity of the water had already clothed its countless trees, shrubs, and plants with the brightest verdure and abundant blossoms. Innumerable species of mimosa, acacia, savines, tujas, willows, and poplars, besides a great variety of trees and shrubs, unknown to me, interlaced and covered with a thick webbing of parasites, overshadowed the neat straw huts which were clustered in this little paradise.

We found our tents pitched near the margin of a broad arm of the Nile, over which we commanded an extensive prospect. The river is studded with small verdant islands, and rugged, detached granite rocks; opposite to us was a large and thickly-wooded island, containing an extensive village, whence a boat, which served as a ferry, kept up a constant communication between the two banks. This boat was composed of only one single trunk hollowed out, and when occupied by ten or twelve persons was raised scarcely half an inch above the water. The oars consisted of small paddles, two feet in length, resembling

ladles. On one occasion it conveyed eight sable ladies, and their embarkation was attended with as much formality as if they had been European exclusives. Truly the fair sex is everywhere the same, whether they wear nose and ankle rings as here, or ear-rings and bracelets as with us. We were treated with much kindness by these children of nature, who supplied us amply with excellent cow's milk, and readily killed a young kid for our use.

The station was altogether so lovely that had I been less urged by time and curiosity I could willingly have passed some months here. Everything reminded us of our northern spring; the heat was not oppressive, though the sky was unclouded, and fresh exhalations rose from the river, while a number of birds of brilliant plumage sang and fluttered gaily around us. There was nothing to remind us of Africa save the swarthy natives, and a young crocodile which had taken up its abode on a rock opposite our tent, on which it continued for hours together lying with open mouth, and inhaling the fresh air. Guinea fowl, as large as peacocks, abound here; we shot several of them, which were reported excellent, though I had no opportunity of pronouncing upon them, as I continued faithful to my milk diet.

We spent the following day in rambling about the beautiful environs; but this was no easy adventure, on account of the thickly overgrown brushwood and the absence of paths accessible to all who wear anything beyond Nature's robe, for it seems that the skin of the blacks is far less susceptible of thorns and briars than our garments.

We recommenced our journey at noon on the 29th of April, quitting with much regret the lovely Marnat, whose bright image will never be effaced from my recollection. The road led along, and partly through, the mountain ridge, which we had seen some days before ; we had a fatiguing ride of seven hours, under a broiling sun, for the temperature was again sultry.

Nothing remarkable presented itself in the course of the day, except an unusually pretty burying-ground, near a large village ; almost every grave was bordered with well-burnt, reddish-brown, glazed tiles, resembling porcelain, and the inner space was inlaid with coloured pebbles in various patterns.

M. Cadalvène mentions having seen similar graves, and affirms that the pebbles were thus placed that the deceased on visiting his grave might find materials at hand for counting his beads. No one here, however, knew anything of such refinement, and the invariable response which I received to my inquiries was that ornament was the only object in this custom : it prevails as far down as Wadi Halfa, but I have nowhere seen it carried out with so much taste as in this little village.

We again took up our night's quarters under some lofty acacias on the Nile, near a solitary peaked mountain, which bore traces of a fallen crater, and was evidently an extinct volcano. At this station I was met by a messenger, richly attired in blue and white, who was despatched by Khourshid Pasha, the Governor of Soudan, to whom I had written to announce my arrival a week ago ; the Governor being

alarmed at my non-appearance, had sent his servant, mounted on his fleetest dromedary, to make inquiries respecting me. As soon as he had received my answer, he took his leave, and set off at such a long trot, that I could no longer doubt his previous assurance that he should reach Khartoum before midnight, a journey which generally occupies full fourteen hours. We, unhappily, do not travel quite so fast, as our animals are very indifferent.

Twilight was approaching, when I set out upon a solitary ramble along the banks of the Nile, to stretch my limbs, which were stiff, from our long ride. On coming to an abrupt turn of the river, I at once found myself in a small grassy knoll, completely surrounded by rocks, and seeming to belong half to the land, and half to the water. Here I beheld, to my extreme delight, an enormous hippopotamus, grazing with the utmost composure, and not the least annoyed by the vicinity of our glowing watch-fire, and the noise of our bivouac. I immediately summoned the Doctor and my people, to see this interesting animal, which we were enabled to observe for above half an hour, with the greatest leisure and minuteness, being scarcely a hundred paces from it. The German designation of a Nile horse is very inaccurate; the Arabs call it more correctly "water ox," though it might as appropriately be called water hog, for it occupies a middle place between these two animals, and in its manner bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to the former. Yet its misshapen head, which is out of all proportion to the rest of the body, its horrid glaring eyes, which protrude like cannon-balls, are peculiar

only to itself. It is very harmless, destructive to the farmer only from its voracious appetite, and never dangerous except when excited to combat. The animal which engaged our attention would probably have passed the whole night in our vicinity, as there was abundant pasture, had not a vessel under full sail passed up the river. On its approach the creature appeared much annoyed at the interruption, shook its head, opened its mouth with its numerous fangs, three or four times, then marched into the river with a slow and stately pace, raised its head once or twice above the surface, and then plunged to the bottom, just as the vessel was about to sail over it.

There it probably found more comfortable repose than we did on *terra firma*, for scarcely had we retired to bed when we were called to endure a second edition of the sand-storm. Though its violence gradually abated, it continued to rage for five hours, during which our people were actively engaged in endeavouring to keep the tent from being upset. The wind carried off the doctor's *souper*, extinguished the fire, and filled even our closely-covered chests and trunks with fine dust; and we were forced, after a sleepless night, to spend the whole morning in cleaning and arranging our things. The weather, in the meantime, became extremely cold, which is a very unusual occurrence, and I could scarcely keep myself warm even by wrapping up in a second cloak. All these detentions delayed our departure till two o'clock in the afternoon.

SHORT EPISODE.

I MUST here, after an interval of three years, make a short pause to express my pleasure that the above-mentioned account of my *entrevue* with the hippopotamus, was communicated by some talismanic influence, long ere I had myself revealed it, to our highly respected Prussian counsellor, M. Charles Immermann, by whom it was published in his "Annals of Münchausen," with a version conceived in the happiest spirit of ingenuity—such as I could in vain have attempted! I must only record my protest against the relation, that the Nile ox ever swallowed, and then vomited me forth again. Such a distinction would bring me into too close resemblance to the prophet Jonas, which my modesty begs to decline. It is also not probable that I should have cried out in such an emergency: *Monsieur, Monsieur, avec permission, je suis son altesse telle et telle.* This is bad French, and by no means characteristic. It is far more likely that I should have endeavoured to set forth my indigestibility to the hippopotamus, who was possessed by the demon of Immermann, in some such strain as this: *Mon cher animal, cheval, bœuf ou cochon, qui que vous soyez, laissez-moi tranquille! Votre nature est de manger du foin:—ne sutor ultra crepidam—*keep to your own trade, hippopotamus! and if the monster had considered this too long a speech from one within his very jaws, I should for once have pleaded the example of German comic writers, who long *before* the time of Immermann have considered it their privilege to retail

their gold-dust unwashed, and mixed with all its native impurities.*

The soil of the desert which we traversed to-day, contains a large proportion of salt; the natives merely dig small pits in the ground, of which we saw many thousands on both sides of the road, and boil the produce in water, by which process they obtain a very considerable quantity of salt, amounting to about a sixth per cent.

We found the road to-day even more animated than yesterday; among other travellers we met a person who appeared to be of some consequence, attended by a large retinue, while his gay costume and his peaked parasol hat, manufactured of paper, gave him the air of a Chinese mandarin. After proceeding about seventeen miles we halted at seven o'clock near a flock of goats, beneath some mimosa trees, in order to rest ourselves and secure a double portion of my allowance of milk. We resumed our journey by starlight that we might, if possible, reach Khartoum early on the following morning.

The road was now extremely rugged and overgrown with brushwood, so that we were not unfrequently caught among the thorns, and had great difficulty, in the darkness of the night, to keep our party together. At length, however, the Doctor and my valet lost their way, being unable to keep up with us, owing to the extreme weariness of their

* Poor Immermann is since dead; but as the passage in his *Münchhausen* concerning me still exists, I may also suffer my reply to survive, for it was written during his life-time, and published in one of our journals.

camels. I despatched the dragoman in search of them without effect, and after waiting a considerable time, and shouting in all directions, we were forced to leave them to find their own way; this we could do with the less hesitation, as it was now near daybreak, and we were within half an hour of Halfaja, a large village. Here they arrived in safety, after wandering about the wood in the utmost anxiety; they roused the sheikh, procured from him asses and a guide, and reached Khartoum three hours after us.

This town lies at the angle of the fork which is formed by the junction of the White and Blue rivers, those two large arms of the Nile, of which it yet remains undecided which is properly entitled to bear the name of this river.* Its lofty mosque and battlemented walls give it an imposing appearance at a distance, but a close approach undeceived us, and, like all the towns in this region, its buildings were only rude erections of clay without any dressing. The environs on this side are chiefly desert, or fields destitute of trees; in the immediate vicinity alone we saw a few gardens, and, indeed, we had no right to expect more, for it was only within the last ten years that this capital of Soudan first rose up in the desert, by command of Mehemet Ali.

Before crossing the Blue River, which flows close by the town, and along its whole extent, I was met by the treasurer of Khourchid Pacha, who came to welcome me in the name of his master, and to conduct me in his elegant bark to the house prepared for my recep-

* This, however, would now appear to be decided.

tion. This was a specimen of the characteristic taste of the Turks and Orientals—I mean their strange and peculiar medley of splendour, dirt, and poverty—which, in the fashion of the country, were here blended in yet more glaring contrast. Its external walls were of clay, having a high, ornamented gate-way, through which we entered by a verandah into an apartment of considerable size; the roof, however, was formed of rough beams, and the floor of beaten earth, which a slave watered every two hours, from large ox-skins, in order to lay the dust. The divan, which was raised a foot and extended along three sides of the room, being nothing more than an elevated floor with a wooden ledge, but was, nevertheless, covered with a profusion of the richest carpets, and soft cushions of variously-coloured silks. The ground near the divan was spread with those beautiful mats of the palm-leaf for which Soudan is famous.

The walls of this palace had lately undergone the distinguished luxury of whitewashing, but they had already assumed the prevailing mud tint, and the whole furniture of the saloon consisted of large jars of burnt clay containing water from the Nile: this was constantly replenished, as it filtered into the large basins, where it sparkled like crystal, and retained the freshness of spring water. Upon shelves along the wall were ranged the bardocks, or porous water-filters, which I have already described, always ready for use. A dozen richly-dressed but barefooted attendants awaited my orders in the saloon, and presented me with splendid pipes, coffee, and sherbet, in costly vessels.

The sleeping-rooms leading out of the state apartments were hideous to an extreme,—worse than the lodging of the poorest peasant in Europe. I therefore resolved to occupy the divan, and could not help heartily commiserating my people and the slaves in being obliged to take up their abode in these dank, muddy holes. A separate house had been prepared for the Doctor, which was a miniature copy of my own, and not inferior to it in a daubing of filth and splendour.

[CHAPTER XIII.

KHARTOUM.

I HAD not been installed five minutes in my new abode, when I was visited by General Mustapha Bey, the military governor of the town and commander of the Viceroy's regular troops in Soudan; he was attended by a numerous retinue, and having twice cordially embraced me, seated himself beside me on the ottoman. He is said to be one of Mehemet Ali's best officers, and had a martial, decided bearing, which became him very well. At present, however, he fills but a subordinate situation, having been formerly Governor of the kingdom of Kordofan, where it is reported he made too free a use of his power, and amassed a very large fortune.

After a quarter of an hour Khourshid Pacha himself came, attended with still greater pomp than the general, and honoured me with a similar twofold embrace. Like all the grandees of Egypt, Khourshid Pacha is a person of polished manners and the most winning courtesy, but he bore evident traces of the effects of the climate, and had a feeble, sickly appearance. I afterwards learnt, that though he was greatly feared, he was by no means liked, on account of his extreme avarice, by which he is said to have accumulated above a million of Spanish dollars, during the ten or twelve years of his governorship.

He was treated with almost greater demonstrations of outward respect than even Mehemet Ali himself, and his physician, the Italian renegade whom I have already mentioned, who holds the rank of Colonel, when he received the Pacha's permission to be seated, did not venture to occupy any place but a mat on the floor. None but the general was seated on the sofa with the Pacha and myself; the rest of the party stood without their shoes, those of superior rank upon the divan, the inferior class upon mats, and the lowest of all occupied the bare floor, which was still wet from its recent watering.

Our conversation was soon over, and when my guests had taken leave, the steward of the governor entered, followed by a long train of servants bearing the various accompaniments of a Turkish banquet, which though very ample, was nevertheless, extremely bad. A Sicilian Jew at the same time made his appearance, who supplied me with execrable hock, for which he charged me eighty piastres per bottle. This man, who carried on a trade in all sorts of European trash, and always at a similar tariff, filled also the office of apothecary to the Government; and truly the fate of the hapless soldiers in the hospital, who are forced against their will to swallow his nauseous drugs, is deserving our pity. As he doubtless regarded me as a singularly welcome prize, he became at length so exceedingly troublesome, that I was obliged to have him turned out of doors. It is deeply to be lamented that all the samples of Europeans settled in these countries bear the same stamp.

