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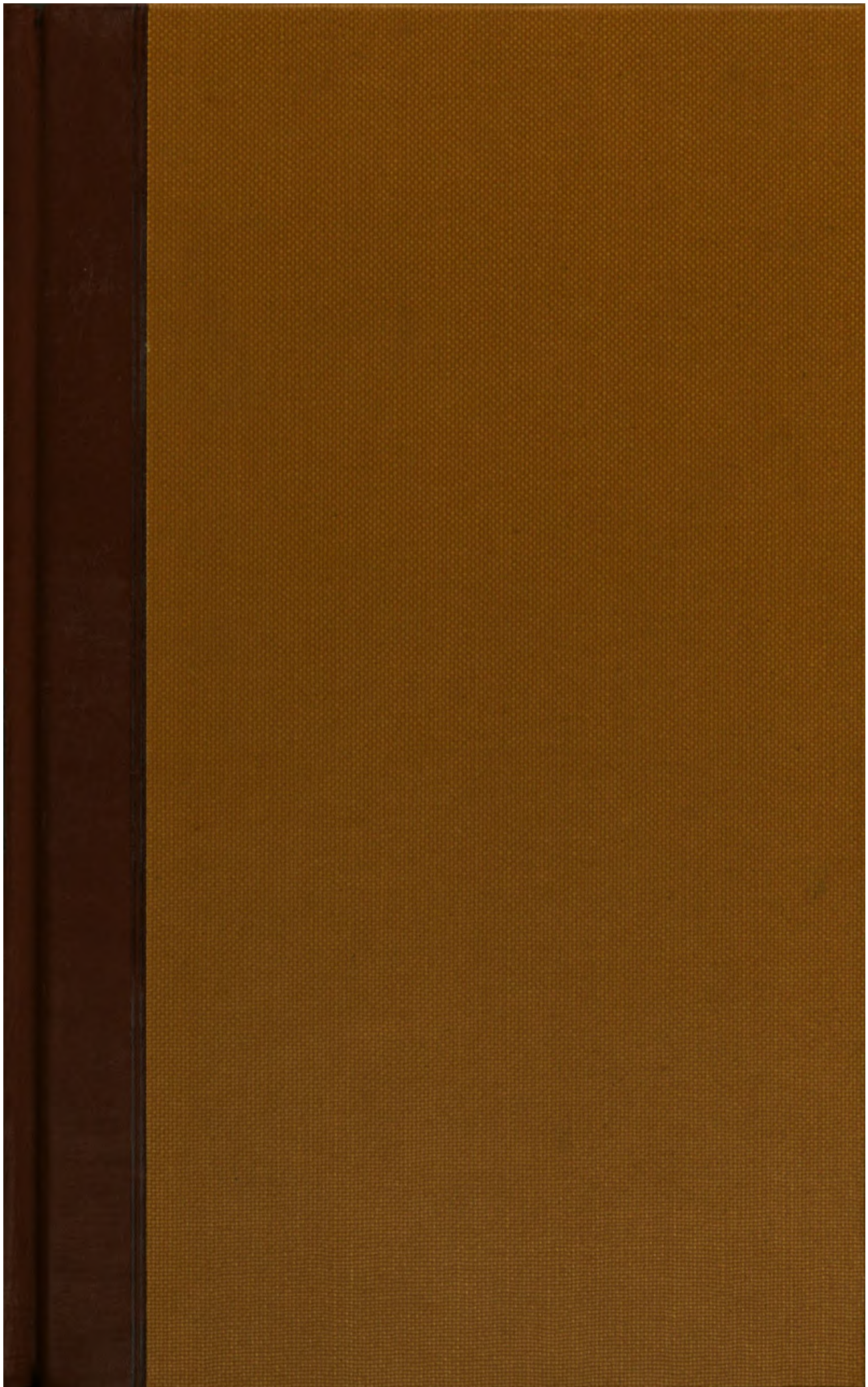
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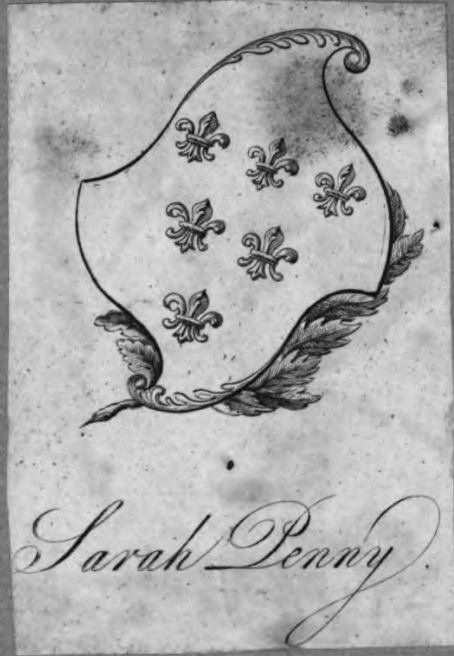
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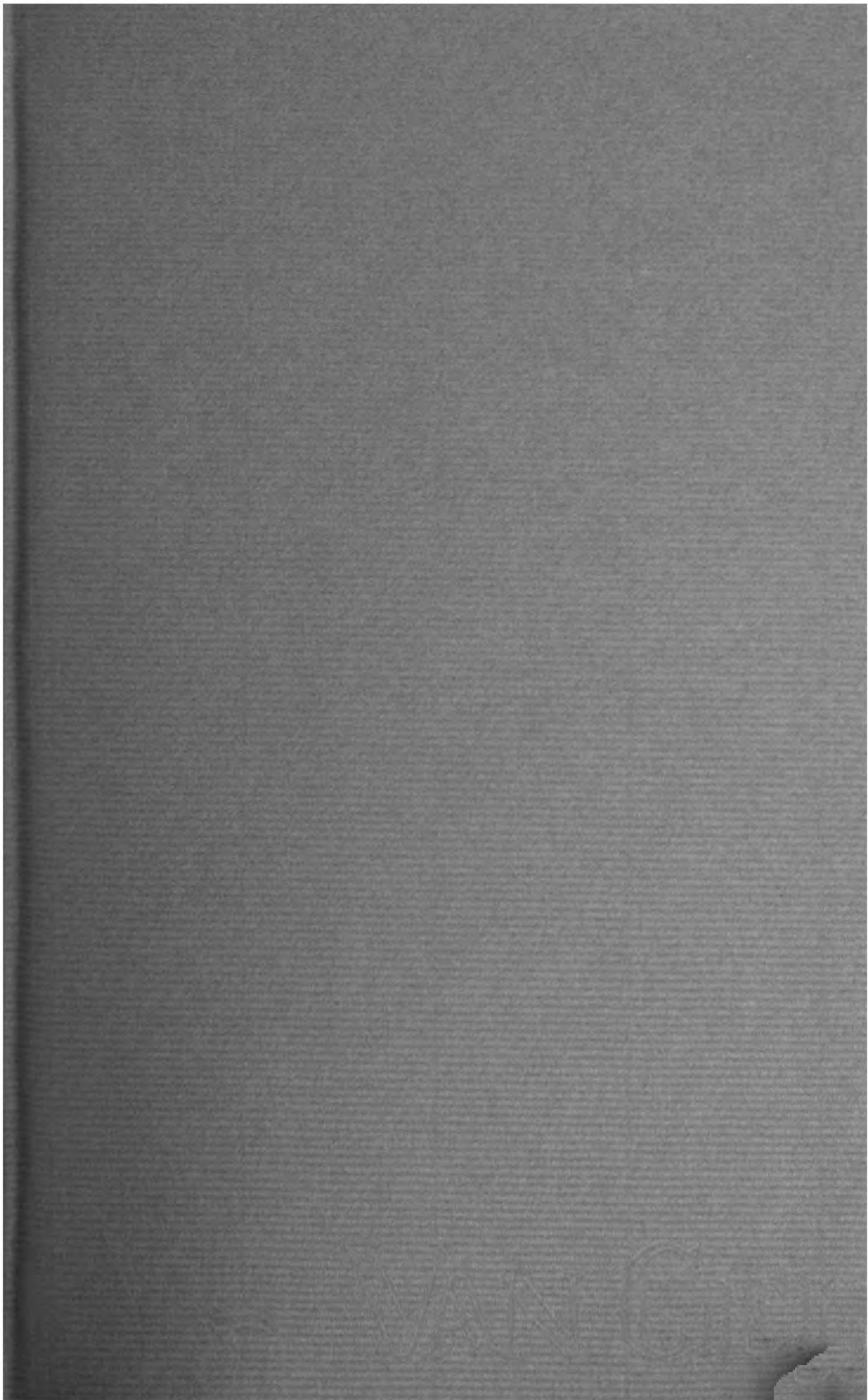
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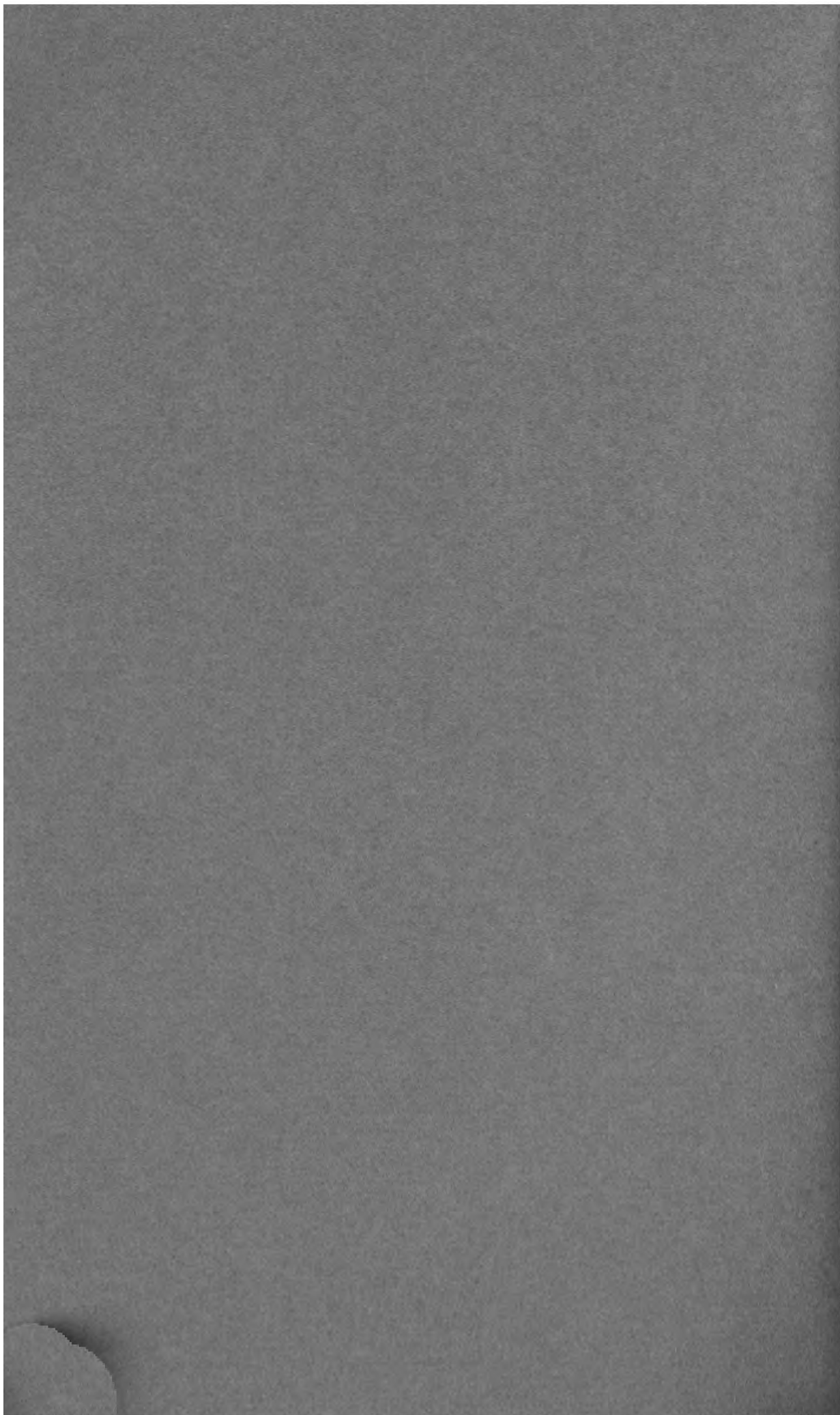


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T R A V E L S
IN
VARIOUS COUNTRIES
OF
EUROPE ASIA AND AFRICA

BY
E. D. CLARKE LL. D.