In the evening I returned the Pacha's visit; he

received me with all the barbaric splendour which could be mustered for the occasion, but his house, though very much larger, was not at all superior to the one assigned to my use. During this interview, as well as on several subsequent occasions, the Pacha communicated to me much valuable information respecting the unexplored regions to the south. I was particularly interested with his account of an expedition which he had made some years ago, at the head of 2000 troops, when he penetrated to a distance, as he assured me, of thirty-two days' journey (reckoning the day's march at six to eight hours), up the banks of the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White Nile, partly by land and partly by water. He represented the soil of the region which he traversed as extremely fertile, full of forests of lofty trees (the *Adansonia* and cocoa palm, as it would seem), bounded occasionally only by high, steep mountains, slenderly cultivated, and the population more fierce and warlike the further he advanced; nor was any supply of food to be obtained from them without previous fighting or force. He described them as a tall, vigorous, and finely-formed race of jet-black negroes, completely naked, without even an apron, and utterly devoid of religion—that is, apparently so, being neither Mahometans, Jews, nor Christians. Among some of the tribes both men and women shave their heads, but wear no covering against the scorching heat. A few among them had a beard.

During the winter season the mountainous districts are excessively cold, and the natives are in the habit of making large fires and burying themselves around

them in the heated sand. "Sometimes," said the Pacha, laughing, "when we unexpectedly surprised them, we discovered them on all sides working themselves out of the ground like moles." Their weapons consist of shields, bows, javelins, and arrows; the latter are sometimes tipped with such a deadly poison that their wounds always prove fatal. Not a man among them would yield his arms but with his life, and the Pacha could not speak with sufficient admiration of the heroic valour and contempt of death with which these savages maintain their ground.

The water of the river was everywhere found to be abundant, and generally deep, without any apparent diminution, although the stream frequently divides into branches, which form or embrace countless islands, many of which are thickly wooded. On two occasions the expedition sailed up one of these arms, but at last found it so much spread over the plain as to be too uncertain and dangerous for navigation; they therefore turned back and explored one which had securer boundaries. In consequence of this detention, however, it was nearly fifty days before they could set out on their return. The banks of one of these arms or tributaries of the White Nile, (for it is probable that many which are considered arms are, in fact, tributaries) were much better cultivated than the others; there were numbers of villages scattered among its fertile fields, but the inhabitants were as savage as their neighbours, on which account, the Pacha observed with the utmost *sang-froid*, "he had considered himself obliged," in plain Turkish, to burn

the greater part of these villages, and carry off the natives as slaves.

The Governor assured me that he had seen two pyramids, one on each side of the river, at Taïphafan, in the land of the Tengars or Tongars, near the point where he commenced his return, that in their style of architecture they exactly resembled those of Ghizeh, although not so lofty nor broad at the base, and having a flattened apex, as if for the purpose of holding statues. He assured me that both diverged from the base with a considerable inclination to the south, which gave them the appearance of being awry, though he was unable to state whether they had been so constructed by design, or whether it was the result of an earthquake; the blocks of which they were built were of the same formation as the neighbouring mountains, and were placed in steps one above another, which rendered their ascent tolerably easy.

Though we cannot place entire reliance upon reports such as these, yet it is not likely that the grave Turk should have desired to palm a pure invention upon me in the presence of so many witnesses, several of whom had accompanied him on the expedition, and frequently corrected or confirmed his statements; still less is it possible that while giving such a detailed account of the subject, the Pacha and his attendants could have laboured under any gross illusion. If, however, his report be correct, it cannot be questioned that, upon closer examination, this fact will throw a most important light upon the ancient

history of these countries. Did Rameses-Sesostris penetrate thus far in his triumphant conquests, and did he, to commemorate this wonderful exploit, rear those gigantic monuments on either bank of the mysterious river, whose sources seemed unattainable?— or, in the dawn of history, did there exist some nation in this quarter, whose rude but colossal genius suggested the ennobled imitation of Egypt in a later age? These buildings, if they should be really extant, may give a complete elucidation of this enigma.

Khourchid Pacha could not give me any information respecting the half-fabulous mountains of the Moon; though, according to his report, he must have crossed at least the eighth degree of latitude; he had neither seen nor heard anything which could lead him to infer their existence in this direction, as laid down in our maps. According to all appearance of probability these mountains, if they actually exist, must lie more to the south and east, further back in Abyssinia, and in connection with some of its own lofty highlands. Khourchid Pacha agreed in this latter conjecture, and even Mehemet Ali, when we were conversing about Bruce, expressed an opinion that the real sources of the Nile must be sought for in the high mountain ridges beyond Abyssinia.

Though these sources of the Nile have been looked for in vain during the last four thousand years, I am convinced, as well from the information I have received, as from my own more familiar acquaintance with these countries, that there are no insuperable difficulties to oppose such a discovery, if only the right means are employed; and here I cannot help express-

ing my surprise that so easy a method of establishing an eternal fame has never yet suggested itself to any of the governments of Europe, nor even to one of the many wealthy natives of Great Britain, who, in general, take so much interest in subjects of this kind, are animated by such an innate love of travelling, and moreover possess the amplest means at their command for carrying out an enterprise of this nature. If such an individual or government were to declare their readiness to the Viceroy, to bear the whole expense of the expedition, and satisfy him that their only object was the promotion of science, there would not be the slightest difficulty, with a little *savoir faire*, in obtaining the most efficient support of the Egyptian government; but *without* it the execution of such a project would doubtless be extremely difficult.*

* We now know with certainty, if not the sources, yet at least the course, of the Bahr-el-Abiad, nearly up to its rise; also the actual situation of the mountains (the mountains of the Moon, if you will) whence the White Nile has its origin; though they have been found considerably to the south, and also much further east, than was formerly assumed, which, singularly enough, agrees with the conjecture of the Pacha at Khartoum, and Mehemet Ali himself. Yet to whom are we indebted that this mystery of 4000 years has at length been unveiled? Solely to the "useless, self-aggrandising barbarian," Mehemet Ali, who, in the course of three years, fitted out three expeditions, and would not rest till he had attained his object. Will not this put some check to the attacks of ignorant critics? They may impute whatever motives they please, but they cannot deny the result. His energy has executed, almost in sport, what has hitherto baffled the efforts of all the nations of the earth; and the unlettered Turk has won immortal renown in the cause of science! It would almost seem as if fate had sought to indemnify him by this unlooked-for fame among the civilised world in Europe, for all the injustice which has been done to him by the other powers of this quarter of the globe, in a political, or, more truly, unpolitical point of view.

At the Governor's, too, I obtained from an old *Djaus* some further particulars respecting Manderah. According to his account it is only sixteen hours' journey from Abou Heraz, eastward of the Nile; he also confirmed the existence of ruins upon a mountain in the plain, but was unable to give any details, having, as he said, paid too little attention to these things. I at once requested the Governor to permit this man to accompany me as a guide on my journey, and then took leave to pay my respects to Mustapha Bey.

I found his house furnished with glass windows, the only one in Khartoum, except the Harem of the Governor's, which enjoys this luxury. He told us a great deal about Kordofan and the gold-mines of Sheibon (not Shabun, as it is called in the maps), where the Austrian mineralogists are now engaged in exploring the gold-mines under the able direction of M. Russeger, but are expected to return to this place on the approach of the rainy season. They have an escort of 400 Infantry and 200 Cavalry — a large convoy for a party of scientific explorers; but this was considered indispensable for their protection, as the brave and warlike blacks are rather jealous of their gold, and pursue the washings of the sand, though very imperfectly, yet with great diligence, and carry on a considerable trade in this ore with Kordofan, Sennaar, and even Dongola.

Mustapha Bey has lately been at war with them, burnt Sheibon, and subdued some of the mountain districts, but it would seem could not maintain his position there. The chief object of the expedition

was the capture of slaves. Among the most remarkable productions of Kordofan he mentioned an enormous tree, having a very spongy wood, and bearing a fruit of the size of an ostrich egg, containing a milky pulp of agreeable flavour. The same tree occurs, though not frequently, in some districts of Sennaar, where it is called Kangulos. In Kordofan it goes by the name of Hōmër or Tebeld. Mustapha Bey assured me that he had measured trunks of this tree, which were above seventy feet in girth; its height, though considerable, bears no proportion to this enormous thickness. Its branches spread very far, but the wood is so bad that it is not even fit for fuel. It is probably a species of *Adansonia* or *Sotor*.

Faithful to my old prejudice, I also asked him respecting the unicorn, but without success. He, however, sent for two splendid specimens of Rhinoceros horns, which he presented to me. One measured exactly one and a half Paris] feet in length, and the other, which is thicker at the root, is half a foot shorter.

He knew nothing of any volcanoes or hot springs, nor of grottoes with Egyptian hieroglyphics, of which Dr. Rüppel speaks; but he gave me a long account of the remarkable mountain territory of Tagaleh, to the south-east of Kordofan, which is rich, and not wholly uncivilised. Though lying directly between Kordofan and Sennaar, yet its naturally strong position, seconded by an excellent system of military organisation, has hitherto enabled its brave population to withstand all the attacks of their enemies. There are only two entrances into this inaccessible region, by almost im-

passable defiles, leading across the towering porphyry and granite rocks; it is yet further protected by an impenetrable forest of the prickly mimosa, which completely encloses it, and extends from about the $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the 11° of north latitude.

The government is thoroughly despotic. The present sultan is a young man of distinguished talents, and able to raise an army of 50,000 men. Gold is found in this district, and the gold washing at Sheibon, which adjoins it, is principally managed by Negroes in the service of the ruler of Tagaleh. They carry on some trade with the foreign *Djellabs*, and are not destitute of a certain degree of luxury, which at the court of the sultan is displayed in a very elegant costume.

All the land is the property of the sovereign, who also possesses the same right over every one of his subjects. Yet it is said that the people are governed with justice and mildness. On the death of the sultan, all his subjects, both men and women, are obliged to shave their heads, and cover them with dust and ashes, and to mourn for the deceased a whole year. At the same time all the males among the cattle are put to death, and it is not till after the expiration of the mourning, that they undertake predatory excursions into the neighbourhood, for the purpose of replenishing their stock. This latter custom seems almost incredible, yet Mustapha Pasha repeatedly assured me of its entire authenticity; and in truth the follies of mankind in every age of the world, have been too outrageous for us to doubt even the greatest absurdities. Perhaps we may detect some political motives for such a measure

—the maintenance of a warlike, predatory spirit, and to furnish the people with occupation abroad on the accession of a new sovereign.

The general was of opinion that any European who announced himself simply as a merchant, would find little difficulty in obtaining admission to Tagaleh, as there was no religious fanaticism there, and he did not even know for certain, whether all the inhabitants professed Islamism.

The Nuba negroes, a handsome and vigorous race, who have remarkably pleasing countenances, live more to the south, on the Djebel Kadro. They are black as jet, often tattoo their arms, breast, and stomach, and mark the figures of the sun, moon, and stars upon their bodies with a knife, like the inhabitants of Darfour, and even of a portion of Lower Nubia. They make use of poisoned lances, pointed with iron and wood, sometimes paint part of their body of a red colour, and wear sandals of elephant's skin, of which their shields also are made. They have some manufactures, and make elaborate and elegant articles of leather and rushes. They are brave and warlike, but at the same time of a savage character.

Mustapha Pasha, who had several obstinate engagements with them, told me that he had never met with a coward among them, and was seldom able to take any prisoners, except such as were severely wounded; since even against the greatest inequality of numbers, they always defended themselves to the last man. On many mountains—for instance, the Djebel Njucker and Turban—they are said to eat human flesh; it is at least certain that they are not choice in their food, for

neither fresh nor tainted meat, rats, serpents, toads, or vermin of any kind, are ever disdained by them.

Both the men and women not only wear rings in their noses and ears, but likewise long porcupine quills, which protrude from both sides of the nose. Their language, like that of the Shilluk, is rich and full, with many guttural sounds. They are not acquainted with the rite of circumcision, and no religious worship is observed among them, yet they are far more intelligent than the Shilluk negroes. I afterwards learnt from Mr. Russegger, that it is three days' journey through the country of these people from Djebel Kadro to the Djebel Hedra. On the west, you pass in succession, the mountains of Abile, Manichedan, Kulfan, and Debri; in the east, Gualih, Deri, Njucker, and Turban. The Hedra, which stands quite isolated, is of granite formation. The plain consists of a clayey soil, which in the rainy season becomes an almost impassable morass, and is traversed by forests of acacia, mimosa, gum, and incense trees, besides cactus and poisonous euphorbiæ, the juice of which makes the wounds inflicted by the native weapons so deadly. Civet cats, the brown tetal, and other very large antelopes, about the size of small horses, with a brown head and back, and all the rest of the body snow-white, are frequently seen by travellers. Serpents of a large size are also met with; among others, the boa anaconda.

It is only one day's journey from Hedra to Sheibon, which was totally destroyed by Mustapha Pasha, in the last war with the natives; its site, on an isolated rock, would be extremely well calculated for a military

station. Beyond Sheibon the character of the country suddenly changes, and the traveller might fancy himself in India. Two leagues before reaching Sheibon, extends a luxuriant and splendid forest, where besides gigantic delebb and cocoa palms, there are still more colossal tamarinds, and boabab trees, and the crowns of the cassia fistula and sotor are adorned with yellow and red flowers. Some of the *Adansonia* were covered with white flowers, and fruits twenty pounds in weight hung from others;—prodigious figs, oleanders and cactus, mimosas and acacias, of every variety of species and blossom, the finest hot-house and green-house plants, such as fuchsia, *pancratium*, species of iris, sambuk, &c., unite to enrich this luxuriant forest, which is inhabited by innumerable elephants, several herds of which came nearer the caravan than was agreeable to the travellers.

The Djebel Sheibon consists of the gneiss and granite of the Swiss Alps, the first primitive rocks, which, according to Mr. Russegger's opinion, he met with in Africa, for the beautiful granite of Assouan, &c., he takes to be of volcanic origin. To the east of Sheibon are the mountains of Aboul Shavareh Kavarmeh; in the west, El-Bouram, Moahri, Toungour; to the south, the Djebel Teerah and the plains of the country of the Fartit. Between the Djebel Teerah, which is one day's journey from Sheibon, is another, and even yet more extensive tropical forest. All the above-mentioned mountains are extremely populous. They are covered with negroes, as numerous as swarms of ants, and some of them afford shelter to above 5000 people. Djebel Teerah,

which Mr. Russegger could only examine superficially, consists of primitive gneiss, quartz, common feldspar, and veins of green stone. These isolated and low groups of mountains, are probably the continuation of a chain of primitive rocks, which traverses Africa, from the north-east to the south-west, as miners express it, and which seems to be the real seat of the gold in this part of the world. Between the Djebel Teerah and the Toungour is a plain of alluvial soil and sand, rich in gold-dust. It may be taken for granted that the gold washing of the Nubas in this part, though very unskilfully performed, yields from two to three francs per man daily; and the Austrian naturalists affirm that wherever they took up sand, they found it more or less impregnated with gold.

I devoted the greater part of the following day to rest, and to a very moderate enjoyment, after my late privations. I was obliged to deny myself the pleasure of bathing in the river, which nobody ventured to attempt, on account of the numbers and rapacity of the crocodiles along this bank. When the cool of the evening set in, I was therefore obliged to content myself with a *fresh-air* bath, making a promenade through the town and its environs.

I first viewed the barracks, which, as well as the hospital, I found in a wretched condition. The want of cleanliness, in particular, appeared to me truly disgusting. The rooms of the men, and even of the subaltern officers, were only dusty, dark, offensive holes; and the arms of the whole company, with leather and other utensils, were piled pell-mell and full of dirt in separate, distant rooms. Similar holes composed

the lazaretto, where the offensive effluvia was so intense that I could not do more than take a hasty glance at them. The apology made for this was, that the new barracks were in the course of erection, and that, till they were finished, it was necessary to make shift in this manner.

The entire separation of the arms from the men, was accounted for, by representing that the negro soldiers were not to be trusted, and that they would very probably desert with their arms if they always had them at hand.

These negroes, who are for the greater part procured by the unmerciful slave-hunts, which take place every year for three months, are, in truth, a most miserable set of soldiers, and very imperfectly trained in the European fashion. It is affirmed, that the regiment must be renewed almost every three years, because, during that time, a great part of them desert, or die of grief, misery, and want, and especially of home sickness, which often becomes epidemic amongst them.

I found the bazaar but poorly furnished, except in the article of slaves, but the place, upon the whole, was not so bad, and the town itself would have a tolerable appearance if the dirty clay bricks, of which all the houses are built, were whitewashed. The streets are rather broader than is usual in this country, and there is more regularity in the plan, as well as in the mode of building. A new mosque which was only half finished, built of well-burnt clinkers and having a lofty tower, even promises to be handsome, and suited to its destination.

I was surprised to find the Abyssinian slaves, almost

as dear here as in Cairo itself; but there was a much greater number of handsome young women and girls here. This article of commerce was so attractive that my *valet-de-chambre*, Ackerman, the dragoman, and my cook, simultaneously applied to me for permission to purchase some, giving me pretty plainly to understand, that in case of a refusal they should look out for another master; and as I had much more need of them here, than they of me, I was forced to give my consent, though with extreme reluctance and dissatisfaction, because this would be establishing a complete harem in my suite during our homeward journey; and in the sequel I found to my cost, how much my servants were thereby led to neglect their duties more and more every day.

It has often struck me as a great incongruity, how people, who, when in Europe, Englishmen not excepted, bristle up at the very mention of slavery, can find it so agreeable to possess slaves themselves when they are here. It seems that the force of bad example gradually misleads everybody. I am not readily caught by theory, and treat my slaves in a kind and friendly manner; and experience has taught me that they feel more satisfied than our free servants in Europe, who very frequently aim at being masters themselves.

At the termination of our perambulation through the town, which, in spite of the heat, we accomplished chiefly on foot, we rested in a large vineyard, where good purple and white grapes were set before us, which even now, on the last day of April, were ripe.

The cultivation of the vine has been introduced

into the Soudan since its conquest by Mehemet Ali, till which time it was wholly unknown.

On the 1st of May, I again had a long conversation with the Pasha, which chiefly related to lions and crocodiles. The ferocity and rapacity of the latter, appear to be as inexhaustible a topic of conversation here, as the weather is among us; and the Pasha assured me to-day that he had lately been present at the capture of one of these monsters, in the stomach of which they found the hoof of a horse with the shoe still fastened to it, and also the red girdle of a fisherman.

When the crocodile has caught any creature, he usually swims with it into the middle of the stream, and holds it in the air several times, to ascertain whether it is dead. If it still shows any sign of life, the crocodile again dives with it, and not before he is fully convinced that his prey is dead, does he repair to a sand-bank, to devour it at leisure.

During this conversation, we saw above a dozen crocodiles basking in the sun, on the banks of the river, which flowed close by the window, through the middle of the town. They were all large, and of a variety of colours—grey, black, and yellow predominated, and some were spotted with all these colours blended, and forming a most detestable *mélange*. One member of this party was particularly distinguished by his gigantic body, and I was informed that he was well known to the natives at Khartoum, by the name of “the Sheikh,” and that he was equally feared and venerated, for, as in the time of the ancient Egyptians, a kind of superstitious worship is still paid to some of these animals. To give chase to “the Sheikh,” would be considered

a crime, though he himself manifests little gratitude for the reverence paid him, having already devoured many victims.

The lions of Sennaar likewise attain a colossal magnitude, and in the house of the Governor I saw the skin of one, which from the snout to the tip of the tail measured twenty feet. The African lion, at least north of the line, is well known to be destitute of a mane, which greatly detracts from its beauty. Khourchid Pasha long possessed a tame lion, whose teeth he had caused to be extracted, after which the noble beast became quite harmless, yet he was often a source of much embarrassment to his master.

One day the Governor was at prayers in a solitary chamber of his palace, and prostrate with his face to the ground, when the lion ran in, and laid himself on him with his whole weight; the Governor was for a long time unable to move, and was almost suffocated, before his attendants, attracted by his cries, came to his relief. The lion seemed excessively amused with this trick, and a few days after, when the Kadi waited on the Governor, dressed in a red garment, the animal, perhaps a little incited by the unusual sight of the gay colour, stole softly behind him, leaped upon his back, threw the affrighted man down, and remained quietly but obstinately lying upon him, notwithstanding the agonising cry of terror which the poor Kadi uttered, amidst the laughter of the persons present; but an ecclesiastic cannot be insulted with impunity, and the lion paid dearly for his frolic with the forfeiture of his life, as the Governor was fearful of a more dangerous repetition.

The chase of this king of the desert, is attended with less danger here than in the forests of India and at the Cape. He is pursued only in the hottest months, in the burning heat of noon, when he is not able to run for any distance without great fatigue, and, like my dog Susannis, lies down panting under every shrub that affords the slightest shade, to take breath for a few seconds. Nay, some Arabs, mounted on a good horse, will even venture to engage in single combat, armed only with a bag of stones ; as soon as the lion lies down exhausted, they continue pelting him till he is dead.

Before I took leave, the Governor presented his children to me ; they all looked as sickly as himself, and did not dare to sit down in his presence till they had permission to do so.

When I got home I received a visit from Mr. Boreani, Lieut.-Colonel in the service of Mehemet Ali. He is a polished man, with agreeable manners and considerable knowledge ; and it is to him that the Viceroy is chiefly indebted for the establishment of his cannon-foundry in Cairo. He has been sent hither for the purpose of penetrating to Fazoglo, to examine the gold-mines there ; while Mr. Russegger, the head of the Austrian geological expedition, is doing the same at Sheibon, on the White Nile.

Mr. Boreani took the route from Korosko, through the Desert, and traversed that singular country, which is desolated by volcanic fire, and comprises whole tracts of stony ferruginous soil, several thousand paces long, melted into the shape of regular pointed cones. He there collected several remarkable samples, and gave

me some fine specimens of that curious mineralogical production, (*silice ferrugineuse roulée*,) which exactly resembles balls cast by human hand. From Berber he continued his journey by water, and suffered shipwreck at the last cataract, where he lost a great part of his effects, and was obliged to pass the whole night in the open air, wet through, without a change of clothes, or any shelter. His presence of mind probably averted the dangerous consequences of this chill, for he immediately bled himself with a pen-knife, which, in this climate, was the best remedy on such an occasion.

Mr. Boreani, while waiting here for further instructions, has been busily engaged on a collection of stuffed quadrupeds and birds; and when I visited him on the following day, at his own residence, I was astonished at their number, and admirable preservation. This was the first time I saw the classical white ibis, which is not met with before the last cataract, and is quite extinct to the northward. The amiable traveller was so generous as to present me with a finely-preserved specimen of this bird, and likewise with some splendid humming-birds, and two live parrots. I afterwards sent all these treasures home, where they arrived quite safely.

He told me that he was indebted for the greater part of his collection to the skill and indefatigable perseverance of a negro hunter, trained by Dr. Rüppel, whom he had here taken into his service. This man not only killed the animals, but stuffed them with extraordinary skill. I believe that several of these birds—for instance, a remarkable and very

beautiful species of heron—are unknown in Europe; at all events, I have not met with them in any collection of natural history.

As I saw several crocodiles apparently asleep on the opposite bank, without the venerated Sheikh, I rowed across, in the hope that I might kill one of them, but my chase was fruitless; for though the animals looked as if they were asleep, they were so vigilant, that none of them suffered me to approach within two hundred paces. When I arrived at about that distance each began to move just in time, and slowly waddled into the water, where it was of course soon secure from pursuit.

The heat was dreadful; and at two o'clock rose to 32° R., in the shade. As the crocodiles had manifested so much fear of me, and I was panting for refreshment, I resolved in the evening so to show my disregard of them as to bathe in the river at a place under my windows where several boats were drawn up, which would afford some protection, though I was assured that only a few weeks before, a boy while playing at the edge of the water had his arm bitten off at this very spot. The Nile was so deep close to the bank, that I was obliged to have a rope fastened round me, the other end of which was attached to one of the boats; but I so thoroughly enjoyed my dip in this refreshing water, which was cold in comparison with the burning heat of the atmosphere, that neither the constrained position, nor the threatened danger could lessen it. I remained above a quarter of an hour in the reviving element, whose real value can only be appreciated in these countries.

CHAPTER XIV.

VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH ON THE BLUE NILE.

WHEN I felt sufficiently recruited, and had completed all my needful preparations, I embarked towards the evening of the 6th of May, in the convenient, but rather decayed canja of the Governor, on the Blue River, attended by my kawass, three servants, and the Djaus, who had been to Mandarah. Though the commencement of the rainy season was daily expected, I resolved, if possible, to prosecute an enterprise which, as travelling in this season is here fatal to Europeans, might perhaps seem to have extended quite far enough for a *dilettante*, who has already passed the meridian of life, and who is not sent *ex officio mandé par l'Angleterre ou la France*, as the inscription of Linant and Cailland at Mesaourat testifies that these learned gentlemen were, nor by his own country, but who roams about the world for his individual gratification.

The Doctor and his two slaves followed in the other boat, but a violent sand-storm which arose at the moment we set out, compelled us to lie to, in a sheltered bay, quite near the town, till the following morning. We then set sail with a tolerably good wind, but there were such numerous and sudden bends in the river, that it only helped us forward now and

then, and we were generally obliged to have our vessels towed by the inhabitants along the banks; yet on the whole we proceeded very slowly. A few leagues from Khartoum we passed the ruins of Soba or Saba, which the ignorant Turks declared to have been the residence of the celebrated queen who visited King Solomon; but as we did not wish to make any delay now, we deferred the inspection of them till our return, and cast anchor for the night three leagues further on, near the present village of that name.

As I wish to see as much of the country as I can, and navigation is besides very unsafe here, we did not proceed during the night. We landed in the cool of the evening, to make a little excursion up the country, and on the banks found a number of pelicans, black and white ibises (some of which, like storks, had built their nests on the trees), wild geese and ducks, and many other species of water-fowl, but not a human being was visible.

At length, however, we lighted upon a young girl, who was at work in the dourra-field; but the instant she perceived us, she attempted to run away. The Djaus spoke a few words to her, and with difficulty prevailed upon her to stop, though as we approached nearer she trembled at every limb. Before we came close up to her, she called out in much anxiety, "O, good people, will you really do me no harm? will you really not eat me?" And it was only on our repeated assurance that we merely wished to enquire of her concerning the way, and to admire the beautiful bead ornaments with which she was profusely decked, that

she hesitatingly advanced a few steps to meet us, with a pleasant smile, but still fearful and trembling.

I have never in my life seen anything more maidenly, than the half-timid, half-inquisitive, and at the same time good-tempered behaviour of this pretty child, who was endowed with all the graces of unsophisticated nature. When her trepidation was somewhat subsided, I put a small bright gold coin into her hand ; she looked at it with surprise, but I could not induce her to keep it. We endeavoured to explain its nature, but she appeared not in the least to understand what we said, and shaking her head she bade me take it back. I refused, and she laid it carefully upon a stone at my feet, bowed very courteously, and then bounded off to her parents, whom we now observed, for the first time, busily at work, at a distance of some hundred paces, at the entrance of a thick forest.

This forest extended to the right and left, as far as the eye could reach ; but only some of the trees, such as acacias, mimosas, and nebkas, were green ; this tract is so exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, that constant and refreshing showers must fall in the rainy season, ere it is converted, for several months together, into a luxuriant garden.