PART THE SECOND
GREECE EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND

SECTION THE THIRD

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*FOURTH EDITION*

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**VOLUME THE SEVENTH**

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**LONDON**  
**PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES**  
**IN THE STRAND**  
**BY R. WATTS CROWN COURT TEMPLE BAR.**  
**MDCCCXVIII.**



DEC 1933

## ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE  
PRESENT EDITION.

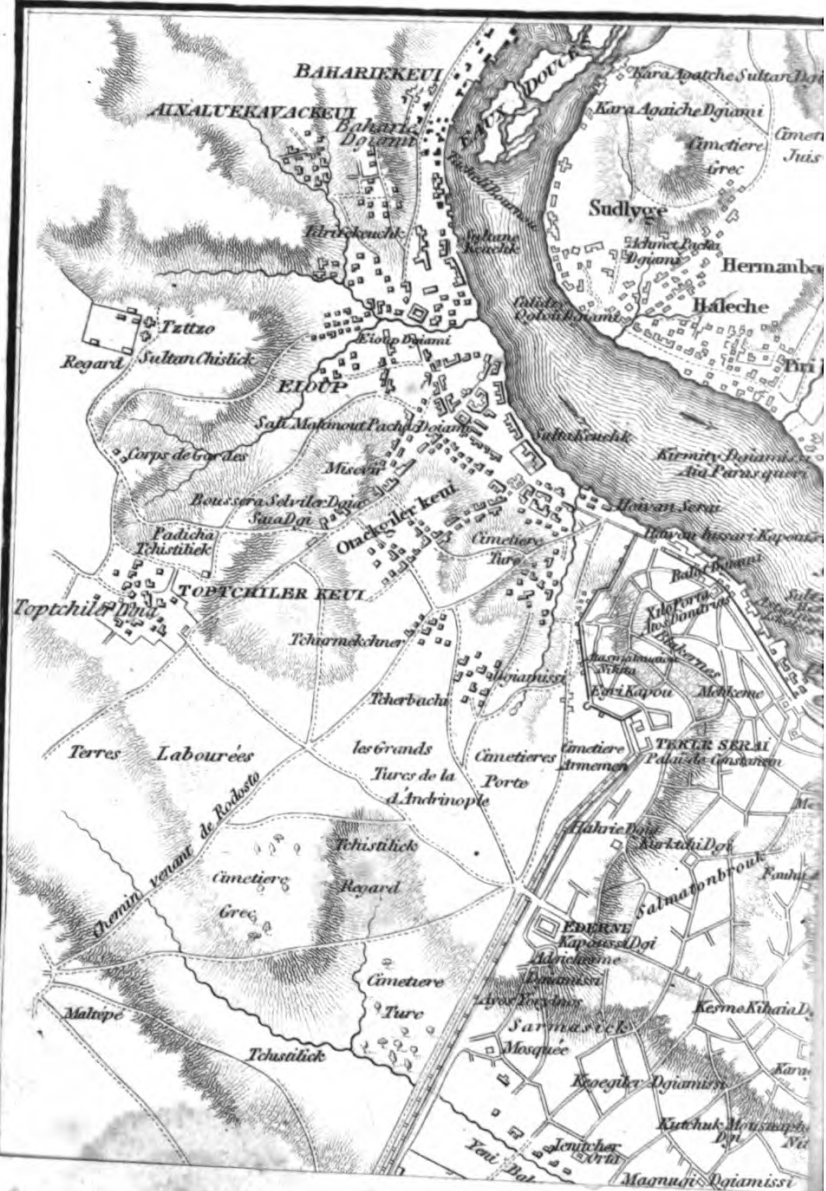
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A CAREFUL revisal of the Text, and a few additions to the Notes, are all the alterations which have been made in reprinting this *Section* of the SECOND PART of the Author's Travels. A particular attention has been paid to the inserting with accuracy the *Orchomenian* Inscriptions; and especially that very antient record, which is rendered remarkable by its distinctions of dialect, and by the recurrence of the digamma, in page 192. The Rev. PETER PAUL DOBREE, M.A. Fellow of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, has himself compared the author's copy of this last-mentioned Inscription with the original in the *British Museum*. A very few

instances in which it required alteration have been attended to; and the same very learned *Greek* Scholar has also contributed a few of his own observations, which are now added to the Notes upon this Inscription.

CAMBRIDGE,

*June 5, 1818.*



BAHARIEKEUI  
ALXALUEKAVACKEUI  
Baharic Doyami  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

Regard Sultan Chistick  
ELOBÇ  
Sultan Chistick  
Sultan Chistick  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

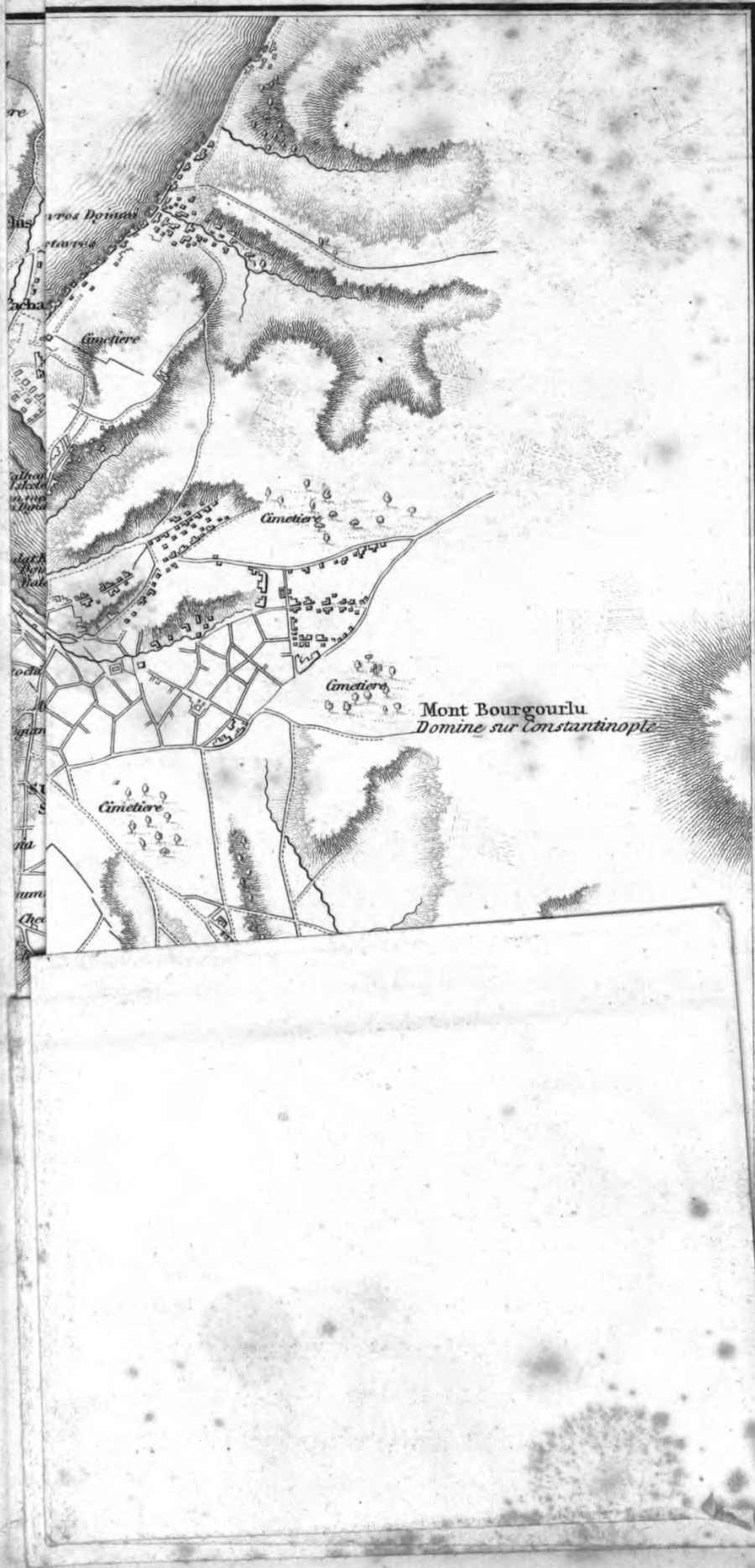
TOPTCHILER KEUI  
Terres Labourées  
ELOBÇ  
Sultan Chistick  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

EDEFNE  
KERMÉKHAÏD  
TOPTCHILER KEUI  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

Cimetiere  
Mosquee  
TOPTCHILER KEUI  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

Cimetiere  
Mosquee  
TOPTCHILER KEUI  
Sudlyge  
Häeche

Cimetiere  
Mosquee  
TOPTCHILER KEUI  
Sudlyge  
Häeche



Mont Bourgourlu  
Domine sur Constantinople

Cimetiere

Cimetiere

Cimetiere

Cimetiere

Mont Bourgourlu

Domine sur Constantinople

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*Original of the Ionic Volute, from an Athenian Terra-cotta Vase.*

## P R E F A C E

TO THE

THIRD AND LAST SECTION OF PART II.

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IN publishing all that remains to complete the SECOND PART of these Travels, the author has the satisfaction of making some addition to his former remarks, upon certain antiquities which appear to him likely to illustrate, in a very remarkable manner, the customs, and the religion, and the language of ANTIENT GREECE.

Ever since the first notice of the characters of the *Greek* alphabet upon the *terra-cotta* vases, found in the sepulchres of the South of *Italy*, decided the fact of their *Hellenic* origin, a hope



had been entertained, that new and copious sources of information, touching the arts and literature of *Greece*, would be brought to light by researches among the tombs of the mother country. Nearly half a century, however, elapsed, from the time that this expectation was originally excited, without any considerable discovery being made. Above twenty years ago, the author was at *Naples* with his friend the late Sir *William Hamilton*, who had long indulged the same hope, when the return of two English gentlemen, Messrs. *Berners* and *Tilson*, from their travels in *Greece*, (bringing with them *terra-cotta* vases similar to those called *Etruscan*, but derived from sepulchres in *Græcia Propria*,) tended greatly towards its fulfilment. These, and other vases, found by Englishmen travelling in *Greece*, or by their agents living at *Athens*, have been occasionally discovered; but they were principally *vessels of libation*, or small *pateras* and *cups*, with little or no ornament, excepting a plain black varnish, or, at the most, a few lines hastily scratched with a sharp instrument upon their surfaces, or traced in colour by way of cincture or border. Nothing that might be considered as fair specimens of *Grecian painting*, nor any *inscriptions*, appeared upon those *terra-cottas*. What the result of the author's own researches in *Græcia Propria* was,

may be seen by reference to the account he has published in the former *Section*, and especially in the *Eighth Chapter* of the *Sixth Volume*, to which an engraving was annexed, representing the principal *terra-cottas* there described<sup>1</sup>: yet few persons have been more zealous in their researches after such antiquities than he was; because he had for many years looked forward to the contribution they might make to the taste and the literature of his country. Since his departure from *Athens*, some excavations, undertaken by the two rival artists, *Lusieri* and *Fauvel*, whose merits he has before noticed, began to realize the prospect so long and so generally formed. Their discoveries were followed by a still more extensive examination of the soil near *Athens*, conducted under the patronage of several persons from this country; but by none more successfully than by Mr. *Dodwell*, by Mr. *Graham*, and by Mr. *Burton*. The representation of a fine vase belonging to Mr. *Dodwell* has been already published<sup>2</sup>; but the more important discoveries of Mr. *Graham*, and of Mr. *Burton* of *Smyrna*, as connected with the arts and the literature of *Greece*, and with a subject so often alluded to in these *Travels*, demand all the

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(1) See the Plate facing p. 458 of the former Volume.