On the following day, the negroes who towed our barks had much difficulty in performing their work, in consequence of the dense thickets that skirted the banks of the river, which, however, looked much more beautiful and verdant than before. Several species of willow, and a kind of elder, bearing large white flowers, are almost the only plants that are not

armed with innumerable thorns, which seem to dispute every step with the pedestrian. The river was very broad, and proportionably shallow, and the banks were generally steep; our voyage went on slowly enough, for the wind was contrary; and though it blew from the south, and the air was uncommonly cool, the atmosphere was gloomy, and we had a heavy fall of rain during the night.

We found the water of the Blue River—which by-the-bye is a most inappropriate name, for it is of a dark yellow-ochre colour—not quite so good and palatable as that of the Nile after the junction; nor was it so beautifully clear, notwithstanding all our filtering. As I had unfortunately exhausted my stock of wine, this defect was the more sensibly felt, it was, however, very happy for us that we could procure an ample supply of milk.

The inhabitants are unacquainted with oil, and, therefore, in its place burn butter in their lamps; they also use butter in large quantities instead of pomatum, and this is probably the reason why they have a dislike to it as an article of food.

Five crocodiles were lying at noon on the sand of a small island, and Susannis, according to his usual bad habit, leapt into the water to cool himself, without the slightest apprehension of these monsters, and to my great alarm he swam about quite close to them; they could easily have caught him, and he would have been a delicate morsel for those voracious creatures, for though formerly very meagre, he had been luxuriating for such a long time upon meat and milk without bread, that he was now as fat as a friar. Since we had been

at Khartoum he had, however, a rival in our favour, a young monkey not larger than my hand, with a jet-black face, whom we called Abeleng. He was so tame and well-behaved that we could let him run about at will, without the least apprehension that he would spoil anything. A little theft was the only fault of which Abeleng was sometimes guilty, and at times, after such delinquencies, his bad conscience made him still more droll, and he was readily forgiven. He was excessively jealous of Susannis, who on his part seemed to look down upon him with cool contempt.*

The river continues to meander in many windings, though it here flows through a perfectly level country. Towards evening, after the wind had veered repeatedly, we had a violent thunder-storm, with heavy and continued rain, which penetrated through the roof of my cabin, and thoroughly drenched everything in the boat which was not well covered.

We landed near a well-built village called Nuba, which is surrounded by fertile fields; we observed only a few sakyehs, because the rainy season almost suffices to water the land for all agricultural purposes. Here we anchored for the night, and rambled along the banks by moonlight, but the air suddenly became so extremely sultry that we were induced to seek our night's quarters on the water. During the night it became so very cold and windy, that I was obliged to close all my windows, and could scarcely

* This little monkey is still alive, and in good health, in the forests of Lusatia; but I am sorry to be obliged to add that he has since become four times his former size, and is by no means so good tempered as when he was in a state of nature.

keep warm with a double portion of covering, and for several days after suffered with a stiff-neck. The sudden and violent changes in the temperature at this time of the year, are evidently the cause which renders the rainy season so dangerous to Europeans, and the more so because, in general, the traveller has such slender means of protection against them; a chill and cold in this climate always produce a total relaxation of the organs of the stomach, which frequently terminates in some fatal disease. A well-caulked cabin in the vessel, an air-proof English tent on shore, a judicious selection of clothing, with the addition of a light but ample fur cloak, and, if possible, a constant supply of light wine or good beer, would probably suffice to obviate all the bad consequences of the rainy season, and, with a moderate degree of caution, would prevent many fevers, dysenteries, and inflammatory disorders, except indeed epidemics, against which there is no resource but flight. In other countries such minute attention to trifles might be called effeminacy, but here, where death is often the penalty of the slightest neglect, it seems to me to be unwise to trust too much to oneself, and on this account the reader will pardon me, for referring so often to this subject. It is an admonition, the importance of which can be duly appreciated and perceived only in the country itself.

With respect to ourselves, though, alas, without any of the things I have here recommended to others, we were, [nevertheless, pretty well off, except that most of our party were tormented by an irritation of the skin, in consequence of a rash over a great part

of the body, which very frequently attacks travellers in Egypt as well as here, during the rising of the Nile. It is said, however, to be conducive to health, but notwithstanding it is very troublesome, because at the beginning it is attended with an intolerable itching, and when it dies off it pricks like needles.

We passed the 9th of May almost continually between bare sandy banks, with a forest lying at a great distance. In the evening a hippopotamus appeared near our boat, but was not long visible. A fresh wind frequently swelled our sails, and the heat was moderate, so, that on the whole, the voyage might be called pleasant; though this travelling by water is, in many respects, very convenient, it affords far less gratification to the curious than journeying by land. There is a want of variety, and you see no more throughout the live-long day, than an Englishman who makes the tour of Europe in a post-chaise, though to be sure he has some occasional intercourse with innkeepers, while we see only crocodiles and hippopotami.

It is advisable to have, at least, a couple of asses in the canja, as this at once enables the traveller to land at an interesting place, and make a little excursion by land, without losing time; independently of which, walking, especially during the heat of the day, begins to be impracticable. A faintness and lassitude comes on in walking, and it is dangerous to get overheated, and the more so, as the very enervating climate relaxes body and mind, and low spirits take the place of former confidence in our own power.

In the splendour of the setting sun, we perceived a handsomely built village, in which almost all the houses appeared to be as large as the palaces at Metammah. This was a most agreeable sight to us, for it tended to relieve the monotony of the landscape, and spoke in favour of the prosperity of the country. Near a double sakyeh, in front of the village, was a splendid tree, as tall and as wide-spreading as an old lime-tree, with leaves of a similar form, but darker and more shining. It bears purple flowers and pods, the beans of which, when ripe, form a considerable article of trade, as ornaments for the beauties of the country. The very same kind, perhaps, of which, as my readers may remember from a preceding article, I purchased a quarter of a bushel, in the bazaar at Metammah, to send to my female friends in Europe.

Soon afterwards the sky suddenly became dark, and three storms arose, one at our backs, and one at each side. They discharged their lightning upon us as if from batteries, amidst loud peals of thunder, but happily for us, they did not take a true aim. To this was added such a furious storm of wind from the north, that though we had reefed all the sails, and were going against the stream, it drove us forward with much more rapidity, than was by any means agreeable. After proceeding in this swift course for the space of half an hour, the river made a sudden bend, and as the storm would then have taken us in the flank, we were compelled to fasten the vessel to the shore, and to remain here for the present. Throughout the whole night we had not a moment's freedom from the storm and lightning, but fortunately

it was not accompanied by such torrents of rain, which we feared more than anything, because we had so few means to protect ourselves against it; it was, however, but a short respite which was granted, for a little before sunrise, the clouds poured down cataracts, and the wind, which was directly contrary, prevented us from proceeding any further, for it would have been impossible, even with hundreds of blacks, to have towed the heavy boat against the wind. My tent was quickly drenched, the rain poured down through the roof with as much violence as on the open deck, and quickly drove me out of bed, but where was I to find shelter? At last I hit upon the happy expedient of having my Turkish tent set up, as well as could be done, over the roof of my cabin, and though this too, was not quite waterproof, yet the double covering afforded some relief against the fury of the element.

Being thus tolerably protected against the rain, I had no resource left but to sit down to my writing-desk, and to note down various philanthropic observations upon the curiosity, and perhaps the vanity, which impels us Europeans to ramble so restlessly about the world, which observations often tended very much to the result of exclaiming with Molière, "*Qu'allais-je faire dans cette galère?*" I was however unexpectedly interrupted in this melancholy mood by Abeleng, who, unperceived by me, had leaped upon the table, and now gently took the pen out of my hand, looking as if he had a mind to add a postscript, which would doubtless have made my work one of the most invaluable curiosities. The wicked wight looked at me

with irresistible comic gravity, blinked, and then,—his eyes glistening with satisfaction,—he hastily chewed the pen, and threw it into a corner of the cabin. A bitter satire, truly ! But authors are incorrigible, even if monkeys take the trouble of reviewing them; and thus the chewed pen was soon replaced by a new one, I trust with the indulgent approval of the reader.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the storm had at length so far abated that, by the great exertions of the people summoned to our aid, we once more got afloat. The banks preserved the same flat and uninteresting appearance, though they were bordered more frequently than before with low bushes. Yet we continued to see extensive distant forests above the white sandy flats.

We observed only a few villages, but often saw large flocks of goats, and once a drove of camels came down to the river to drink, which is always a proof of the prosperity of the inhabitants. Ackermann, who retained more vigour than we did, and walked several leagues along the bank, found many round-pointed straw huts of the negroes, standing singly in the forest. He saw the people eating the leaves of a species of gourd, with much *goût* ; and, as a great delicacy, they very hospitably offered him the dried seeds of the fruit, but he did not seem to have relished them. The forests abound with green parrots, and he brought back several specimens of them, as well as a beautiful bird of more considerable size, striped with red, white, and green. He had pursued a giraffe, to no purpose, and to the destruction of his clothes, for indeed the thorny thickets of these parts

cannot be penetrated except with a hatchet in hand. The wild pigeons which he had shot were larger and of a more delicate flavour than those in Egypt and Nubia.* They were the more welcome to us, because since we left Khartoum we had lived upon mutton, with tepid yellow water, and bad biscuit, which we soaked in it.

During the following night we were even more severely tried than before, for the storm returned with redoubled fury, attended with a deluge which nothing could resist. Roused by three or four streams which poured into my bed like waterfalls, I did indeed manage, by the aid of the flashes of lightning, to find my umbrella, but, as may be supposed, it was of little avail; not a spot in the cabin was dry. I submitted very calmly to my fate, and as the water all round me grew warm with the heat of my body, I remained motionlessly resigned to the elements. In this manner I positively fell asleep again; and though in the morning my limbs were so stiff that I could scarcely rise, yet brisk exercise, and a warm bath in the welcome returning heat of the sun, obviated any bad consequences.

Our effects suffered more than we did; even the mahogany of my last larger telescope crumbled to pieces, so that the brass, as well as the glass, fell off. I had considerable difficulty in putting it together again with glue and packthread; and although it was very imperfectly done, I was able to make some

* Geographers, it is true, in most maps make Nubia extend to Fazoglo, but the Turks here, as I have already said, make it terminate at the last cataract, where, according to them, Soudan begins.

use of it. It was tragi-comical to see the gay lime water-colours, with which the interior of the cabin was painted, transferred not only to my worthy self, but also to the clothes, linen, &c. lying about: I was strongly reminded of the *Malheurs et Aventures d'Arlequin*, to whom I now bore a strong resemblance.

We halted on the 11th in Wadi Abüfront, to lay in a fresh stock of provisions. I waded through the mud into which the late rains had converted the fruitful soil, to the residence of the Katsheff. In the higher part of the village, which is well built, and looked as if it were quite new, the ground was rather dry, and the appearance cheerful. The houses were irregularly grouped, but they were built at a convenient distance from each other, with pleasant plantations of broad Doum palms, and lofty tamarind trees, which we saw here for the first time. Some of the dwellings were square, with a flat terrace on the top; others round, with pointed thatched roofs, as smooth and as well covered as in England. The walls, however, according to the custom of the country, were composed of clay and chopped straw.

We were told that this land is so extremely fertile, that if there was a great abundance of rain in *one year*, an ample supply of provisions for the next seven years could be raised; but that, unfortunately, there had not been any completely rainy season for ten years, which had occasionally produced great scarcity; yet they now fully expected this blessing, because the rainy season appeared to be setting in a fortnight earlier than usual, and with every indication of a great deal of wet. This reconciled us in some measure to the

inconvenience which we ourselves experienced, for there is neither unmixed good, nor unmixed evil in the world.

A great number of birds, white and black, and some entirely white, of the Ibis species, or akin to it, were hanging like fruit from the branches of lofty trees near the huts, where they sometimes built their nests; for, though they are no longer regarded as objects of worship, the inhabitants appear always to treat them with great respect. They are here called *simbelleh*.

Before I returned on board, I visited the Katsheff's garden, which was kept in excellent order: here I was presented with a basket of grapes and water-melons, which were most welcome and refreshing;—stretched on an *engareb* covered with cushions, and lying under the shade of the vines, which were trained in arches, I enjoyed two or three pipes of tobacco, the growth of the country, of a bright yellowish-green colour, and of a very mild taste.

It appeared that we had now entered the real tropical region, near to the 14° of latitude, and this greatly increased my regret at having visited these parts either three months too soon or too late; but for this circumstance, I should probably have penetrated farther into the interior than any preceding traveller; since by the kindness of Mehemet Ali, I might certainly have had far more resources, than were at the command of my predecessors; but to defy this destructive season from the beginning to the end, without all the requisite preparations, would indeed have been tempting Providence too far; independently

of which, nothing should ever be carried to excess, if we would preserve mind and body in health.

Though endowed with a tolerable share of elasticity in this respect, I feel that it is almost time to change the scene, for I begin seriously to apprehend that I am already so Africanised, that I shall be obliged, when I ultimately return home, to go through an entirely new course of European good breeding. Among you, ye civilised Europeans, where everything is subject to fashion, politics as well as dress, manners as well as literature, whilst here everything has remained nearly stationary for thousands of years; how Gothic-Arabic may my style, perhaps, already appear, and how antiquated and strange will be my personal appearance, how ignorant shall I feel of the interests of the present day; just like one of the seven sleepers, awakened from his long repose. "Then shall I come to you for comfort," I exclaimed, joyfully surprised by the constantly increasing splendour of the surrounding scenery, "ye impenetrable, primæval forests, who, as we are gliding so gently along the peaceful stream, to-day, for the first time, come down to the water's-edge, on the right hand and on the left, wearing your majestic crowns; ye monsters of the deep, with gaping jaws, on whom we have hitherto expended our powder in vain; ye colossal vultures, who rock yourselves on the highest branches, and gaze down with surprise at our vessels; ye gaily-coloured parrots, with your croaking welcome; ye fishing pelicans; ye elephants, giraffes, and gazelles that come to slake your thirst at the clayey waters of the Nile, and above all, ye comical race of black,

green, and yellow monkeys, who, to our no small amusement, hop, in whole families, from branch to branch, or dance with grotesque grimaces, and suffer us, so unconcernedly, to look upon you at leisure in your uncivilised state;—you are at present our only spectators, and are, at all events, endowed with all the frankness and grace which Nature has bestowed upon you. Whenever we can repose on her maternal bosom we are always at home, and I too feel something of your divine liberty, ye free, unshackled animals, which, by its salutary influence, dispels my gloomy and timid thoughts.” An old friend of mine, an Austrian civilian, was perfectly right in saying “there is compensation for everything in the world, if we do but know how to see it in the right light.”

And now, when quitting my boat, I landed amidst scenery as different from all I had ever before beheld, as if it had been called forth by a sudden touch of a magic wand;—the majestic river, with the two gaily adorned canjas dancing on its waters, and the long row of naked negroes, who, wading in the water towed them along, presented an almost equally original sight, and strikingly resembled the images which we had seen in the tombs of the kings at Thebes.

On the evening of this fine day, we were rather alarmed, because my servant having lost his way in the chase did not reach our place of anchorage till one o'clock in the morning, after firing many shots, and lighting several fires, but he did not indemnify us by relating any entertaining adventures. He had killed several birds, and had met a hyæna, which has here become a very ordinary monster.

I was in the forest an hour before sunrise on the 12th, and found it rather more clear and accessible than usual, my object in wending my way thither was to visit the ruins of a village which lay in it; it was formerly considerable, but it was totally destroyed by the troops of Ismael. No situation can be more romantic, no forest solitude more verdant, luxuriant, and poetical; amid venerable acacias, nebbeks, tuntums and heglyds (I cannot give the botanical names, nor can the Doctor, who has only studied medicinal herbs), rose single groups of splendid tamarind trees, not inferior to our loftiest oaks; and half a league further on, I had the felicity of, at length, seeing two of those gigantic *Adansonia*, of which Mustapha Bey had told me, and which here bear the name of kongulos. The trunk of the largest, two feet above the ground, is fifty-five feet in girth. The leaves of its wide-spreading branches resembled those of our walnut-trees, but they were of a darker green. The wood was spongy like cork, and the sight of the whole immense mass was in a high degree imposing. I believe it is the same tree called boabab (*Adansonia digitata*, as I have since heard). The one I am speaking of, did not seem to be more than eighty or ninety feet high; the others were much smaller, and all seemed to be rather unsound, at least they were far exceeded in luxuriance and freshness of verdure, by the tamarind trees, which were equal to them in height. Their proper climate is perhaps farther to the south. This fine forest is seldom broken by thickets, so that I enjoyed an uninterrupted walk under the umbrageous coolness of the trees, on the

young grass, which, in this wet season, sprouted up in great vigour.

We found the ground almost everywhere covered with a beautiful insect of a glowing-red colour, the surface of which was like the softest velvet. The verdant carpet covered with its vivid red, might be compared to a floor of jasper opal, and the more so because there was not a single flower to break the blended green and red. The insect was about the size of a rose chafer (*scarabæus auratus*), and in its conformation seemed to be between the bug and spider. I crushed some of them on paper, which was immediately stained a full yellowish-red, and from the countless multitude of these insects at the present season, I have not the slightest doubt, that a new dye might be extracted from them, which would form an important article of commerce.

We likewise saw some butterflies, but none of a new species, and an extremely beautiful and very large kind of locust, of a bright green colour, with brilliant blue and red spots; the underside of the wing of a dark flame colour. There were not many birds, and no quadrupeds of any kind were visible. We, however, for a time followed the track of an elephant, and afterwards met with that of a lion, and a goat which he had torn to pieces; we found the dead body of the latter, which confirmed an assertion of Khourshid Pasha, which I before considered a fable—namely, that the African lion, when he does not stand in need of prey, like a true epicure devours only the head, liver, and heart of the animal which

he has killed. Just these very parts were wanting in the goat, which was not otherwise touched.

After having continued my promenade about two hours, I was compelled by the heat, which, notwithstanding the shade, had become extremely oppressive, to repair to the boat, which had followed us along the river, though I would gladly have strayed about the whole day in search of new objects of interest.

I would again repeat my advice to every robust traveller, that as often as he possibly can he should travel in preference by land, which has so many advantages, and occupies much less time than the voyage on the river, on account of its numerous windings.

We reached the town of Abou-Heraz in the afternoon. In the absence of the Katsheff I was received at the landing-place by his brother and the commander of the irregular cavalry, and I afterwards accompanied them to the house of the Katsheff, to take some refreshment. This officer had returned only a fortnight previously from the slave hunt, which he had prosecuted almost to the territory of the Tengas, on the White River, and seemed to be very well satisfied with the result of his expedition. He also told us that as far as he had ascended it, the Bahr-el-Abiad appeared to have an undiminished volume of water, whereas the Blue River on the contrary, even at Fazoglo, was scarcely more than three feet in depth during the spring, and before it began to rise. Unluckily he had not penetrated as far as Khourshid Pasha, and was therefore unable to give me any further

information respecting the famous pyramids of Taiphafan.*

Among the company which was here assembled, was the Katsheff of Wadi Medineh, the chief place of the province, who joined the rest of the party in urging me to remain here till to-morrow, because the night was extremely dark, and sailing was rendered dangerous by the many cliffs in the river further southward. However, as I knew that I should have sufficient spare time on my return to make a longer stay here, and that my kawass as well as the rais of the Dahabia would think of every possible pretext to prolong my stay at a place where they were well treated, I declined their civilities and insisted on departing, though, to say the truth, the heavens themselves seemed to declare against me. Several thunder-storms again threatened us at a distance, and a stiff south wind opposed our progress.

I had scarcely proceeded for half-an-hour through the narrow channel which was greatly obstructed by rocks, and where, notwithstanding the dexterity of the rowers, the boats were repeatedly whirled round and round, and not unfrequently struck violently against the cliffs, when the sky gradually became over-cast, and in a very short time a most fearful darkness obliged us to lie-to. It was high time, for the storm now broke over us, with more than usual fury. Notwithstanding this dreadful weather, I was astonished to perceive large lanterns in the distance dancing

* Though no mention is made of such pyramids in the recent expeditions of Mehemet Ali, yet, if we take into consideration the numerous branches and affluents of the Bahr-el-Abiad, we cannot even yet positively pronounce them to be fabulous.

about like *ignes fatui*, which gradually came nearer and nearer, and were carried by negroes, who were running very rapidly. They turned out to be the precursors of the Turks whom I had just quitted, and who with extreme courtesy had followed me on horseback, in order, if possible, to induce me to return with them, and remain in a place of safety till the storm should be past. It must be confessed that the Mussulmans are exemplary models of politeness, in any civilities of this kind, and spare no personal inconvenience, provided, however, that they have a powerful motive, such, as on this occasion, was the urgent recommendation of the dreaded Khourshid Pasha, which was, of course, more influential with them than even the command of Mehemet Ali would have been.

Though fully sensible of their kindness, I nevertheless gratefully declined their proposition; my cabin was tolerably waterproof by the addition of a third covering of excellent mats, manufactured here, and had undergone a thorough repair in other respects, so that I felt sure that it was at all events capable of keeping off the rain for some hours; and, independently of the very reasonable surmise whether I should not have fared infinitely worse in the palace of the Katsheff, I was exceedingly anxious that no surmountable obstacle should prevent me from taking advantage of the first favourable moment to proceed on the following morning.

In spite of all the evil prognostics, I slept very soundly, and was awaked early in the morning by a glorious sun, which illumed the junction of the Abiad

with the Blue River, in a wooded spot. The Abiad was several hundred feet broad, and was shut in by high precipitous banks, but as yet it contained not any water of its own, but merely that which was poured into it by the Bahr-el-Azrak, or the Blue Nile.

We were detained more than half a day, in performing the distance to Wadi Medineh, which is nearly three leagues in a straight line, by the continual sudden bends of the river as well as by contrary winds. We were surrounded by rich and diversified forests, which imparted to the scene almost the appearance of an European summer, for the foliage and the grass were already of a tender green, and among the trees were many species of willow and poplar, and others which resembled the *Thuias* and the red cedars; and even the acacias and mimosas, which constitute the principal masses, have nothing of a foreign look, while palms and other exotic trees, whose appearance is so extremely different from ours, are no longer found here. All this, however, is applicable only to a distant point of view, and vanishes on a nearer approach, for there is very much that is quite dissimilar from our native land; but I invariably find that, when I am in a foreign country, I am delighted with any resemblance which may seem like a welcome salutation from home.

I intended to stop only half an hour at Wadi Medineh, and then to proceed onwards as rapidly as possible, but matters almost invariably turn out differently from what I expect, wherefore I have long since given up the habit of making fixed plans for

anything, and my present prolonged journey is a case in point, since, when I commenced it, I intended merely to make an excursion of three months, whereas I have now been wandering between three and four years, in two quarters of the globe. And thus, Wadi Medineh, just at the beginning of the 13° of latitude, was the last principal point to which I penetrated on this occasion, with the exception of a short excursion by land, afterwards undertaken, to the junction of the Dender with the Blue River in the old province of Sennaar.

Dr. Koch, who had been complaining several days of indisposition, was attacked in the evening by the country fever, attended with the most alarming symptoms, which compelled me to have him carried to the residence of an Italian apothecary, named Bartolo, in the latent hope that he might, if possible, obtain relief and good nursing. I was very unwilling to proceed without him, and as I was assured by the apothecary, who, as well as the Katsheff, and the commander of the troops, is perfectly acquainted with the country as far as Fazoglo, that, as the rainy season had already set in, I should daily meet with increased obstacles in attempting to travel further; and adding, that even the natives never ventured to undertake a journey during that season, and urging as a further reason, that the country to, and far beyond, Sennaar, was an unceasing repetition of what I had already seen—I the more readily resolved here to terminate the long impromptu from Wadi Halfa.

Fondly clinging to the hope, that the Doctor would, ere long, recover, I determined to employ the interim

in effecting the difficult expedition to Mandarah, respecting which we have only the accounts which have been collected by travellers in different places, and which are not only very obscure, but, for the most part, contradict each other.

In every respect it was an immense disadvantage to me, that I had come here in this most unpropitious season. I earnestly recommend all travellers who visit this country, to make their arrangements in such a manner as to arrive at Khartoum in November, which will give them the advantage of having the whole winter before them, which is here like an European spring.

At this time of the year the want of water in the Desert obliges all the animals, so interesting to Europeans, such as elephants, lions, panthers, giraffes, antelopes, &c., and even a great number of the different species of beautiful birds, daily to remove *en masse* into the neighbourhood of the river, to quench their thirst. Now, when rain-water begins to collect in every hollow of the Desert, woods and mountains, they very rarely come down to drink, and are consequently but seldom met with, and later in the season even the thickest forests on the river-side seem to be destitute of life. The chief cause of this is, I believe, a very venomous fly, which then abounds in the interior of those forests, and of which all these creatures, and especially the elephant, are greatly afraid. I was, however, fortunate enough, with the aid of my telescope, to see a troop of these gigantic animals at a distance. They were probably just about to set out

on their journey, for their appearance at this advanced season of the year was considered very peculiar.

In the winter, on the other hand, it is by no means uncommon to meet them in troops of 50, 60, and even 100. Some of these elephants are said to attain an almost incredible size. The Pasha of Khartoum possesses two teeth which weigh oka (. . . . lb.),* and many persons confirmed the statement of the Katsheff of this place, that three years ago an elephant was caught near Wadi Medineh, in the belly of which, after the entrails were taken out, there was room for a man mounted on horseback, without stooping. The manner in which it was taken was very original.

The prodigious animal was purposely let into a field of dourra, where it indulged so freely in its favourite food, that eight ardeps of grain (the ardep is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels) were found mostly undigested in its stomach. Immediately afterwards, as had been anticipated, it went to the river to drink; and the dourra swelled to such a degree that the animal could scarcely stir, and shortly after, when it was pursued, the exertion was too great, and the creature burst.

The elephants here, are generally as peaceable as the hippopotamus, but they are extremely formidable when they are wounded, and many a well-mounted rider, who had not presence of mind to avoid the danger by continually turning about and going in a circuitous direction, has been overtaken and destroyed

* The figures in my journal are so obliterated, that, in order not to make a mis-statement, I am obliged to omit them.

by] them. Khourshid Pasha himself was once in imminent danger of his life while hunting the elephant, and escaped only by a desperate leap over a broad cleft in the ground. Two of his Mamelukes, whose horses were unable to follow him, and who, in their vain attempts to effect it, were overtaken by the enraged elephant, were both tossed into the air with their horses, and after they fell, trampled into a shapeless mass. The animal was so furious, that even after the death of his adversaries, he broke their arms and lances into pieces with his trunk.

Yet there is a man in Sennaar, who is well known to all the inhabitants, and who, on account of his invincible courage and his amazing strength, is called Tor (the bull), whose sole employment for many years has been that of hunting elephants, crocodiles, and hippopotami; and though he always combats them alone, it is a rare circumstance for one of these monsters to escape him. On these occasions his only weapons are, a heavy spear and a short, keen, two-edged sword. As soon as he comes near the animal, he throws himself on the ground, and, like a reptile, creeps stealthily after the elephant, till he is almost able to touch it: he then quickly cuts the sinews of one of its hind feet, and instantly conceals himself. The elephant, not having seen his secret foe, endeavours to hobble on as fast as he can on three legs, but loss of blood, and consequent weakness, soon oblige him to lie down. The huntsman, profiting by the opportunity, rushes forward, immediately thrusts his lance into a vital part, and death quickly ensues.