(2) See *Mosses's Collection &c. of Vases*, Plate 3. Lond. 1814.

attention which it is now in the author's power to bestow upon a topic he has already discussed.

Mr. *Graham*, being at *Athens*, caused an excavation to be made near the supposed site of the *Academy*, on the left-hand side of the antient paved-way, leading from *Athens* to *Thebes*. Such was his success, that he discovered and brought to this country nearly a thousand *vases*, of a nature and quality so extraordinary, that in some instances, as will presently appear, nothing like them had ever been seen before. Their discovery amounts to nothing less than the development of a series of original pictures, painted upon the most durable of all materials, representing the *arts*, the *mythology*, the *religious ceremonies*, and the *habits* of the **ATHENIANS**, in the earliest periods of their history. Upon some of these vessels, the *colours*, the *gilding*, and the *lettering*, remain as fresh as when they were deposited in the tombs of *Attica*, more than two thousands years ago. Upon one *Athenian tripod chalice* is pictured the altercation between *Minerva* and *Neptune* for **ATTICA**; at which all the superior *Gods* of *Greece* presided: consequently, this *chalice* has been made to exhibit a complete **PANTHEON**, by a series of *designs*, equal in the style of their execution to any of the *Grecian paintings*

preserved upon the *terra-cottas* of *Nola* in the South of *Italy*; and, to add to the value of this curious mythological document, the *Greek* names of all the assembled *Deities* are inscribed above their heads, in very legible characters.

The style of *painting* upon those vases varies so considerably, that almost every branch of the art known to the *Greeks* may be observed upon them; from the most antient specimens of the style called *monochromatic* by PLINY<sup>1</sup>, where the figures were delineated only as shadows, by a *black* colour traced upon a *red* ground; down to the period in which more elaborate designs, in the *monochromatic* style, were represented by an outline of the liveliest *vermilion*<sup>2</sup> upon a surface which is perfectly *white*. This last style of painting differs from every other, in one lamentable character; that, instead of sustaining

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(1) "Secundam singulis coloribus, et monochromaton dictam," &c. (*Plinio*, lib. xxxv. *Hist. Nat.* tom. III. p. 417. *L. Bat.* 1635.) "Autoritatem colori fuisse non miror: jam enim Trojanis temporibus rubrica in honore erat, Homero teste, qui naveis ea commendat, alias circa picturas pigmentaque rarus (*sic*). *Milton* vocant Græci minium, quidam cinnabari: . . . . . Neque alius est color, qui in picturis proprie sanguinem reddat: . . . . . Cinnabari veteres, quæ etiam nunc vocant monchromata pingebant." *Ibid.* lib. xxxiii. p. 357.

(2) *Murice tinctoria*; the *φινίξ* of the *Greeks*. In more than one instance, *regal robes* are represented, upon the *Athenian terra-cottas*, of a *vermilion* colour.

the action of acids, which are commonly used in cleansing these *vases*<sup>1</sup>, they will not even bear the application of water; and being found covered with dirt, it is very difficult to develop the *vermilion* painting uninjured. Fortunately, one of the finest pictures in this style has escaped; and the whole of the design has been rendered visible, by carefully scraping the surface with very sharp knives; changing them often, so as to preserve an edge as keen as possible<sup>2</sup>. The subject represented<sup>3</sup> appears to relate to the popular and affecting story of the visit paid by *Electra* to the *tomb* of her father *Agamemnon*, when she discovers the *votive offerings* already left there by her brother *Orestes*, previous to their interview; a story related differently by EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES, and of course, like any other popular tale, liable to

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(1) The generality of the *Grecian vases* will sustain the highest temperature of a *porcelain furnace*, without any alteration in the *colours* upon their surfaces.

(2) The whole success of this experiment is due to the patience and skill of ONE to whom the author has been before indebted for the embellishment of his *Travels*, and to whose taste and talents he owes the design whence the *Frontispiece* to this Volume has been engraved. First, by tracing the outline upon the *vase* itself, to ensure the utmost fidelity; and afterwards, by imitating the hue and disposition of the *vermilion* colour with all possible exactness; a faithful copy has been delineated of an *Athenian monochromatic picture*.

(3) See the *Frontispiece*.

many varieties of relation and of representation. The journey of *Orestes* is denoted by the symbol of the staff which he bears in his left hand : and the curious circumstance of the *chaplet*, as connected with sepulchral *vows*, will not be viewed without interest<sup>4</sup>, by persons who have noticed the frequent examples of resemblance between antient and modern customs ; as it clearly proves, that the *chaplets* suspended in the hands of angels upon the old monuments of our churches had their origin, like many other of our religious customs, in *Heathen* superstitions and ceremonies<sup>5</sup>.

Another circumstance discovered by the *paintings* upon those *vases* is too important to be omitted in a work which professes to treat of the antiquities of *Greece*. The origin not only of the *Ionic volute* in architecture, but of the *symbol* denoting *water*, as it has been figured by *Grecian* sculptors in their *marble friezes* and




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(4) See the Frontispiece.

(5) Such as the ornamenting of our churches with *ivy* and *holly* at *Christmas*, &c. &c. *Vide Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. de Vitâ Greg. Thaumaturg. tom. III. p. 574.*

*cornices*, and upon antient *medals* and *gems*, and as it was used for *borders* upon their *pictured vases*, appears, from the *terra-cottas* found by Mr. *Graham*, to have originated in the superstitious veneration shewn to a certain *aquatic plant*, as yet unknown; but which will not long escape the notice of *botanists*, to whom the *plants of Greece* become familiar. It is represented under such a variety of circumstances, and with so many remarkable associations, that no doubt can remain as to the fact. Sometimes this figure



alone is introduced, with an aquatic bird swimming towards it: in other instances, *Genii* are represented as fostering it<sup>1</sup>; and the curvature is so formed, as to exhibit the origin of this well-known border.



In one example, the same *volute* is borne by a *winged Genius* in the *right hand*<sup>2</sup>; and in other

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(1) See the *Vignette* to this Preface.

(2) See the *Vignette* at the end of this Preface; taken from one of Mr. *Graham's Vases*, now in the possession of the Rev. *William Otter*, M.A. Rector of *Chetwynd* in *Shropshire*.

instances, the plant appears terminated by its *flower*, as in a state of fructification; a *Muse*, or *Genius*, but *without wings*, being introduced as holding a *mirror* over it. When to the form of the *flower*, which is *threefold*,



the *volute* appears on either side, we have the representation of an ornament conspicuous upon the *cornices* of many of the most magnificent temples of Antient *Greece*: it then appears in this manner:



From all of which it may appear to be evident, as the author has elsewhere affirmed, that in the *painting* and *sculpture* of the antient *Grecians*, exhibited by their *sepulchral vases*, or *gems*, or *medals*, or *sacred buildings*, or by whatsoever else had any reference to their *religion*, nothing was represented that ought to be considered merely as a fanciful decoration. The ornament, in itself, was strictly *historical*; it consisted of *symbols*, which



## PREFACE TO THIRD SECTION

were severally so many records of their *faith* and *worship*. Like the *hieroglyphics* of *Egypt*, they were the signs of a language perhaps known only to the *priests*; but it was circumscribed by the most rigid canons; and, while the matchless beauty of the workmanship demanded admiration, the sanctity of the symbolical representation excited reverence.

With regard to the great antiquity of those *pictured vases*, as a proof that the author does not err in referring some of them to the most remote periods of the *Grecian* history, he has only to mention the style of writing which they sometimes exhibit. In this view of the subject, a *vase* discovered by Mr. *Burgon*, and now in his possession, is doubly valuable; because the inscription it has preserved<sup>1</sup>, while it manifests the great antiquity of the *vase* itself, also makes known, in the most satisfactory manner, the uses to which these vessels were appropriated, before they were placed within the sepulchres. It

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(1) For the description of this remarkable *Vase*, and the inscription found upon it, the author is entirely indebted to *Thomas Burgon, Esq. of Smyrna*, who not only supplied him with a *fac-simile* of the inscription, but also brought to *Cambridge* his own valuable designs, faithfully copied from the original vase, which is at present in *Turkey*.

represents on one side a charioteer, *seated*<sup>2</sup> in his car, drawn by two horses in full speed; he is urging them with a goad which he bears in his right hand, and guiding them with a long wand; this he holds in his left hand, and to the extremity of it two balls are fastened. Upon the other side is seen the image of *Minerva*, represented by a picture so uncommonly antient, that nothing like it has ever appeared. The painting consists of three colours; a dingy *red*, *black*, and *white*. The figure of *Minerva* is delineated in the *black* colour; but her attire is *red*, and her face, hands, and feet, are *white*. Instead of a helmet, she wears upon her head the red *fez*, now in use among the Modern *Greeks*; from the top of which a crest rises, like that of a helmet. Instead of the *Gorgon* upon her shield, a *Dolphin* is represented; thereby denoting her antient relationship to *Venus* and *Astarte*. Her hair falls straight down her back; and it is collected into a *queue*, pointed at the end<sup>3</sup>: this part of the design is traced in a wavy zig-zag outline, which is purely *Etruscan*. The same may be said of her *zone*, and the border of her *red petticoat*,

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(2) It is said, that there is only one other example known where the Charioteer is represented in a sitting posture.

(3) Exactly like the manner in which the *Chinese* wear their hair.

upon which the labyrinthine maze is figured, but in the driest *Etruscan* taste. Instead of an *Owl* above her head, appears a *Harpy*: there is, however, an *Owl* over the figure of the *charioteer*. *Minerva* is represented in the act of combating: and before the figure of the Goddess—that is to say, upon the left hand of the spectator—the following inscription appears, written vertically, instead of horizontally, and from *right* to *left*:

IMEMOV@AM@ENEOAMOT

signifying either

I · AM · A · PRIZE · GIVEN · BY · ATHENS

or, supposing AΘENEON to mean the festival,

I · AM · THE · PRIZE · OF · THE · ATHENÆA

The oldest form of writing was that from *right* to *left*, as it here appears: the *Greeks* derived it from the *Phœnicians*. Next they wrote *βουστροφηδόν*; and afterwards wholly from *left* to *right*. This *vase*, as it is evident, was a *prize* obtained at *Athens*, because it bears the “*arms and crest*” of the city, in the images of *Minerva* and the *Owl*. Probably it was gained at the festival, when competitors came from all parts of *Greece*, and the *victors* received *ὕδρια* filled with *oil*, which were vessels made of *terra-cotta*,

and *painted*, as it appears from the following curious passage of *Pindar*<sup>1</sup>, thus rendered by the author's learned friend the Rev. *Charles James Blomfield*, when corresponding with him upon the subject of this truly archaic inscription:

“The songs have twice proclaimed him *victor*  
“in the *festivals* of the ATHENIANS; and the *pro-*  
“*duce of the olive, contained in burned earth, has*  
“come to ARGOS in the *variegated circumference*  
“of *vases*.”

It is not unlikely that the word AΘENEON alludes to this great festival; called *Athenæa* before the title of τὰ Ἀθηναῖα was changed to τὰ Παναθηναῖα. This is said to have happened after the time of *Theseus* or *Erichthonius*<sup>2</sup>; although the term τὰ Ἀθηναῖα occurs in the modern Scholiast on *Aristophanes*. According to Mr. *Blomfield*, the word in question is the old genitive, from Ἀθῆναι<sup>3</sup>. Yet it must be

(1) Vid. *Nem.* X. 67.

(2) Where see the Scholiast.