When he goes out to kill the crocodile, he takes a

couple of dogs, nay, when he has not got these, I was assured that he sometimes even takes little children, whom he binds to the shore, and then conceals himself near them, under a heap of boughs. The crocodile soon approaches to sweep the tempting bait into the water with his tail, but he receives the lance of the practised huntsman in his neck, who then swims after him, till he rises bleeding to the surface of the water. The Tor instantly leaps upon his back, and thus riding upon him, he has of course the mastery of him, and soon gives him the finishing stroke.

He makes a prey of the hippopotamus almost in the same manner. He observes the spot where the animal usually comes out to graze; here he digs a hole in the sand, into which he descends and conceals himself under a quantity of boughs and leaves; when the hippopotamus slowly and unconsciously passes him, he thrusts his lance aslant into the soft part of the belly, which soon puts an end to its life.

We may readily conceive what amazing courage and dexterity are indispensable for this species of hunting; but where these two qualities are combined in an eminent degree, long practice eventually ensures certain success, and the feat is accomplished without much difficulty.

Fazoglo, and the mountainous tracts to the east of the Blue River, which have never yet been visited by Europeans, seem to contain many natural curiosities with which we are totally unacquainted. I was told by the principal people here, several of whom have long resided in these countries, of a bird whose plumage is of a brownish red and black colour; it is

rather larger than a pigeon, the tips of its wings are so singularly parted that when it spreads them out, it seems to have four wings like a butterfly.



This bird is very rare, and is only seen towards evening. The army surgeon, a native of France, who resides here, as well as Mr. Botta, the Italian naturalist, who has passed some time in Sennaar, have taken much trouble to find it, but their labour was fruitless; its existence, however, cannot be doubted, because so many of the natives perfectly coincide in their representations of it; and although the statements of these people respecting antiquities are so little to be depended upon, as they have so imperfect a conception of them, I nearly always found their descriptions of animals and plants quite correct. I have already observed, that whenever I have made enquiries concerning the unicorn, I invariably received an accurate description of the rhinoceros; a fact which proves that the natives do not intentionally give false accounts, to gratify the evident wish of the enquirer.

The Katsheff, who is a Circassian, and was formerly a slave of Khourshid Pasha, (as most of the

Katsheffs in Soudan now are,) was a very sociable man, and loaded me with attentions of every kind. In fact, as long as I was in Wadi Medineh, I spent the greater part of the day with him, smoking and drinking coffee and sherbet without limit, with an agreeable alternation of excellent preserved figs, melons, grapes, apricots, and cherries, which the Katsheff received daily from his harem.

Our party was generally augmented by the commander of the regular troops, who was likewise a jovial man, and the Melek Kendal, who commands a thousand free Arabs, and several domestic officers of the Katsheff. The Melek, though as black as a coal, was one of the handsomest young men I have come across; he was extremely elegant, and scrupulously neat in his dress, (a virtue not very commonly met with among the Orientals,) and his manners were so fascinating, that he would assuredly have turned the heads of all the young ladies in Europe. He reminded me strongly of Jussuf in Algiers, and like him has the reputation of great personal bravery.

Melek Kendal had just returned from an expedition to Takka, whither he had been for the purpose of collecting tribute. This country, which is almost unknown to Europeans, is set down on Cailland's map without boundaries, and partly by guess, between Goss-Radjeb, the river Atbarra, the Red Sea, and Abyssinia; some of the numerous inhabitants who reside there, now pay tribute to the Viceroy, but it must always be collected by force of arms.

The Melek informed us, that the extensive plains of the country of Takka are extremely populous, and

well cultivated; and that the capital of the same name is, perhaps, six times as large as Khartoum. At the distance of a day's journey from Takka, at the foot of a long chain of mountains, there are, according to his assertion, vast ruins of an ancient city, with many columns, rows of sphinxes, (sheep, as he called them,) and giants on horseback, (colossi, therefore,) the latter much injured, but all made of a hard stone, probably granite.

Though I do not pretend to judge of the accuracy of this statement, especially with respect to the colossi on horseback, I think it worth while to direct the attention of travellers to it; and as troops are sent thitherward in the first month of every year, it would not be difficult for them so to time their visit as to join them. Here, too, in this region, which is not far distant, there is an entirely virgin soil to be explored.

Though the Mussulman considers the dog an unclean animal, yet out of respect to his master, they permitted my dog Susannis to remain in the room, and this, on one occasion, led us to touch upon religion, and I thought I should give pleasure to the company by quoting some passages from the Koran, and expressing my admiration of them; but the Turks, at least in Mehemet Ali's dominions, are now in a similar state to what society was in the time of Voltaire, and appear to be not far from exchanging their hitherto blind belief, for, perhaps, an equally blind unbelief.

My eulogium was received with a suppressed smile, and the subject was soon dropped. I at first imagined that this was owing to bigotry, because they thought it improper for an infidel to presume to praise the

Koran, but the following day convinced me of the contrary.

I was sitting alone with the Governor, who was reposing at his ease on his divan, while my dragoman was standing before us, to interpret, when Selim Katsheff, with a satirical look, began by saying:—"Yesterday you highly commended our Koran, and I will now tell you something in its praise. A very pious man of this place read the Koran night and day, and thereby very soon lost his wits; and this result has, to my knowledge, frequently been produced in others by too unremitting an attention to the same study, though I am myself very well acquainted with the book. Our saint (for the Koran mania usually leads a man to fancy himself a saint) came to me one day to announce to me, without any reserve, that the Koran commanded him to kill me and all the Katsheffs who abused their power here, and at the same time to take possession of all our money, and apply it to sacred purposes.

"I endeavoured at first to appease the good man, in the most gentle manner, and, by way of trial, offered him my chests of money if he would spare my life. He persisted, however, in his pious zeal, and declared that he must have both. It then occurred to me that, besides the Koran, there was another very powerful means of controlling man, namely, the kurbatsh. I therefore caused my good friend, who, notwithstanding all my entreaties, would leave me neither my property nor my life, to receive, in my presence, 500 good strokes, and then sent him to the military hospital to be healed. Would you believe it! the kurbatsh

radically cured the disease which the Koran had produced; and the poor fellow, who is now as much in his wits as we are, still heartily thanks me for the wonderful cure which I performed.

“Here, then,” he continued, smiling, “you must confess, with all due respect for the sacred word of the Prophet, that the Koran has proved less efficacious than the kurbatsh.” I was rather confounded by this subtle argument, and thought that a Mussulman infidel, still remains a genuine Turk.

As the illness of Dr. Koch had lately assumed a much more serious character, I had no resource but to leave him for a while, under the care and protection of the Katsheff, and, meantime, to attempt to find Mandara. As it was very probable that this would detain me a considerable time, I trusted that I might find the Doctor perfectly re-established on my return. I was, however, sorry that he could not resolve, like the natives, and the English physician, Dr. Holroyd, to put himself under the care of a Faki.

Their mode of curing the fever of this country is considered as infallible, and the patient, if he does not die, seldom suffers more than a week under this treatment. Judging by the imperfect accounts which I had received of it, and even after a cursory glance at a case of this kind, I considered the matter at first as a sympathetic cure, because it was effected by a ticket, written by the doctor, being burnt on a charcoal fire, while the patient stooping over it, and covered with a cloth, is obliged to inhale the fumes. But this throws the patient into such violent convulsions, that three or four men are often required to hold him by force

under the cloth. He is then laid upon an engareb, covered so warmly that he is thrown into a violent perspiration, and for six days is permitted to take nothing but bread and water, after which he is in general completely cured. I was universally assured that this recipe rarely fails, but I received from the free-thinking Katsheff alone, the real key to the matter. He told me that a considerable dose of very strong cayenne pepper, which is cultivated here, with other similar ingredients, is wrapped in this paper, and that the fearful fumes which hence arise, have such a powerful effect on the patient, though he himself attributes his suffering to the sole influence of the cabalistic characters. It might be worth while for our European physicians to ascertain, whether the same remedy would prove as good a specific against intermittent fever, as here.

CHAPTER XV.

FURTHER STAY IN SOUDAN—MANDARA.

AFTER I had augmented my travelling party by the purchase, or, more properly speaking, by the redemption of a new slave and a living ostrich, I once more steered my course northward, on the 15th of May. We were compelled by contrary winds to tack the greater part of our voyage to Abou-Haras, and were thus deprived of the advantage of going with the stream, though I was ultimately indebted to it for a most favourable crocodile chase. The sun was near its setting, and Abou-Haras in sight, when one of the sailors came up and informed me that four crocodiles were lying upon a sand-bank not fifty paces from us. I instantly hastened upon deck, and saw to my astonishment, that none of these creatures, which we had hitherto found so shy, appeared to be disturbed by our approach, but continued lying perfectly still, with their jaws wide open. I at once seized a loaded musket belonging to one of our soldiers, and fired at the nearest to us, which was about twelve feet in length. The ball entered immediately below its coat of mail, but not deep enough to kill it. It started up in alarm, and with the agility of a lizard plunged into the water, which it dyed with its blood; but its companions did not appear disconcerted, either by this spectacle or by the sound of the gun. The

kawass missed the second, and as the balls fell close beside it, scattering the sand around, it shoved itself slowly and heavily into the water, followed, to my extreme regret, by the largest of the four crocodiles, which was lying close beside it. Ackerman handed me my own gun, which I instantly discharged at the last and smallest of the party, and happily succeeded in hitting it, the ball having entered its wide-spread jaws, by which various important portions were successively destroyed. The young crocodile lay extended as dead, without even a struggle; but when our party hastily jumped upon the bank, and began to take hold of it, it rallied its strength and crept tolerably fast towards the river; the negroes, however, dealt it so many formidable blows upon its head and neck, that it was soon covered with blood, and sunk down perfectly motionless, and to all appearance dead. It was, however, by no means so near its end; after a few seconds it struck a perfidious and violent blow with its tail, which nearly hit me, and threw one of our sailors with such force upon the sand, that his pipe flew into the air to the height of many yards. Indeed the tenacity of life in these animals almost approaches the marvellous. When our prize had been stripped of the greater portion of its skin, all the intestines removed, and the leg bones about to be loosened preparatory to stuffing, it still gave one last galvanic blow with its tail, which had the instantaneous effect of scattering in all directions the whole of the closely crowded circle; the affrighted party, however, quickly rallied, laughing in hearty triumph, and rejoicing in anticipation of their dainty meal. In fact, during

that night the African gourmands consumed the whole of the flesh, which had a strong musky odour, with the utmost zest.

On landing at Abou-Haras, I was met with the most dismal tidings, by the brother of the Katsheff, who was still absent. Here, for the first time, I learnt the real truth respecting Mandarah. Instead of being only twelve or sixteen leagues distant, as we had been assured, it now appeared that it was from four to five days' journey along a tract unshaded by a single tree.

The Effendi assured us that we should require 150 camels, for the mere transport of water, as it would be necessary to have a constant relay for the purpose of fetching fresh water from the Nile; that it was impossible to get on with a smaller number—for nearly all the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood were in a state of open insurrection, which would oblige me to have an escort of at least a hundred men, in order to keep them in check. Finally, he represented the absence of the Arab Sheikh, who was the only person acquainted with the country, and possessed of some authority in places where no Turk could venture without hazard. Messengers had, indeed, been sent after him, but it was not likely that he would return sooner than ten or twelve days. In the mean time, he added, his brother's house and servants were at my command, and if I wished to follow the chase, there were five good horses, and as many Arabs as I wanted in constant readiness;—that I should find an abundance of ostriches, leopards, wolves, wild-cats, and gazelles.

Under such auspices, the delay appeared by no

means so disagreeable ; and, in order to prevent their ardour from being cooled, I positively declared that, let the difficulties be what they would, I was resolved not to leave the country without having procured accurate information respecting the ruins of Mandarah ; I should, therefore, gladly avail myself of their offer on the following morning ; and then retired to my bark to dream over my future plans.

Unhappily some evil genii suggested the thought of taking a dose of Epsom salts as a preservative against the influence of the atmosphere. I mention this trifling circumstance chiefly to show the danger of needlessly resorting to medicine in this climate, for this draught, so simple and refreshing in Europe, nearly terminated my existence in this country. I was immediately attacked by an obstinate dysentery, attended with such extreme debility and loathing of food, that my physical powers were no longer equal to carry out my intentions. For five days I was confined to the house, and almost to my bed, in the greatest pain ; the weather was a constant alternation of rain and sunshine, accompanied with sultry heat, while my apartment, which was but miserably protected by wooden shutters, was often filled with dust or water during the violent gusts of wind.

On the 21st of May, the weather being fine, I made a determined effort to go out hunting. A large party was formed to go in chase of a panther, but we met only some ostriches, which we could not reach owing to the bushes ; also numerous hares, which the Arabs killed with great ease by means of short sticks resembling a crutch, which they hurl with incredible pre-

cision. We then followed for a long time, at full gallop, two specimens of the beautiful crested herons, here called abseng, of which I killed one with my pistol. My servant also shot a wild cat of a brilliant yellow colour, spotted black, the skin of which I have happily preserved.

In the course of this excursion we traversed some romantic wooded scenery, with scattered villages embosomed in the shade; and several times crossed the dried-up bed of the Rahad, the banks of which appear to be throughout high and precipitous. I would gladly have prolonged our expedition, but a feeling of faintness which frequently obliged me to dismount, and at length scarcely permitted me to keep my seat, forced us to return about noon.

We found that the Sheikh of Wadi-el-Kerim had arrived in the meantime, much sooner than we had been led to expect—his reports were even more unsatisfactory than those of the Effendi. He declared that he would not undertake the conduct of the expedition to Mandarah with an escort of less than 200 men and 400 camels, inclusive of those employed for the conveyance of water, and that he should require a week to complete the necessary preparations, All my representations were of no avail in altering this determination.

On the morning after the return of the Katsheff, we had a grand divan, which included himself, his brother the Sheikh, and other principal men among the Arabs, in order to decide upon this affair; the Mussulmans came to the unanimous resolution that it was impracticable, and that they would not hold them-

selves responsible to Khourshid Pasha for proceeding at random, with such an array as the Sheikh demanded, into a country destitute of water, and with a hostile population, merely to look for ruins, the very existence of which was doubtful. If I persisted in my resolution, they should consider themselves obliged to apply for instructions to Khartoum, as the expenses of such an expedition were too great to be undertaken without special authority.

I was of course desirous to avoid this, and, therefore, requested them to obtain further information, and to consider whether the plan could not be carried out on a less expensive scale. That I would employ the interval in making a short excursion to the Dender, as I felt myself rather better after the hunt. There were no objections to this, and I accordingly set out before sunrise, attended only by a small escort. I was, however, so low and feeble that I cannot give many particulars of this tour. We passed by tolerably good paths, through various small villages, generally amid thorny woods, destitute of large trees.

We reached the Dender in two days, having found a miserable night's lodging in a suffocating, dirty apartment. Our supper consisted of guinea fowl, of which we saw great numbers in the woods. The Dender resembles the Rahad in its general character; the banks are equally high, but not so wide, being at the utmost 200 feet broad: it has a rapid current, the water is much clearer than that of the Blue River, and so deep, that on wading across, it rose above the horse's belly; and we were told that it would soon be impassable. In its course from the south-east, it runs in

this part for some way nearly parallel with the Blue River, while the Rahad empties itself into the former almost at right angles. Its banks were in parts thickly planted with willows, and many places were carefully cultivated. We beheld the unwonted sight of a native engaged in fishing, and at my request, he brought us in the evening a large fish of the most delicious flavour.

I passed a very uncomfortable night, and was therefore rejoiced to learn in the morning that the Sheikh of Elkneh had procured a bark for us, which would enable me to accomplish the return with less fatigue. The river flowed amid very picturesque wooded scenery, occasionally varied by low rocks of porous limestone, but I did not see any more Boababs. Yet in the neighbourhood of Wadi Medineh we counted no less than twenty-seven crocodiles at the same time, lying on both sides of the river. This will be hardly credited in Europe, yet the fact could be attested by all my attendants. They did not stand an attack so well as their comrades to whom I have already alluded, so that the shots we fired at them in their retreat were unavailing.

I learnt at Wadi Medineh that Dr. Koch, who still continued very ill, had removed to Abou Haras for the benefit of a finer climate, accompanied by the Italian medical attendant. I was, at the same time, informed that a considerable suk, or fair, would be held on the morrow in the large village of Masselinieh, about eight leagues west of this place, in the direction of the White River. As it was said to be always attended by a large confluence of people, I determined not to miss such a favourable opportunity of making

myself better acquainted with the interior of the country, and of seeing the natives collected on a festive occasion, and perhaps, too, of making purchases of various interesting productions. I therefore left the bark, to pursue my journey into the interior on camels and asses.

At five o'clock I reached the village of Fedassa, where I was detained for an hour, in the hut of the Sheikh, by an excruciating attack of colic. My couch was, besides, of the most wretched description, consisting of a broken engareb, spread with some ragged coverings, and a pillow too dirty to enable me to distinguish its original colour. By my side, close to the rough mud wall, on which a variety of insects were creeping about in all directions, was placed a wooden water-jug, which evidently never underwent an ablution, its muddy contents resembling small beer: close to it hung a gourd shell, and almost every other minute some naked negro came in to slake his thirst. The heat was insufferably oppressive, while the thunder of an approaching storm was rolling over our heads. Our beasts had been changed during the halt, and I roused myself with difficulty to pursue the journey, of which the prospect appeared as cheerless as the sight of my chamber.

It seems that, during the rainy season, storms always travel in company; we had often remarked this before, and to-day we saw the portents of three or four at one time, threatening to deluge us with their unwelcome torrents. We were, however, fortunate in reaching Masselinieh ere night-fall, and before the main clouds had discharged their contents.

On leaving Fedassa we rode, for three leagues, across a richly cultivated plain, of the finest soil, with numerous large villages scattered over it. The houses consist merely of pointed roofs, of woven reeds, resting upon the ground, which gives these villages the air of a large encampment of tents, forming a pleasing effect, amid the surrounding trees and bushes. Each of the huts is enclosed with a square or circular court, fenced with a prickly hedge, and the old trees afforded shelter to hundreds of those stork-like birds, the black and white ibis—some of which had even familiarly built their nests on the low roofs of the huts. We saw also vast numbers of crows, exactly resembling ours; among them, however, I noticed some with white rings round their neck, which I had not previously met with.

Masselinieh is considerably larger, cleaner, and more tastefully built than Wadi Medineh; besides the great annual fair, it has a large market twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. It contains one mosque, and amid its tent-houses you see many small mud palaces belonging to the more wealthy inhabitants, built in the form of the old Egyptian propylæa, with terrace roofs. The largest of these houses is occupied by Sheikh Ibrahim, a Hadji, a person of some consideration here, with whom I took up my abode. This was scarcely as habitable as one of our barns, but it was well enough here, and we should have had still less cause to despise our entertainment, had the state of my health permitted me to partake of it, for among other Turkish delicacies, the Hadji presented us with Indian preserved ginger, of the finest quality.

How gladly would I have exchanged all these for a glass of pure water, mixed with some wine; but, alas, the Egyptian bardaks, or filter-jugs, are not known so far up the country, and we could obtain only the tepid, muddy water from the far distant Blue River, or the still more nauseous and brackish water from a well in the village.

The lightnings flashed, and the rain fell in torrents, while I tossed myself upon my hard couch, unable to sleep from pain. I lighted my only remaining paper-lantern, for the wind, which rushed through the open window, would not suffer me to burn any other light, and took up a copy of Voltaire which M. Boreani had lent me, and read *Candide* for the tenth time, a strange subject, certainly, in the deserts of Africa, but as far as relates to the philosophy of Pangloss, not quite inapplicable to my present situation.

On the following morning I visited the Suk, which was held in a large plain, covered with booths, at the further end of the village. Notwithstanding the vast concourse of people, and the crowding which they unavoidably occasioned, the whole was conducted with far more order and decorum than any European fair. Even I, though an object of general curiosity, was not in the least annoyed by any one.

I purchased a variety of native curiosities, at extremely low prices; such as sandals, amulets, arms, gold-dust, cowries, ornaments of female dress, beautifully-wrought mats of straw and coloured leather, very tastefully-woven dishes, baskets, and bells of the same material, the latter being placed over the dishes

to screen the food from the attacks of countless swarms of flies, &c. &c.

Had I not been so unwell, I should probably have made further observations; but in my present state, I was heartily glad to return home, and enjoy a few hours' rest before setting out on my journey. I was visited by the Sheikh, who called to show me various testimonials of his hospitality, which had been presented to him by former travellers; he concluded with the request that I would leave him a similar token, being the only compensation which he would accept for his entertainment. This man is honoured as a saint among the Arabs. One day, while engaged in his own room reading his prayers aloud, four Arabs entered, and instantly knelt down before him, kissing the hem of his garment. He quietly continued his reading, merely saying to them at intervals, *Essennetum* (*Rise!*) but in vain: they remained half an hour upon their knees, till he had finished his prayers.

On our return, I chose a more direct road to Abou Haras, which led for some time through a most pleasing wooded landscape. We particularly noticed the turtam, a beautiful shrub, which grows in great abundance and luxuriance, and though destitute of leaves, and consisting only of a heap of green tendrils, resembling a mass of hair, it yet assumes the most *bizarre* and picturesque forms, and is impenetrably thick. The small, deep rose-coloured blossoms with which it is completely covered, must be indeed mellifluous, for all the butterflies of Soudan seemed to have chosen them for their rendezvous.

A very complete collection of African butterflies

might easily be made here in the course of a few days, with the aid of the necessary apparatus. I saw all the sorts with which I am acquainted, and also two or three specimens which I consider to be new, or, at least, extremely scarce; but I had neither time nor inclination to engage in their pursuit. Though we urged on our animals, we did not reach Abou Haras till midnight: I crossed the river in my own bark, which a negro swam over to fetch for me. I was glad indeed to seek for repose in my sufferings, which day by day deprived me of strength and all love of travelling.

When I visited Dr. Koch on the following day, I found him in a yet more miserable condition than I was. He regarded himself as the destined victim of the grave, took an affecting leave of me, gave me sundry directions in the event of his death, and then besought me with tears to send him to Khartoum, that he might die there in peace. As this appeared the only means of his recovery, I instantly made the necessary arrangements for his departure. I had him conveyed in his bed by ten negroes on board my dahabia, and after bidding me a final farewell, he immediately set sail, with a favourable wind. It was a painful moment for both of us. I was now left alone in no very enviable state, deprived of medical aid, in case of any emergency, and had been long since destitute of the requisite medicines. I have, however, always had more reliance upon the excellence of my constitution than upon the physician, and I was able in some measure to console myself with the consideration, that my present indisposition was owing rather to the effects of medicine,

than to the influence of climate, or of fatigue, upon my constitution.

On the 25th another divan was summoned to deliberate upon the expedition to Mandarah, and there appeared to be an increasing desire to exaggerate its difficulties. I offered to undertake the journey, notwithstanding my present indisposition, with twenty trustworthy men, whom I should infinitely prefer to two hundred of the ordinary retainers; but this proposal was at once positively rejected by the Katsheff, who declared that he would on no account take upon himself the responsibility of exposing me to such a risk, especially as the affair was now so well-known all over the country, that the predatory hordes in the mountains must long since have got tidings of it, and, in the expectation of an ample booty, would probably attack us with their united forces; that his head was answerable for my safety, and he was sure I would not willingly expose him to such a hazard; and that as my sole motive for the expedition was to procure certain information respecting the ruins of Mandarah, he suggested that I should send my dragoman. Such an arrangement would completely alter the case. He being young, and able to bear fatigue and privation, and speaking the language of the Arabs as well as they did themselves, might easily pass unnoticed and unhindered among them under the disguise of a Bedouin. The Sheikh at the same time offered an escort of three of his most confidential men, who were well acquainted with the country, that all should be mounted on the fleetest dromedaries, to enable them to effect a retreat in case of an attack, as the Arabs of the desert

were destitute of both horses and fire-arms, and said that for so small a troop one water camel would suffice.

These representations were so reasonable, that I could find but little to object, while there were three other considerations which urged me to their acceptance. The first, was my present weak state of health; the second, the peculiar fitness of my dragoon for such an undertaking. This young man has devoted a considerable portion of his life to study, and possesses so much antiquarian zeal, that, so far as the object itself was concerned, it was a matter of indifference whether he or I should go to Mandarah; nay, I even fancied, that he would *ex officio* examine more minutely than I should myself, and that, so far as it might be done with no instruments save a small pocket compass, he could approximatively determine with sufficient accuracy the geographical bearing of Mandarah and of the principal ruins which he might discover, aided by the direction of his route and the day's march. The third consideration which induced me to yield, was the enormous expense of the undertaking, which would thus be entirely avoided, and which I really did not feel myself justified in charging upon the government.

I therefore gave my instructions to Giovanni, who made his will, as Dr. Koch had done some days before, and in a few hours he was in the Desert; his future fate a dark mystery till blended with the past. The past in poor Giovanni's history had been already sufficiently gloomy. He was a child of Chios, where, in his seventh year, he beheld his father, brothers, and sisters murdered before his eyes, while he himself was

carried away the captive slave of a Candiot Turk. When in Alexandria his freedom was purchased by Mr. Stuzzi, the present Austrian Consul at Candia, and at the time interpreter to the Austrian Consulate in that city; this gentleman adopted him as his own son, and gave him a good education. While yet a boy, he accompanied Mr. von Prokesch as far as Wadi Halfa, by whom he was principally employed in the measurement of ancient monuments and copying hieroglyphics. He afterwards travelled to Asia Minor and Constantinople, studied some years in Smyrna, and afterwards in Italy; visited his native island of Chios, where his mother was still living, she, and a younger brother, being the only members of his family who had escaped the massacre; and on his return to his foster-father at Candia, he entered my service as dragoman, having no engagement at the time.

I continued at Abou Haras till the 1st of June, in a state of extreme suffering and debility, and scarcely able to leave my bed. I was so much reduced as not to be able to walk without support, and I began to entertain serious apprehensions of my recovery. I loathed every kind of food, and even the ordinary rice beverage, usually given in similar cases, produced nausea and sickness. My stock of wine and tonic medicines had long since been exhausted. I was suddenly seized with an instinctive longing after a drink, which in my state of almost chronic dysentery will make the doctors shake their heads,—namely, strong, cold punch; for which I have not the slightest partiality when in health, and indeed

rarely touch. Happily, I possessed the means of gratifying my fancy, for I could obtain the small green citrons of the country, and I had still by me some bottles of Jamaica rum, which I had brought for the sake of the natives, rather than for myself. The repeated use of this beverage, made rather strong, produced a wonderful change, and though far from being perfectly cured, the attack, and especially the pain, was visibly subdued; I was once more able to partake of food, and my strength gradually returned. I do not advise any one to follow my example, but such is the fact.