(3) *Ister* in *Harpocrat.* v. Παναθηναῖα, et *Pausanias* viii. 2. See *Meursius Panath.* p. 2. et *Schol. Platon.* p. 59.

(4) *Hom. Od.* γ. 278. *Aristoph.* *Nub.* 400. (See *Porson's Coll.* of the MS. *Harl.* p. 14.) Σούμιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν. *Euphorio* ap. *Hermog.* π. i. p. 248. ἀργία δῆμον Ἀθηνῶν. MS. *Cairo Gonv.* Ἀθηναίων, i. e. Ἀθηνῶν, which is the true reading. Note by Mr. *Blomfield*.

observed, that the use of ΑΘΛΟΝ with the genitive of a city is very unusual; and another learned *Hellenist*, *R. P. Knight*, Esq. believes that it never was thus used, nor with any other Ἀγωνοθέτης. *Mr. Knight* adheres to the opinion that ΑΘΕΝΕΟΝ means the *festival*; but he does not carry back the antiquity of the *vase* much beyond the *sixtieth Olympiad*, five hundred and thirty-six years before the *Christian æra*: allowing, however, for the age of this remarkable *vase*, a period equal to two thousand three hundred and fifty-one years.

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It remains now to add a few words respecting the other subjects treated of in this and the preceding *Sections* of PART THE SECOND. A casual reader, who has not considered the importance of attending to every object likely to serve as a *land-mark* in fixing the *topography* and *geography* of GREECE, may perhaps think that too much attention has sometimes been bestowed upon the existence of a *fountain*; or of a *bridge* over an insignificant *stream*; or of a *tumulus*; or of the *capital* or *shaft* of a *Doric* or of an *Ionic* column; or any other apparently trivial relic connected with the antient history of the country;—not being

aware, that, in very many cases, these remains are the only beacons we can have, to guide our course, in penetrating the thick darkness now covering this "land of lost Gods and men;" and in adapting passages from antient authors for the illustration of its antiquities and history. Such objects, noticed by one traveller, are afterwards made use of by another, as clues to discoveries of much greater importance. It sometimes happens, that a large portion of antient history may be proved to have a connection with the meanest vestige of a former age. This is particularly true of *Inscriptions*: the scholar, who seeks only the gratification of his literary taste by the *archaïcal* characters, or by the sense conveyed in an inscription, may deem the insertion of such poor fragments as contain only a single name, or an imperfect legend (perhaps consisting of half a line, and sometimes of half a word), altogether unnecessary. He will be ready to ask, wherefore an inscription at *Marathon*, containing only the letters **KAIN**, and these too in very large capitals, was deemed worthy of a place in this work? To which there is this answer: It was necessary to prove that the ruins, where these letters appeared, were truly *Grecian*; and to afford, by an accurate specimen of the

characters, as much information respecting their antiquity as it was possible to afford;—for by attention to such circumstances, more intelligence is frequently conveyed by a few letters, than by whole pages of dissertation.

In the examination of this *Last Section* of PART THE SECOND, the Reader will find many things unnoticed by former travellers; although some of the discoveries made by the author have found their way into other publications, without any notice of the person from whom they were originally derived. Owing to the unavoidable delay that has attended the publication of this part of his work, it was natural to expect that this would happen: having never withheld what he knew, when applied to for information respecting the country, he may attribute to his own disregard of anticipation any use that subsequent travellers have made of his observations. Before he visited *Greece*, the sites of several places, famous in antiquity, were as much unknown as many that still remain to be pointed out. He succeeded in ascertaining some of them for the first time; for example, the cities of TITHOREA and PLATÆA; the *Corycian Cave*, near DELPHI, &c.: and by his discovery of an *Inscription* in the

DEFILE OF TEMPE<sup>1</sup>, the exact *locality* of that celebrated PASS can never again become a subject of dispute.

With regard to subjects of *Natural History*, such as *Botany* and *Mineralogy*, the author has kept these, as much as possible, from interrupting his narrative, where it related either to *statistical* or to *classical* information. But as it is important to mark the situation of newly-discovered and *non-descript* plants, he has introduced the *new species* only, as they happened to occur, in the *Notes*; always accompanying their insertion with a description of their discriminative characters, as in former instances;—an entire List of all the *Plants* found during these travels in GREECE, EGYPT, and the HOLY LAND, being added in the *Appendix* to this *Section*. His *mineralogical* remarks would have been more ample, had the appearance of *simple minerals* been more frequent; but it is chiefly in a *geological* view that there is any thing yet worthy of observation in the LEVANT; and even to the *geologist*, the eastern shores of the *Mediterranean*, and those of the *Archipelago*, exhibit little variety. The mountains are so uniformly of

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(1) See Chap. IX. of this Volume.



*limestone*, that, with respect to GREECE, if we except the *breccia* formation around MYCENÆ, and in the *substratum* of the rock of the *Acropolis* at ATHENS, hardly any other substance can be found<sup>1</sup>. In the north of GREECE, indeed, and in MACEDONIA, some very remarkable changes occur; as, the *serpentine breccia*, or *verde-antico*, in THESSALY; and that curious aggregate of dark *diallage* and white *feldspar*, called by *Italian* lapidaries "*bianco é néro antico*," in MACEDONIA. Other varieties of *porphyry* occur also in THRACE; particularly one of *hornblende porphyry*, resembling *lava*, in the great plain of *Chouagilarkir*, near the foot of a chain of mountains called *Karowlan*, a branch of RHODOPE.

A contrary rule has been observed in writing the *Supplement*, which contains an account of the author's journey from *Constantinople* to *Vienna*. Here, as the subject related principally to the *mines* of *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, instead of compressing his *mineralogical observations* into the form of Notes, he was frequently compelled

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(1) Dr. *Holland* (*Travels*, &c. p. 397. *Lond.* 1815.) thinks "that the great *limestone formation* of GREECE and the Isles is particularly liable to the phænomena of earthquakes."

not only to give them a place in the text, but sometimes to sacrifice other topics of discussion, in order to introduce them. As to *mineralogy*, indeed, unless some judicious mode of nomenclature be adopted by the concurrence of writers upon this subject, instead of the *jargon* now prevalent, the science will become characterized by confusion as fearful as that of *Babel*. Not only every new writer, but every new professor of mineralogy, and almost every dealer in minerals, conceives himself authorized either to introduce *new* names, or to revive *old* appellations that had long been laid aside: hence it follows, that in naming any *simple mineral*, or *mineral aggregate*, in order to be intelligible, it is necessary to use a list of *synonyms*, which is every day increasing<sup>e</sup>. It is easy to propose a remedy for

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(2) Thus, in order to distinguish the *pure sulphate of lime* from the *hydro-sulphate*, or *plaster stone*, the *mineralogical student* is taught to rehearse all the barbarous names of *muriacite*, *würfelspath*, *sulfatine*, *anhydrâte*, *vulpinolithé*, *bardiglione*, and perhaps many more. Nor is this evil confined to *simple minerals*: it is also gaining ground rapidly in the nomenclature of *rocks*. It was generally understood among *geologists*, that every *mineral aggregate*, consisting of *crystals of feldspar* imbedded in any given matrix, should be called a *porphyry*: and here there was no confusion; because every one understood what compound substances were designated by the terms *serpentine porphyry*,

this evil. The *Geological Society of London*—whose “TRANSACTIONS” already reflect so much credit upon their Institution, and are become so deservedly popular—assisted, if possible, by deputies from other Societies, might establish a *British*, if not an *European system of Nomenclature*. And surely if the valedictory observations of the celebrated and venerable *Bishop WATSON*, upon the GREAT NATIONAL IMPORTANCE of *mineralogical studies*, be worthy of regard<sup>1</sup>, the æra of an universal Peace will not pass without some effort being made for this purpose.

In the description of the *Gold and Silver Mines of Hungary*, the mineralogical associations of the precious metals, and the whole process relating to the *German* method of treating their *ores*, have been detailed within a small compass, and, it is hoped, in a perspicuous manner, that they might become intelligible to every reader.

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*porphyry, pitchstone porphyry, trap porphyry, quartz porphyry, hornblende porphyry, &c.* Now the last of these *rocks* has received the appellation of *syenite*; because, forsooth, the Antients bestowed that name, not upon *porphyry*, but upon *granite* !!!

(1) “A Mineralogical College should be instituted; and skilful men should be sent out, at the public expense, to collect, from every quarter, all that is at present known upon the subject.” *Bishop Watson's Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. II. p. 438. Lond. 1815.*

While collecting materials for this addition to his work, the author was assisted by information from the Archdukes *Anton* and *Reiner*, brothers of the present *Emperor of Germany*, during their visit to those *mines*; and by the *Professors* established at *Schemnitz* under the patronage of the Crown. In giving it to the Public, he is actuated by a hope, however vain it may prove, that the Government of this country, now no longer engaged in foreign wars, will turn their attention to the immense resources of wealth which this nation possesses within itself,—lying neglected, through want of a proper attention to its *mines*, and of the encouragement which it is its best interest to afford to *mineralogical studies*. It was the *mines* of *Macedonia* that enabled PHILIP to subdue all the turbulent factions, the colonies, and the states of GREECE: and if the Government of *Great Britain* were zealously to engage in *mining* speculations, either by joining with individuals in carrying on researches for this purpose, or by contributing the patronage necessary for the encouragement of such inquiries, Nature has not denied to this country the means of enriching herself by subterraneous treasure. Many of the barren mountains of *Scotland* consist of *metalliferous strata*. The same *porphyritic* rocks are found in our island that have

for centuries provided the *miners* of *Hungary* and *Transylvania* with employment, and their rulers with wealth. *Geological Societies* are forming in different parts of the kingdom: the nation is therefore awake to the importance of such researches; and the most favourable opportunity is presented of multiplying the means of industry, and thereby opening new sources of wealth. The whole of the western coast of *Scotland*, that is to say, the main land opposite to *Skie*, *Rum*, *Canna*, *Egg*, and *Coll*, from *Loch Hourn* to the head of *Loch Sunart*, consists of metalliferous granite (*gneiss*), abounding in *garnets*, and other associations of metallic bodies. The *strata* of the islands of *Iona*, *Coll*, *Tyr-i*, *Rum*, and *Skie*, consist of *syenite porphyry*, *hornblende slate*, *gneiss*, *pitchstone porphyry*, *trap*, &c.; and these are the *matrices* of the *precious ores* found in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. The higher part of the *Cuchullin mountains* of the *Isle of Skie*, in particular, consist of *strata* of the identical *porphyry* which is known to be metalliferous<sup>1</sup>, lying upon *basalt*. The author carefully examined all those *islands*, and the opposite main land of *Great Britain*, before he undertook his last journey to the Continent;

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(1) The *Saxum metalliferum* of *Born*.

and from what he has since seen of *foreign mines*, he is convinced that a proper attention has not yet been paid to the importance of our own mountains.

In the account of antient *copper* coinage, as of all other *cupreous* antiquities, the author has always used the word *bronze*—a term now become absolutely necessary—to distinguish the old chemical compound of *copper and tin*, from that of a later age, consisting of *copper and zinc*, or *orichalcum*<sup>2</sup>, which is called *brass*. Thus, at the end of the *Seventh Chapter* of this *Volume*, he mentions “*Roman, or ecclesiastical brass coins.*” There was no such substance known in the *Heroic ages*, nor in the time of the *Peloponnesian war*, when *copper* began to be used for *coinage* in *Greece*, as that compound which we call *brass*: and perhaps there is no better test to decide at once the distinction between a genuine antique *bronze*, and those spurious imitations of the works of the Antients, of which there exists a complete manufacture at *Naples*, than to submit the suspected metal to any chemical test which may

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(2) “*Cadmia-terra quæ in æs conjicitur, ut fiat ORICHALCUM.*”  
*Fest. de Ver. Seq.*

determine the presence of *tin*, or of *zinc*, in a state of combination with *copper*: for if there be a particle of *zinc* in the mass, the work, consisting of *brass*, and not of *bronze*, is thereby proved to be either of modern date, or, at best, a specimen of *orichalcum*, and therefore of *Roman* origin.

In the acknowledgment of literary obligations, the author has been scrupulously exact; perhaps more so than, in some instances, might seem necessary: but it was his wish to discharge every debt of this nature,—for two reasons: first, because by so doing he presents his Reader with a view of the society in which he has lived, and introduces to his notice some of the friends with whom he has conversed: secondly, because those parts of his work which are exclusively his own, and for which he alone is responsible, may the more easily be recognised. Upon the present occasion he is desirous of acknowledging a communication of an interesting nature from his friend the *Rev. G. A. BROWNE, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*, which constitutes the first article of

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(1) See *Watson on ORICHALCUM. Chem. Essays, vol. IV. p. 85. Camb. 1786.*

the *Appendix* to this *Section*. It relates to a fragment of *Nicetas the Choniate*, which is not to be found in any of the printed editions of that historian. The original is preserved in a *Manuscript* belonging to the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*. It is mentioned by *Mr. Harris*, in his "Philological Inquiries<sup>e</sup>," and was first published by *Banduri*, in his *Imperium Orientale*; afterwards by *Fabricius*, in his *Bibliotheca*; but, owing to the extreme difficulty of comprehending the sense of the author, no correct version of it had appeared. The task of rendering this fragment intelligible was kindly undertaken by *Mr. Browne*; and as it mainly relates to former observations, respecting the real perpetrators of the ravages committed among the Fine Arts in *Constantinople*, it is now printed, with *Mr. Browne's* valuable Notes, at the end of this *Section*. To *JOHN GWALTER PALAIRET, Esq.* of *Reading*, the author is further indebted, for a revision of the following pages, after they had issued from the press, and were ready for publication. To mention other obligations, were only to repeat former acknowledgments: but he will not close this Preface without expressing his thanks to *RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, Esq.*;

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(4) *Philolog. Inq.* Chap. V. vol. II. p. 301. *Lond.* 1781.



to the Rev. Dr. KAYE, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*; and to that celebrated traveller, JOHN HAWKINS, Esq. of *Bignor Park, Sussex*; for the polite attention which they have shewn to inquiries affecting the accuracy of this work.

CAMBRIDGE, Nov. 23, 1815.



*Original of the Ionic Volute, from an Athenian Terra-cotta Vase.*

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—

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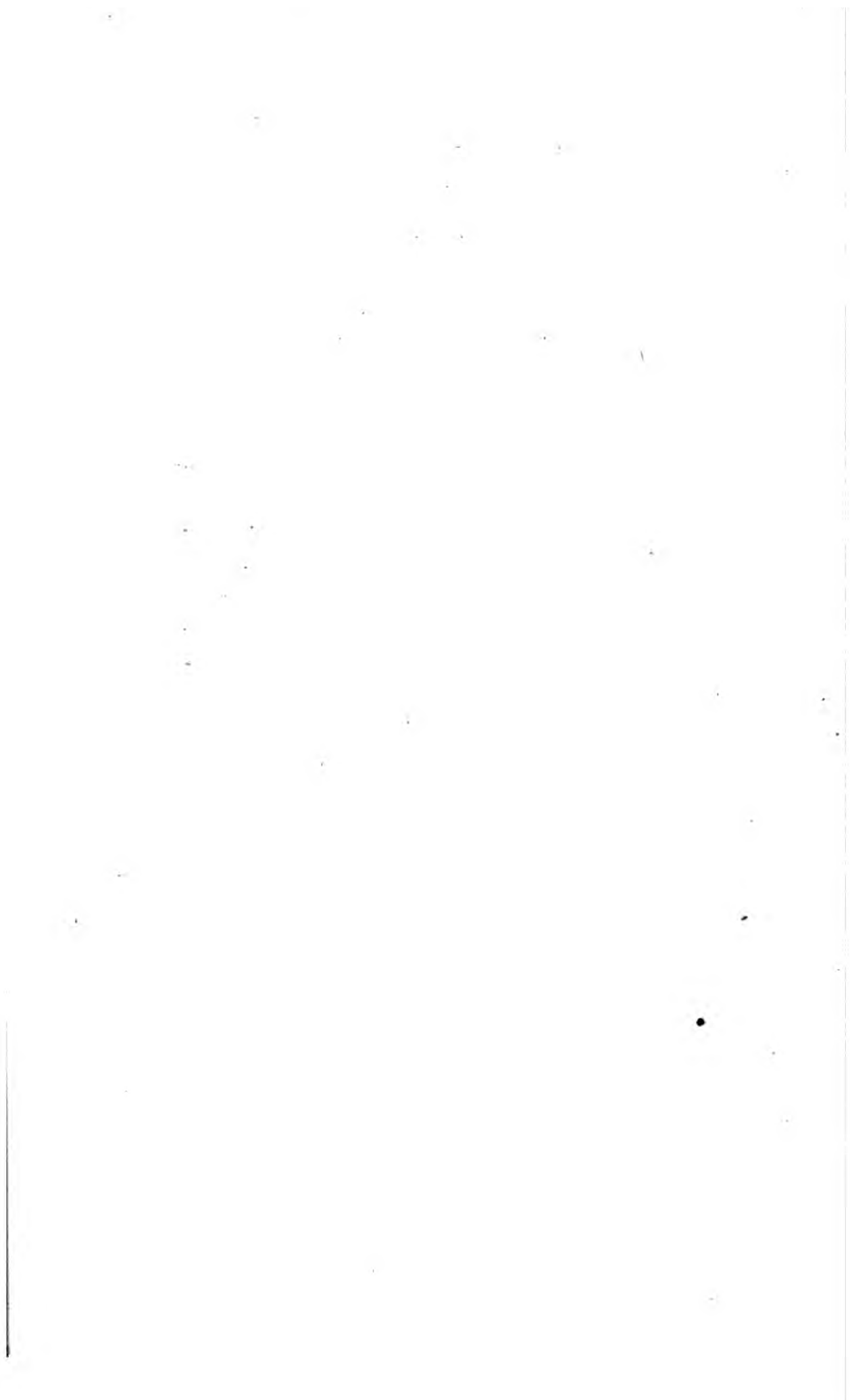
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Silver Medal of ATHENS.

## CHAP. I.

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Marathonian Defile—Importance of the Pass—Return to Marathon Village.

CHAP.  
I.

UPON our return to ATHENS from ELEUSIS, *Lusieri*, (who had expressed, upon former occasions, considerable doubt respecting the possibility of removing the *Statue of Ceres*, even with the means which he possessed, as the agent of our Ambassador,) jocularly inquired, whether we had abandoned the undertaking. But as soon as we informed him, that we had not only carried off the Goddess, but that she was “*under weigh*” and upon her voyage to *Smyrna*, to secure a passage to *England*, he expressed so much astonishment, that, with uplifted hands, he exclaimed, in his mother-tongue, “*Affè! se anche pensate di rimuovere l’Agropoli, non avrete mai il mio permesso*’.” We remained a week in *Athens* after this event; and during that short period we saw more of the manners of the inhabitants than we had before done. At the Governor’s, it is true, our observations were restricted to the gravity of his countenance, the fumes of his pipe, and the flavour of his coffee: but *Lusieri* introduced us to some *Greek* families

Manners  
of the  
*Athenians*.

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(1) “Faith! if you also think of removing the *Acropolis*, you shall not have my permission.”

of his acquaintance; and our Consul invited us to a ball, given in honour of a couple betrothed to each other. Many of the *Athenian* ladies are very handsome. Until the period of their marriage, the greatest care is used in adorning their persons, and in preserving the beauty of their complexions: but they are almost as much secluded from common view as the incarcerated virgins of the *Turkish* harems. Every house belonging to a *Greek* of any consideration has its *Gynæcéum*; and unless a stranger be intimate enough with the master of a family to penetrate to the retirement set apart for its female relatives, he may come and go without meeting any one of them. It has been believed that this custom among the *Athenians*, of shutting up their women, is an imitation of the manners of their *Turkish* lords; but, in fact, it was the original practice of the antient inhabitants of the city, and it has continued among their descendants until the present day. When any one of the *Athenian* ladies ventures into the streets, either upon the occasion of a public festival, or in her way to and from a public bath, she makes her appearance veiled, and so wrapped up, that it is impossible to judge either of her person or of her age: and

CHAP.

I.



CHAP.  
I.

this also was antiently the custom, as we learn from the account DICÆARCHUS has left us of the women of *Thebes*<sup>1</sup>. Divested of this attire, her figure at home, contrasted with the disguise she exhibited abroad, is singularly striking. Among all the travellers who were admitted into female society at *Athens*, or who have related from report what they did not actually see, there has been no writer more faithful or more happy in his representation than CHANDLER. It seems as if the subject had, for once, raised his feelings to the temperature necessary for animated description; and he briefly sketches a glowing portrait of a *Grecian* virgin in her secluded apartment<sup>2</sup>. Her employment here is seldom varied: the

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(1) Vid. *Dicæarchi Stat. Græc. apud Geog. Minor. p.16. Oxon. 1703.*

(2) "There the girl, like *Thetis*, treading on a soft carpet, has her white and delicate feet naked; the nails tinged with red. Her trowsers, which in winter are of red cloth, and in summer of fine calico or thin gauze, descend from the hip to the ankle, hanging loosely about her limbs; the lower portion embroidered with flowers, and appearing beneath the shift, which has the sleeves wide and open, and the seams and edges curiously adorned with needle-work. Her vest is of silk, exactly fitted to the form of the bosom and the shape of the body, which it rather covers than conceals, and is shorter than the shift. The sleeves button occasionally to the hand, and are lined with red or yellow satin. A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened

time which is not spent in the business of the toilette, and at meals, is given to spinning and embroidery. Reading or writing seems to be entirely unknown; or to be considered rather as the vulgar occupation of clerks and scribes, than of persons of taste and rank. The accomplishments of the *Grecian*, as of the *Turkish* ladies, are few in number: some few among them are able to *touch*, rather than to *play* upon, the dulcimer or the guitar; and to dance, but without the slightest degree of elegance or of liveliness. We visited the ball to which we had been invited; and found a large party of the wealthiest matrons of the *Greek* families, seated in a row, with their daughters standing before them. When the dancing began, we were called upon

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Description  
of a  
Ball.

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fastened before by clasps of silver gilded, or of gold set with precious stones. Over the vest is a robe, in summer lined with ermine, and in cold weather with fur. The head-dress is a scull-cap, red or green, with pearls; a stay under the chin, and a yellow forehead-cloth. She has bracelets of gold on her wrists; and, like *Aurora*, is *rosy-fingered*; the tips being stained. Her necklace is a string of zechins, a species of gold coin; or of the pieces called *Byzantines*. At her cheeks is a lock of hair, made to curl towards the face; and down her back falls a profusion of tresses, spreading over her shoulders. Much time is consumed in combing and braiding the hair after bathing; and at the greater festivals, in enriching and powdering it with small bits of silver, gilded, resembling a violin in shape, and woven-in at regular distances. She is painted blue round the eyes; and the insides of the sockets, with the edges on which the lashes grow, are tinged with black." *Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 123. Oxf. 1776.*

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to assist, and we readily joined in a circle formed by a number of young women holding each other by their hands in the middle of the room. From the figure thus presented, we supposed that something like a cotillion was about to be performed; but the dance, if it may be called by that name, consisted solely in a solemn poising of the body, first upon one foot, then upon the other; the whole choir advancing and retreating by a single step, without moving either to the right or to the left. The gravity with which this was performed, and the pompous attitudes assumed, were so uncommonly ludicrous, that it was impossible to refrain from laughter. In order, however, to apologize for our rudeness, we ventured to propose that the most easy figure of a *French* or of an *English* dance might be introduced; which was attempted, but pronounced too fatiguing. At this moment the eyes of the whole company were turned upon the fat figure of a matron, who, rising from the *diván* on which she had been seated, beckoned to another lady still more corpulent than herself, and, as if to assert the superior skill of her countrywomen in an exercise for which she had been considered famous in her youth, promised to exhibit the utmost graces of an *Athenian pas-de-deux*. Immediately, several whispers were

Mode of  
Dancing  
practised  
by the  
women,

made in our ears, saying, "Now you will see how the *Grecian* ladies, who have studied the art, are able to dance." The two matrons stationed themselves opposite to each other, in the centre of the apartment; and the elder, holding a handkerchief at either extremity, began the performance, by slowly elevating her arms, and singing, accompanied by the clapping of hands. It was evidently the dance of the *Gipsies*, which we had often seen in *Russia*, particularly in *Moscow*<sup>1</sup>; but here it was performed without any of the agility or the animation shewn by the *Tzigankies*, and had been modified into a mere exhibition of affected postures, consisting of an alternate elevation and depression of the arms and handkerchief, attended now and then with a sudden turn and most indecorous motion of the body, neither of the dancers moving a step from the spot on which she had originally placed herself. In all this there was nothing that could remind us, even by the most distant similitude, of the graceful appearance presented by the female *Bacchanals*, as they are represented upon the *Grecian* vases. But as we had seen something

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(1) See Part I. of these Travels, Vol. I. Chap. IV. pp. 79, 80. Octavo Edition.

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more like to those pictured *choreæ* among the islands, there is no reason to conclude that all the antient features of the *Grecian* dance have been entirely laid aside. One of them is certainly retained in every part of *Greece*; namely, that characteristic of antient dancing which is connected with the origin of the exercise itself, and of a nature forcibly opposed to all our ideas of decency and refinement. It was probably owing to this circumstance that the *Romans* held dancing in such low estimation<sup>1</sup>. The most discreet females of *Modern Greece*, practising what they conceive to be the highest accomplishment of the art, deem it to be no degradation of the virtues which they certainly possess, when they exhibit movements and postures of the body expressing, in our eyes, the grossest licentiousness. Possibly it may have been from observing such violations of decorum, that some travellers, in their accounts of the country, have calumniated the *Grecian* women, by imputing to them a general want of chastity. Yet there is no reason to believe that any charge of this nature has been deservedly

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(1) See the observation of *Cicero*, as cited in Vol. V. of these Travels, Chap. IV. p. 166. Octavo Edition.

bestowed: on the contrary, we find that the latest descriptions of the manners of the inhabitants afford a much more favourable representation of their moral character<sup>2</sup>. That they are exceedingly superstitious, cannot be denied; but even their superstitions are rendered interesting, in having been transmitted, unaltered, from the earliest ages of the *Grecian* history. Among these may be noticed the wearing of rings, as spells<sup>3</sup>; the practice, upon any sudden apprehension, of spitting into their own bosoms<sup>4</sup>; the alarm excited by seeing serpents in their houses<sup>5</sup>; the observance of lucky or unlucky days<sup>6</sup>; the various charms and drugs which are supposed to facilitate child-birth<sup>7</sup>; the

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I.

Supersti-  
tions.

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(2) "They are assiduous housewives, and tender mothers, suckling their infants themselves; and, notwithstanding the boastings of travellers, I must believe them generally chaste." *Hobhouse's Travels in Turkey*, &c. p. 506. Lond. 1813.

(3) Δακτυλίου; Φαρμάκιται. *Aristoph. Plut.* p. 88.

(4) Τρίς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον. *Theocritus*. A similar superstition is mentioned by Mr. Galt, in his "*Letters from the Levant*," p. 172. Lond. 1813.

(5) Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. *Theophrastus*. "*Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis*." *Terent.* in *Phorm.* Ac. IV. Sc. 4.

(6) Vid. *Hesiod.* ἐν Ἐργοῖς καὶ Ἡμ. κ.τ.λ.

(7) Vid. *Aristophanes*, ὀκυτόκι ὠνοσάμενος. *Plutarch* (*De Fluv.* p. 60. *Tortosæ*, 1615.) mentions an herb, *Cyura*, growing upon the banks of the *Inachus*, famous for its virtues in assisting parturition: and the women of *Darien* in *America*, when pregnant, eat an herb which, it is said, causes them to bring forth without pain. Vid. *Boem.* lib. iv. c. 11.

CHAP. ceremonies attending sneezing<sup>1</sup>; offerings made  
 of locks of hair<sup>2</sup>; a veneration for salt<sup>3</sup>;  
 with their various modes of divination. To collect and enumerate all of them, would require a longer residence in the country. An attention to such examples of antient ceremonies and superstitions is however useful; because, having been transmitted from father to son, and being found at this day in countries widely separated, they serve to assist an inquiry into the origin of nations; and if they do not enable us to trace a connection between different branches of the same stock, with as much certainty as the relation of languages, yet they sometimes tend to confirm the truths which are thereby suggested. In such an inquiry, perhaps there will be found nothing more perplexing than the evident analogy between some of the customs of the present inhabitants of *Greece* and those of other nations, differing both as to situation and in every peculiarity of language; such, for example, as may be observed in comparing the funeral ceremonies of the *Albanians* with those of

Funeral  
 Rites of the  
*Albanians.*

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(1) Πταρμός ἐκ δέξιων. *Plut. Themist.* p. 85. l. 23.

(2) Vid. *Lucian, Pausanias, &c.* Human hair is often suspended among the *dona votiva* made by the inhabitants of *India* to their Gods.

(3) Πού ἄλας. *Demosth.* p. 241.

the *Wild Irish* and of the *Abyssinians*<sup>4</sup>. It is quite impossible that these three nations can have had a common origin, because nothing can be more striking than the radical difference in their speech. The *Albanians* call the Sun *Diel*; among the *Irish* it is called *Gideon*; and by the *Abyssinians*, *Tsai*: and a similar distinction may be noticed in comparing all their other nouns. *Kéhne*, in *Albanian*, signifies the *Moon*; in *Erse* it is *Djallack*; and in *Abyssinian*, *Tcherka*. Yet the remarkable feast in honour of the dead, as practised by the *Albanians*, exactly corresponds with the *Caoinan*

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(4) They interrogate the deceased as to his reasons for quitting the world, crying out, "WHY DID YOU DIE? WHY DID YOU DIE?" (See *Hobhouse's Travels*, p. 522. Lond. 1813.) The reader will find the same circumstance related also by *Gulletiere*. The *Irish* make use of the same questions, and in a similar manner enumerate all the good things which the deceased enjoyed. (See *Vol. V. Chap. III. p. 106. Note 1.*) Among the *Abyssinians*, the ceremony is precisely the same. "A number of hired female mourners continually keep up a kind of fearful *howl*; calling at times upon the deceased by name, and crying out, "WHY DID YOU LEAVE US? HAD YOU NOT HOUSES, AND LANDS? HAD YOU NOT A WIFE THAT LOVED YOU?" &c. &c. (See *Salt's Travels in Abyssinia*, p. 422. Lond. 1814.) Judging solely from the analogy thus pointed out, it would appear that the *Celts*, *Albanians*, and *Abyssinians*, were descended from the same stock as the *Arabs* and *Egyptians*, among whom the same ceremony also exists. Mr. *Salt* was also greeted in *Abyssinia* (near *Divan*, upon entering *Tigre* from the sea-coast) with the *Halleluïa*, as it is practised in *Syria*. (See. p. 242.) "The women," says he, "greeted us with the acclamation, *Heli, li, li, li, li, li, li!*"



CHAP. of the *Irish*, and the *Toscar* of the *Abyssinians*.  
 I. There is not the smallest difference; and a  
 coincidence so extraordinary, attending the  
 funeral rites of such distant nations, is utterly  
 unaccountable.

Departure  
 from  
*Athens*. Upon the last day of *November*, at four o'clock  
 P.M. we set out from *Athens*, for *Marathon*,  
 accompanied by our friend *Lusieri*, the  
*Tchochodar*, *Ibrahim*, our *Interpreter*, and the  
*Guides* with our baggage; our little *Danish*  
 dog, and his gigantic companion, *Koráki*, the  
*Epidaurian* wolf-dog, running by the side of  
 us. The *English Consul*, and some other *Greeks*,  
 mounted on very beautiful horses, and in their  
 best apparel, accompanied our cavalcade, as a  
 mark of their respect, to a considerable distance  
 from the city; amusing us, until they took their  
 leave, with the game of *Djirid*. In this manner  
 the *Turks* usually begin their journeys. We  
 crossed a small river which falls into the *Cephis-*  
*sus*, and saw upon our left a *tumulus* that appeared  
 to have been opened. After this, we proceeded,  
 through olive-plantations, to a village called  
*Kakúvies*. *Kakúvies*<sup>1</sup>, at two hours' distance from *Athens*;

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(1) This place is written *Koukouvaones* by Mr. *Hobhouse*. *Travels*,  
 p. 439. *Lond.* 1813.

and here we passed the night. The next morning, continuing our journey towards *Marathon*, we saw upon our left, about a mile from *Kakúvies*, among some olive-trees, a marble *Bas-relief* representing two figures, with part of an Inscription; of which we could only trace the following letters, belonging perhaps to the name of some family:

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ΠΑΥΣΤΑ  
ΤΡΑΤΗ

Such imperfect inscriptions are only worth observing when they denote, as perhaps this does, a sepulchral monument, and thereby mark the course of the antient road near to which the tombs were constructed. Other travellers may hence be guided to the proper spot for making excavations. We had seen fragments of *terra-cotta* vases at the village of *Kakúvies*, taken from graves that had been accidentally opened by the peasants in the neighbourhood. We observed a pleasing village upon Mount *Pentelicus*, towards the right: the mountain is now called *Pendeli*. This village retains its antient name *Κηφισσία*, almost unaltered in its present appellation, *Kevisia*. It

Course of  
the Antient  
Road.

*Kevisia.*

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is mentioned by WHELER<sup>1</sup>. Here *Herodes Atticus* had one of his country-seats. *Cephissia* was famous for the birth of *Menander*: and when *Herodes Atticus* retired to this spot, during the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, PAUSANIAS OF CÆSAREA, author of the *Description of Greece*, followed him as one of his pupils. *Wheler* says it is situate upon the stream that falls from *Pentelicus* into the *Cephissus*. As we continued our journey, we passed quite round this extremity of the mountain, leaving it upon our right. The country then became more uneven: we were always among hills, until we reached a village belonging to the *Disdar* of *Athens*, called *Stamata*, (written *Stamati* by *Wheler*<sup>2</sup>,) distant five hours from *Athens*. Hence we descended a

*Stamata.*


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(1) *Journey into Greece*, p. 453. Lond. 1682. Also, since, by Mr. Hobhouse. (See *Journey through Albania, &c.* p. 436. Lond. 1813.) Chandler informs us, that one of the Marbles presented to the *University of Oxford* by Mr. Dawkins was brought from this village. (See *Travels in Greece*, p. 160. Oxf. 1776.) Mr. Hobhouse obtained here a marble bust as large as life, and of fine sculpture. The same author refers to a description of this place by Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 2. & lib. xviii. cap. 10.

(2) It is also written *Stamati*. Chandler (p. 160); and by Mr. Hobhouse (p. 425). We have preferred an orthography which we believe to be nearer allied to the name of this place as it is pronounced by the inhabitants.

mountain, by an antient paved way ; having the sea and a port in view. Then crossing over a rocky hill, the village of *Marathon* appeared, in a beautiful plain below. Traces of the old paved-road again occurred ; and the earth appeared, in many places, to be stained with the red oxide of iron. *Lusieri* made a hasty sketch of this renowned village, in the author's pocket-volume of Notes<sup>3</sup>. From this spot it appeared to be surrounded by mountains ; because the extensive plain which afterwards opened towards the right, as we advanced, and at the north-western extremity of which *Marathon* is situate, was then concealed from us, by part of a mountain to the right of the village. We passed some ruined chapels, and a tower, at the base of the mountain ; and continued our route to the *Village of Marathon* by the side of a small river, whose present appellation is *Keynurios Potamos*, or *New River*. Its antient name was *Charadrus* : it descends from mountains which are now called *Kallingi*, traverses the *Plain of Marathon*, and then falls into the sea. *Wheler* did not visit this village ; but, going by a different road into the

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I.

Village of  
MARA-  
THON.

*Charadrus.*

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(3) See the Plate in the Quarto Edition, Vol. IV. facing p. 12, shewing the appearance of *Marathon* Village, in the approach from *Athens*, along the antient paved-way, before the prospect of the Plain opens upon the right ; etched from the original Sketch by *Lusieri*.

CHAP. I. plain, passed by it, leaving it upon his left hand; by which he lost the finest view, not only of the *Plain of Marathôn*, but of all the interesting objects which associate in the same prospect. It is three hours distant from *Stamata*, and eight hours from *Athens*, or about twenty-four miles<sup>1</sup>; and it is situate at the north-western extremity of a valley which opens, towards the south-east, into the great PLAIN OF MARATHON. The plain itself is quite flat; and extends along the sea-shore, from the north-east towards the south-west. Our first employment, after arriving here, was to delineate the whole of this grand perspective with as much accuracy as possible; and for this purpose, upon the following morning (*Dec. 2*), we ascended the mountain which is immediately behind the village, proceeding about half a mile farther towards the north-west. The earth was covered with the blossoms of a beautiful species

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(1) It would exactly equal twenty-four miles, if three miles were allowed, according to the usual computation, for each hour; but the country is uneven and rocky, and perhaps the rate of travelling across it, with horses, does not here exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour. This therefore allows an interval of twenty miles, or 160 stadia, which greatly exceeds the measurement antiently allowed for the distance between the two places. "If we suppose," says Mr. *Hobhouse*, (*Journey through Albania, &c.* p. 438. Lond. 1813.) "that there was formerly a nearer road by *Vraona* (*Brauron*), the difference will be considerably diminished."

of *Crocus*—a singular sight for *Englishmen* upon the *second* day of *December*; and in the midst of these we began our pleasing task<sup>2</sup>.

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I.

The view of the *Plain of Marathon* from this eminence embraces an extent of three miles from

View of the  
PLAIN OF  
MARA-  
THON.

(2) A Sketch, from which the Engraving was taken that is annexed to p. 14, Vol. IV, of the Quarto Edition of these Travels, was soon completed; having nothing to recommend it but the fidelity of the outline. But the Drawing which upon this spot exercised all the abilities of *Lusieri*, was of a very different description: it comprehended every thing that truth and genius and taste could possibly bestow, upon the representation of scenery already ennobled and consecrated by deathless deeds of bravery and virtue;—of scenery which Nature herself has proudly and profusely adorned with every splendid feature, and by all those hues, and by that majesty of light and shade, which are so peculiarly characteristic of the *Grecian* landscape. The work undertaken by *Lusieri* required, therefore, many hours for its completion. As an artist, he was always slow in delineation; but it was the tardiness of the most scrupulous accuracy; for he frequently laid on even his colours upon the spot; and he always introduced into his drawings the minutest details, without diminishing the grandeur of the principal objects. Perhaps while this is written, his *View of Marathon*, although calculated to form the ground-work of a picture which would be regarded almost with veneration in a national gallery, yet remains, with many other of his valuable designs, in his portfolio, at *Athens*, reserved for additional touches by its fastidious master. However this may be, since it has fallen to the author's lot to bear testimony to its excellence, he is anxious that some memorial, however frail, may serve to snatch it from oblivion. Always preferring the gratifications of genius before the acquirement even of a competency by the sale of his numerous productions, so long as the means of a livelihood are afforded by the small stipend he has obtained,

*Lusieri*

CHAP.

I.

the village to the sea. Upon the right are seen the villages of *Marathon* and *Bey*, a mountain called *Croton*, a part of *Pentelicus*, and the more distant summits of *Attica* towards *Sunium*. Upon the left is a mountain called *Stauro Koraki*, or *Raven Cross*. In front lies the plain, intersected throughout its length by the *Charadrus*, as before mentioned. The opening between the mountains into this plain is twelve stadia, or a mile and a half *English*, in width. Beyond the village of *Bey*, at the extremity of the plain towards the sea, is seen the conspicuous TOMB raised over the bodies of the *Athenians* who fell in the memorable battle against the *Persians*. Even the section recently made near its summit, with a view to open it, is visible from this place, like a dark line traced from the top towards the base. Farther on appears the *Marathonian* shore, where the *Persian* army landed; and close to the coast, upon the right, a marsh, wherein the

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*Lusieri* is not likely to invite the notice of amateurs, either to the merits or even to the existence of his own performances. This is one cause why so little has been known of his best works: and another may originate in the opposition made to his fame, by that rivalry from which the path of merit is rarely exempt, but which has never been more conspicuous than among candidates for distinction in the graphic art, from the days of *Protogenes*, down to the time of *Don Battista*.

(1) See the Plate facing p. 14, Vol. IV, of the Quarto Edition of these Travels. Lond. 1816.

remains of trophies and marble monuments are yet visible. Beyond all extends the sea, shewing the station of the *Persian* fleet, and the distant headlands of *Eubœa* and of *Attica*.

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I.

From the *Village of Marathon* we descended into the PLAIN, by the bed of the *Charadrus* river; and crossing it, came first to the village of *Bey*, and afterwards to another village called *Sepheri*. These names are written as they were pronounced. We endeavoured to ascertain the etymology of the last; and the inhabitants told us that the word *Sepheri* signifies *The war*. Very little reliance, however, is to be placed upon information so obtained. Near to this place is one of the antient wells of the country. The villages of *Bey* and *Sepheri* may possibly occupy the sites of *Probalinthus* and *Ænoa*, cities of the TETRAPOLIS<sup>2</sup> of ATTICA: they are situate at the foot of the mountain called *Croton*; along the base of which, between this mountain and the *Charadrus* river, extends the road to *Athens*, in a north-westerly direction<sup>3</sup>. Passing round the

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(2) Within this district were the four cities of *Ænoa*, *Marathon*, *Probalinthus*, and *Tricorythus*. *Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 555. Edit. Ozon.*

(3) See the author's Topographical Chart of the Plain.



CHAP.  
I.

BRAURON.

foot of this mountain to the *right*, that is to say, towards the *west*, in a part of the plain which lies between *Croton* and another mountain called *Agherlichi*, lying towards the south-west, we came to the village of *Branna*, pronounced *Vranna*, and generally believed to be a corruption of the antient *Brauron*. To this village it was that *Wheler* descended, by a different route, as before mentioned, from that which we pursued; “over a ridge,” he says<sup>1</sup>, “where the mountains of *Nozea* and *Pendeli* meet.” Owing to this circumstance, he does not appear to have travelled along the *old road* from *Athens* to *Marathon*, over which the *Athenian* forces must have passed, in their way to the plain; because we have already noticed the remains of an antient paved-way in the journey we took, and he mentions no appearance of this kind. *Vranna*, which he, more lyrically, calls *Urania*, is situate, as he describes it to be, “between two mountainous buttresses:” but they do not belong to the same mountain, there being a separation between them; and they bear the two distinct names of *Croton* and *Agherlichi*<sup>2</sup>.

Mountains  
of *Croton*  
and *Agher-*  
*lichi*.

(1) *Journey into Greece*, p. 453. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) They are distinctly alluded to by *Chandler*, who followed *Wheler's* route, and considers the mountain now called *Agherlichi* to be a part of *Pentelicus*. “We soon entered,” says he, “between

At *Brauron*, the *Athenian* virgins were consecrated to *Diana*, in a solemn festival which took place once in every five years. No woman was allowed to marry until she had undergone this ceremony; the nature of which has never been explained. All that we know of it is this: the solemnity was conducted by *ten* officiating priests, who offered a goat in sacrifice; the virgins were under *ten* years of age; and they wore *yellow* gowns; which circumstance of their dress is the more remarkable, because the laws respecting festivals ordained, that, at the *Panathenæa*, no person should wear apparel dyed with colours<sup>3</sup>. A *yellow* vest is a mark of sanctity with the *Calmuck* tribes; among whom the priests are distinguished by wearing robes of this colour<sup>4</sup>. At this festival, they sang the poems of *Homer*. In the *Brauronian* temple there was preserved, until the second *Persian* war, the famous image belonging to the *Tauri*, which, from some

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two mountains; *Pentele* ranging on our right and on the left one of *Diacria*, the region extending across from *Mount Parnes* to *Brauron*." (See *Trav. in Greece*, p. 160. *Oxf.* 1776.) *Chandler* further says, that the two mountains are divided by a wide and deep water-course, the bed of a river or torrent antiently named *Erasinus*.

(3) *Lucian. Nigrino*. See *Potter's Archæol.* vol. I. p. 145. *Lond.* 1751.

(4) See Vol. I. of these Travels, p. 436. Octavo Edition.

CHAP. I. accounts, appears to have been of wood<sup>1</sup>: but there are confused relations concerning it; and the tradition of its fall from heaven refers rather to its *meteoric* origin, as an *Aërolite*, or *atmospheric stone*. It was worshipped by the antient inhabitants of *Taurica Chersonesus*, under the name of *ORSILOCHE*; and was called by the *Greeks*, the *Dæmon Virgin*, or *Diana*<sup>2</sup>. When *Iphigenia* fled from *Taurica Chersonesus*, the *Athenians* maintained that this image was brought by her to *Brauron*. Here it remained until *Xerxes* conveyed it to *Susa*; whence it was again removed by *Seleucus*, and given to the *Laodiceans* of *Syria*; in whose possession it continued so late as the second century of the *Christian æra*<sup>3</sup>.

Antiquities  
in the Plain  
of Mara-  
thon.

Leaving *Brauron*, we began our search after the remains of antient monuments, tombs, and

(1) Τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λίγουσι, ὃ ποτε καὶ Ὀρίσσης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλίπτουσι. *Pausaniæ Laconica*, c. xvi. p. 248. *Lips.* 1696.

(2) See Vol. I. of these Travels, p. 217, Note 2, Octavo Edit. There were many instances of a similar reverence being entertained for *Meteorick Stones* among the Antients. We find them described as "*Images that fell from Jupiter*." There was an "*image*" of this description in the Temple at *Ephesus*. (See *Acts* xix. 35.) Another was preserved at *Ægos Potamos*, where it originally fell: and, according to some authors, the *Palladium* of antient *Ilium* was of this nature, although by others described as a *wooden image*.

(3) Vid. *Pausan.* ubi supra. Edit. *Kuhnii.* *Lips.* 1696.

trophies, in the open Plain towards the sea; being anxious to discover if any thing yet remained, which might be considered as still preserving, upon the spot, a memorial of the famous battle of *Marathon*. A lofty Sepulchral Mound has been already mentioned, as a conspicuous object from all parts of this territory. We pursued our course towards it, in a south-easterly direction. We had no sooner reached this *Tumulus*, which stands about six furlongs from the shore, than we entered a passage which had been recently excavated towards its interior<sup>4</sup>; and in the examination of the earth, as it was originally heaped from the Plain to cover the dead, we found a great number of arrow-heads, made of common flint, such as the inhabitants of the stony mountains in *North America*, of *Mount Caucasus*, and of some parts of *Persia*, now use as a substitute for iron, lying confusedly together, mixed with the soil. We collected many of these<sup>5</sup>. It is remarkable, considering their great antiquity, that they did not appear in any degree decomposed or discoloured: the colour of their surfaces was not

CHAP.  
I.

Tomb of  
the *Athenians*.

Arrow-  
Heads.

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(4) It is said that this excavation was made by Monsieur *Fauvel*, a French artist at *Athens*.

(5) Mr. (now Sir *William*) *Gell*, and other travellers, have also since collected many of these arrow-heads in the same place.

CHAP.

I.

changed: but this is explained by their situation, being at a considerable depth in the earth, where they had been protected from the action of the atmosphere, which would have altered their appearance, and given to them a whiter colour in a short time, had they remained exposed upon the surface of the soil. The recent section that has been effected, with a view to ransack the other hidden contents of this *Tumulus*, although it presents to the spectator a chasm which is visible even from the village of *Marathon*, at the distance of two miles and a quarter, has been of little consequence. The work was very ignorantly conducted, as the operation does not extend below the visible base of the Mound and the present level of the Plain; whereas it must be evident, that, during so many centuries, the pressure of such an enormous cone (which of course was much larger, and more lofty, when it was first raised, than it now is) must have caused the base of it to sink very considerably beneath the surface of the soil. In order to find the conditory of the Sepulchre, if the bodies were not promiscuously heaped towards the centre of the Mound, it would be necessary to carry the excavation much lower. Various opinions prevail concerning it. Some have believed it to be the Tomb

of the *Athenians*: others have pretended that it is the Sepulchre of the *Platæans*. The *Stelæ* upon its summit have long disappeared. It is one hundred and eighty feet in circumference, when measured at the base; and the distance from the base to the vertex, measured along the surface of the cone, equals thirty feet. The account given by *Pausanias* is plain and decisive; and it seems clearly to prove that this is the **TOMB OF THE ATHENIANS**; for the other monuments, mentioned by him as being near to that *Sepulchre*, may also be observed; as will presently appear. The name which he uses, applies forcibly to this *Tumulus*: he does not call it *Μνημα*, but *Τάφος*; a word still retained in the modern appellation *Tépe*, which is given to every antient tomb of this form throughout the country. Its situation is moreover pointed out; for he says, that it stood ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Having therefore the words of *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup> as our guide, and viewing this conspicuous *Tumulus* upon the *Plain*, it is impossible to believe that it can be any other than what he terms it, ΤΑΦΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. His account of *Marathon* is one

CHAP.

I.

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(1) Τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἴσται, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλα, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων. *Paus. Attic.* c. 32. p. 79. ed. *Kühni.* Lips. 1696.

CHAP. I. of the finest specimens of his writing; and although it be rare indeed to find any instance of sublimity, or even of elevated style, in his descriptions, there is something in his “*nocturnal sounds of the neighing of horses*”, and the *apparitions of armed combatants upon the Plain*,” which remind us of Cicero<sup>2</sup>:—“SÆPE ETIAM IN PRÆLIIS FAUNI AUDITI, ET IN REBUS TURBIDIS VEREDICÆ VOCES EX OCCULTO MISSÆ ESSE DICUNTUR.” It has been sometimes surmised that this lofty Mound might have been heaped over the bodies of the *Persians*; but the conjecture does not accord with the account of their overthrow into the Lake at the southern extremity of the Plain (distant at least two miles from this spot), and into the sea. *Pausanias* mentions, indeed, a tradition concerning the burial of the *Persians* by their conquerors; but he gives it no credit; affirming that not a vestige could be discerned of any sepulchre wherein they were interred; and believing it to be more probable that their bodies were cast into any trench, as chance offered<sup>3</sup>.

(1) Ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἴσπων χριμιτιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἴσθιν αἰσθίσθαι. *Paus. ibid.*

(2) *Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i.*

(3) Τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν, ὡς πάντως ὅσιον ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῆ κρύψαι τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὐρεῖν ἰδυάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα, οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδίῳ· ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς τύχοιεν, ἰσίβαλον. *Paus. ibid.*

Near to the Tomb of the *Athenians* were two other monuments mentioned by *Pausanias*; the one being for the *Platæans* and for *Slaves*; and the other (*μνῆμα Μιλτιάδου*) the *Monument of Miltiades*, not being therefore a *τάφος*, was hard by it<sup>4</sup>. Now it is very remarkable, that the remains of two sepulchral monuments remain very near to the large *Tumulus*, standing in a line with it, towards the south. Their foundations are of the *white marble* of Mount *Pentelicus*. One of them resembles the remains of a monument by the *Via Sacra*, near to *Eleusis*<sup>5</sup>. It is a large square pedestal, which may have supported *Stelæ*, or a *Trophy*. Such a structure is actually mentioned by *Pausanias*; who says, that the *Athenians* were commanded by an Oracle to erect a *Trophy* (*λίθου λευκοῦ*) at *Marathon*, to the hero *Echellæus*, who distinguished himself in the battle, armed only with a *plough*<sup>6</sup>. During our examination of this Monument, *Lusieri*, having finished his drawing of the Plain from the village of *Marathon*, arrived, and here joined us; and being much struck by the masonry of the square pedestal,

CHAP.  
I.

Monu-  
ment of  
*Miltiades*.

(4) *Pausaniæ Attica*, c. 32. p. 79. ed. *Kuhnii*. Lips. 1696.

(5) See Vol. VI. Chap. X. p. 598, &c. Octavo Edition.

(6) Vid. *Pausan.* ubi supra. Πισποίησαι δὲ καὶ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝ λίθου λευκοῦ.  
Ibid.



CHAP. I. immediately sat down, and began to make a delineation of it<sup>1</sup>. This he also finished before he quitted the spot; and we admired it too much to omit the mention of it. The other Sepulchre of the *Platæans*, between this and the *Tomb of the Athenians*, is shaped more like a *tumulus*, the base being circular; but it was the smallest of the three, and evidently had never been so considerable, either as the *Tomb of the Athenians*, or this Monument with a square basis<sup>2</sup>. Judging therefore from their appearance, and also being guided by the order in which they are named by *Pausanias*, we were induced to believe the *small circular Tomb* to be that of the *PLATÆANS*; and the more magnificent *MONUMENT* to have been that of *MILTIADES*<sup>3</sup>.

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(1) This Tomb measures eighty paces in circumference, and thirteen from the base to the summit. The dimensions of the stones, which are of *Pentelican* marble, are as follow :

|                   | Feet | Inches |
|-------------------|------|--------|
| Length - - - -    | 4    | 8      |
| Breadth - - - -   | 2    | 4      |
| Thickness - - - - | 1    | 1      |

(2) See their relative situation in the Author's Topographical Chart of the Plain.

(3) Upon this Monument we found a beautiful and perhaps a *new species* of *Oak*, of which we have not seen the fructification. The leaves are downy below, and vary much both in their form and indentation; but are generally of a more or less elongated heart-shape; either simply dentated at the edges, or sinuated towards the end. The other Plants collected by us at *Marathon*, either at the *Village* or in the *Plain*, may be mentioned here :

I. The

Some peasants were ploughing upon the Plain, a little to the north of these Tombs, among cotton grounds and corn land: and Mr. *Cripps*, being desirous of examining the soil, as well as of inquiring after any antiquities the husbandmen might thus discover, put his own hands to the plough, and made several turns with it himself. He found only a rich and light soil, of sufficient depth to answer all the best purposes of agriculture, whenever the inhabitants shall be delivered from the burden of *Turkish* tyranny, and enabled to bestow upon the land the care and labour requisite in its proper cultivation.

CHAP.  
I.

Nature of  
the Soil.

Afterwards, proceeding towards the south, and passing again the *Tomb* which, following *Pausanias*, we have called that of the *Athenians*, we came to a rivulet discharging itself into the sea, from a *Marsh*, or swamp, at the foot of a mountain called *Agherlichi*. The distance of

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- I. The *Crocus* before noticed; *Crocus autumnalis*.
  - II. The *Mandrake*, or *Atropa Mandragora*, grows on the Plain.
  - III. The *Hirsute Horehound*, or *Marrubium hirsutum* of *Willdenow*. This we found upon the *Tomb of the Athenians*.
  - IV, V. The *French Tamarisk*, or *Tamarix Gallica* of *Linnaeus*, and the *Juncus Acutus*, *Linn.* grew by *Marathon Lake*.
  - VI, VII. At the village of *Marathon* we found the *Montpelier Rock-rose* or *Cistus Monspeliensis* of *Linn.* and the *Common Nightshade*, or *Solanum nigrum* of *Linnaeus*.

CHAP.

I.

Other Ma-  
rathonian  
Relics.

this marsh from the *Charadrus* is a mile and a half, or twelve *stadia*. Here we observed that we were in the midst of *Marathonian relics* of every description. The remains of Sepulchres, *Stelæ*, *Soroi*, and the ruins of marble trophies, appeared upon either side of the rivulet, and in the midst of the more stagnant waters of the marsh. Besides the *Stelæ*, we also found here some larger architectural pillars, and the capital of a Doric column. We saw also the cornice of an immense marble *Soros*, lying upon the basement of a magnificent tomb; the foundations as of a Temple; and a very fine piece of sculpture in white *Pentelican* marble, representing a Female Figure seated in a chair. The drapery of this *Torso*, for it is nothing else, is very fine: the head, part of the arms, and the feet, are wanting; but the left hand remains beneath the right elbow; the Statue having been represented with its arms gracefully folded. In its present imperfect state, it is impossible even to conjecture for whom this statue was originally designed; for it is an erroneous opinion, that, among antient images of the *Heathen* Female Divinities, the sedent posture denoted any one of them in particular. It is true that *Ceres* was frequently so characterized; but upon the remains of a pictured tripod

chalice of *terra cotta* found near *Athens*, and now in the author's possession<sup>1</sup>, *Venus* is represented in a sitting attitude, with the inscription ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ over her head; and, what is more remarkable, she is not there depicted according to the received opinion with regard to the *Grecian Venus*, as founded upon the description of her statue by *Praxiteles* at *Cnidus*, but as a matronly woman, in rich drapery; corresponding with the appearance presented by this statue, and consistently with her relationship to the *Phrygian Pessinuntia*, the *Syrian Astarte*, and the *Egyptian Isis*<sup>2</sup>. The

CHAP.  
I.

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(1) Presented by *Sandford Graham*, Esq. M. P. after his return from his travels in *Greece*; who, during a successful excavation made among the *Athenian* tombs, discovered and brought to this country a collection of *Greek Vases*, which may be considered as unrivalled, both in their number and in their importance; as illustrating the arts, customs, superstitions, history, and mythology of the *Antient Grecians*.

(2) That *Venus*, among the *Antients*, was sometimes represented as a young and beautiful woman, naked, we learn from the story of the *Cnidian Statue* by *Praxiteles*; but it is at the same time evident, that the people of *Cos* rejected the same statue, upon this account. There seems reason for believing that many of the statues by *Grecian* sculptors, considered as representing *Venus*, and particularly the famous statue called that of the *Medicæan Venus*, were statues of *Aspasia* the concubine of *Cyrus*, whom the *Greeks* represented with the symbols and attributes of *Venus*, as the *Dove*, *Dolphin*, &c. from the particular favours that were said to have been conferred upon her by that Goddess; and probably the *Cnidian Venus* was nothing more than a statue of *Phryne* the mistress of *Praxiteles*, whose portrait *Apelles* painted for his *Venus Anadyomene*.

CHAP.  
I.

*Marathonian Statue*, considered with respect to its locality and the circumstances of its dedication, independently of its merit as a work of art, would be a valuable acquisition among the best relics of *Grecian* sculpture, even in its present ruinous condition. We found it lying in a pool of water, upon a small island in the midst of the marsh, surrounded by the other Ruins we have mentioned. Near to the Statue there was a block of marble, with part of an Inscription in very large characters, whereof only the four following remained:

K A I N

and these did not appear to be of great antiquity.

Having concluded our examination of the southern extremity of the Plain, which is here bounded, beyond this marsh, by the eastern termination of Mount *Pentelicus*, projecting into the sea, and forming a small bay, we began to traverse its principal extent, parallel to the shore, from its south-western towards its north-eastern extremity. For this purpose we passed once more the lofty conical mound or *Tomb of the Athenians*, and the *Monument* which we have called that of *Miltiades*. Proceeding through the cotton grounds and the corn land, and leaving

the village of *