During this time the natives daily brought for sale, a great variety of the interesting productions of the country, probably because they had heard of my having made many purchases at Masselinieh, for which I paid a fair price; in consequence of the extortions of the Turks, who either forcibly seize whatever takes their fancy, or pay a mere trifle, the natives are in the habit of carefully concealing everything that is not carried to the public markets, so that travellers who desire to purchase articles of this kind, are obliged to make a considerable stay in one place ere they can gain their confidence.

The most remarkable productions of the industry of these countries are the mats of palm-leaf, interwoven with bands of the most gorgeously coloured leather, which for their beauty and originality of design, their brilliancy and exquisite workmanship, infinitely exceed all similar productions in Europe. At the same time their prices are very low. They likewise manufacture very pretty dishes, vases, and

cups of various forms, from different species of gourds, which are often ornamented, like the Etruscan vases, with drawings of animals, many of which are very faithful representations. These utensils are as light as a feather, and yet extremely durable; are easily cleaned, and do not, like wooden vessels, acquire the flavour of their contents. There is no milk-bowl of more rustic elegance than one of these gourd-shells.

On the 2nd of June, Giovanni returned from his expedition; he had a deep wound on his forehead, occasioned, however, by his own pistol, with which he was about to fire a signal, when it burst in his hand. He had seen everything which I had commissioned him to look for, yet the result resembled the investigations of philosophers, the discoveries partaking more of a negative than a positive nature—still his narrative was by no means devoid of interest.

On his return he visited Djayleh, because Mr. Cailaud had been informed that considerable ruins existed there, as well as traces of ancient wells on the route to it; but there was not the slightest fragment of anything indicative of antiquity, except indeed a heap of pyramidal, natural rocks, to which an Arab at once conducted Giovanni as being remains of ancient pyramids. On Djebel-Mandarrah, however, he really found some ancient cisterns of considerable extent, still partially covered over, situated partly upon the summit of the hill and partly along its foot; on the same spot he also discovered the stone foundations of several walls, built of large blocks of stone, the bases of columns and various other remains of buildings, which prove

that some ancient city once existed here, though it does not seem to have been of much importance, and it is now a complete ruin.

Several deserted huts of the natives, in the neighbourhood of the mountain, were built of blocks of stone brought from the ruins of Mandarah; in one of them my dragoman discovered the lower part of a statue of red granite built into the wall; in another place was a finely sculptured lion's head and a portion of the fore-feet, of black and white spotted marble.

He estimates the distance of Mandarah from Abou Haras, including the circuitous route he was forced to take, to be about fifty hours of caravan travelling. For the first sixteen hours, they proceeded in an almost northerly direction as far as Mount Abaitor, where the road took a sudden turn due east, and continued to follow this direction to Mandarah, being about double the distance from Abou Haras to Mount Abaitor. As far as Abaitor they rode through one continued thick wood, consisting, as usual, of mimosa, and various kinds of acacias, then through an open plain till within five hours from Mandarah, where the country again assumes a wooded character.

Giovanni represents the soil as being everywhere excellent, and a portion of it is cultivated after the rainy season. On the plain he saw numerous ostriches and antelopes; many of the latter were as large as a cow.

From Mandarah he descried in the distance a lofty hill with two steep summits, called Gur, and as it was only a short day's journey to the east-south-east of

Mandarrah, he proceeded thither, through a tract generally wooded, but he did not meet with any antiquities.

According to Giovanni's report the three isolated mountains of Djebel Abaïtor, Djebel Gur, and Djebel Mandarrah, consist partly of granite, and partly of reddish limestone of primitive formation, with occasional existence of marble; and on the declivity of the Gur he declared to have seen a pointed rock in the form of an obelisk, of which the lower half was composed of reddish granite and the upper of white marble. I must leave the possibility of such an occurrence to the decision of geologists.

He was told by an Arab of the existence of a remarkable cave, situated in another isolated mountain, called Libēri, a short five hours' journey to the north-east of Mandarrah. He at once proceeded thither from Gur, without returning to Mandarrah; the road, for the most part, was over exposed masses of granite, and the general character of the country resembling the neighbourhood of Assouan, near the cataracts. This cavern repaid the trouble of his journey, for it proved to be a speos, 21 feet deep, and 12 feet wide; in a small adytum, divided off in the background, he found two statues in a sitting posture, with an altar standing before them. There were also many traces of hieroglyphics and sculptures, but very illegible and much injured, as this rocky temple has been used by the wretched natives, sometimes as a stable for their cattle, sometimes as an asylum during the frequent predatory incursions of the Bedouins, and has at various times been set on fire.

On the limestone-rock of Libēri, and immediately over the temple, Giovanni discovered a very singular stone of colossal dimensions; it is hewn into a square, and has uniform rows of deep, round, and nearly funnel-shaped holes, chiselled on its fore-side. It is difficult to determine for what purpose it may have been used. To his oft-repeated inquiries respecting further antiquities in the vicinity, my dragoman was invariably assured, that those which he had seen, were all they possessed, and that they had never heard of any others.

The danger of an attack from the Arabs seems to have been greatly exaggerated at Abou Haras, in the true oriental fashion, though it cannot be denied that the native tribes are at constant variance, not only with the government, but also among themselves. Pillage, therefore, is the order of the day, but single travellers, well armed and mounted, might no doubt easily escape them.

During Giovanni's stay at Mandarah, a messenger, mounted on a dromedary, arrived there with the tidings that the Hedendowi Arabs had just attacked and completely pillaged two villages, six hours distant from Mandarah. On the other hand, our adventurers, when on Mount Libēri, came up to a large encampment belonging to another tribe, which had been suddenly abandoned, with all their various contents; they afterwards learnt that the owners had fled on their approach, considering them to be but the vanguard of a large body of government troops.

Throughout their journey the scarcity of water was their greatest privation, and this appears the more

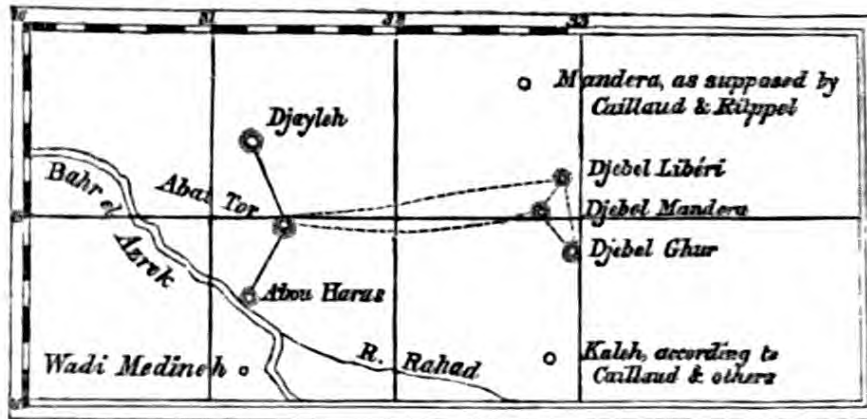
inconceivable, as the numerous woods must certainly derive their nutriment, during the dry season, from subterranean moisture. With the exception of one brackish well, they found no water, except in the cistern at Mandarah, and even this had been rendered unfit for use by the impurities which had either fallen, or been thrown into it. Giovanni described the whole journey as the most fatiguing he had ever performed, he rested only at Mandarah and Djayleh, as his Arab attendants never suffered him to dismount, nor indeed alighted themselves, even while their dromedaries were feeding, in order to guard against a sudden surprise. We cannot entertain a doubt that the whole of the country visited by Giovanni, and, probably also, the greater part of the peninsula of Meroe (as I remarked on the occasion of my own excursion), was at a former period cultivated and consequently irrigated, traversed by lines of caravan roads, and containing numerous flourishing and populous towns. What is now desert, needs but men, industry, and capital to be once more converted into a rich province.

With regard to the situation of Mandarah, I am inclined to think, from the information I have obtained from my dragoman, as well as from the natives, that it ought to be placed half a degree further south, and a little more to the east, than it is laid down upon the maps of Caillaud and Rüppel* (from which most other maps have been copied), and that its *real*

* We must bear in mind the time when this was written, considerable improvements having since been introduced by the publication of Zimmermann's Map of Central Africa. Yet even here

situation, according to the subjoined sketch made by Giovanni, may be 15° N. lat. and $32^{\circ} 50'$ E. lon. from

E. Long. from Paris.



the meridian of Paris. Djayleh, which is laid down in Caillaud's map as one degree to the south of Mandarah, is on the contrary half a degree to the north-west of it. Giovanni was obliged to return to Abaitor, in order to get from Libéri to Djayleh, there being no passable roads across the mountains, and from this point he had to proceed in a northerly direction two caravan days' journey to Djayleh; though Caillaud calls it Kaleh, from the information he received, yet there can be no doubt that it must be one and the same place, for no one had ever heard of a place of that

numerous errors have been retained in the details, which are easily detected by an eye-witness. It gave me much pleasure, on examining this most recent map, to see Mandarah, for the first time, laid down (I know not on what authority) nearly in the position I have assigned to it: the situation of Djayleh (erroneously called Kaleh) is still incorrectly given in its old place, being copied from Caillaud and others. Thus Zimmermann even confounds Abou-Haras with Abou-Ahrak; and Wadi Medineh, a rather large place, and capital of the province, is altogether omitted.

name lying further south, while Djayleh was very well known.

The friendly natives, whom they found scattered here and there, were living in extreme poverty, and almost in a savage state. They regarded with astonishment not merely the European articles belonging to my dragoman, but even the biscuits of fine flour made at Abou Haras, in the form of small loaves, as they had never seen anything but their own coarse, indigestible Dourra cakes. On dipping this biscuit into the muddy water in the cistern at Mandarah, for the purpose of moistening it, he jokingly bade them beware of the explosion that would follow, which had the instantaneous effect of driving them to a distance of more than twenty paces to escape the threatened danger.

These poor people appeared to be very kind-hearted, thankful enough if the Egyptian Government on the Nile suffered them to pass their miserable existence in quietness. It is only the nomade tribes among them, who follow little or no agriculture, that are occasionally dangerous to the traveller if he is not upon his guard. But in general all these perils are vastly magnified.

The rainy season had now completely set in; the difficulty of travelling through the rich soil of the Delta, between the Blue and White Nile, greatly increased, and my own state of convalescence had made such slight progress, that I was forced to abandon my original intention of proceeding home by land to Mangara on the Bahr-el-Abiad (pronounced Mandshera by the natives, and totally distinct from Man-

darah), and from that place to return by the White Nile to Khartoum. I was the more induced to this determination by the uncertainty of meeting with a decked boat at Mandshera, having already had ample experience of the inconvenience of an open boat at this season in my passage from the Dender to Wadi Medineh. I found some consolation under my disappointment, by the reflection that the whole of the region from Khartoum to the Fazol was very similar, in which the consentient testimony of the natives was corroborated by my personal experience in my excursion to the Dender; that there was scarcely any difference in the manners and costume of the inhabitants, and that even the plants and animals were throughout the same.

There are no antiquities, at least none are known to exist, below Wadi Medineh, in the direction of the two Nile streams. Our only chance of finding any would be by turning eastwards to the Red Sea, which was beyond the reach of possibility in my case. This fertile, and no longer unpeopled Delta, lying between the White and Blue Nile, would prove the richest of mines to Mehemet Ali, if he would only consent to open some kind of communication between the two rivers by means of canals. I have written long reports to him on this subject, which he promised to take into consideration, and it appears that he has, of late, paid more attention to these countries than they formerly enjoyed.

My collections of natural curiosities had been so greatly increased during my long residence at Abou Haras, that, at my departure, they occupied at

least half the ship's hold; my menagerie received the accession of a Dongola steed, which I purchased at Wadi Medineh, at a Djeerid exercise of the cavalry; a pair of ibis, a rare specimen of tortoise, and two young crocodiles not more than a foot in length, but a complete miniature personification of those thirty times their size. They evinced much irritation, if any one ventured to offer them the least molestation in the pewter basin which was assigned them for their dwelling.

On the evening before my departure, I was present at a truly characteristic scene. The Katsheffs in Upper Soudan have generally a sort of body-guard, composed of trained slaves and servants, whom they are obliged to maintain at their own or, more properly, their neighbours' cost. A Katsheff from the Abyssinian frontiers had been here on a visit for some days; he was the same person who, by a violent capture of slaves on the Abyssinian territory, when he carried off a priest, a near relative of Kamfa, the mighty *major domo*, occasioned the defeat of the Egyptians, as I have already mentioned. He was now on his way to the Governor at Khartoum, to answer for his conduct, going with a heavy heart, and no doubt a heavy purse, which is the infallible palliative in Turkey. While he was here, consulting with his friends, his people accidentally met an old deserter of his body-guard. He was immediately taken into the court-yard of the house, where the three Katsheffs, surrounded by their retinue, were quietly smoking their pipes in the cool of the evening. Salim Katsheff at once began violently to upbraid him, which I overheard, as I

happened at that moment to be looking out at my window. The guilty Turk made a sudden snatch at the pistol of the kawass who was standing beside him, pulled it out of his girdle, and with the rapidity of lightning, fired it at his own breast. I saw the flash, but heard no report; the pistol therefore seemed to have missed, at least the man stood there unhurt. This act, however, so much affected his master, that he received him again into favour. In the evening I learnt from my own kawass that the whole scene had been concerted by the comrade of the prisoner, and that the pistol was not loaded. In Werter's days, many a lover may possibly have won his lady fair by a similar process.

THE END.



LONDON :

BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

ERRATUM.

For "*Mandera*" read "*Mandarah*," in Map, page 370.

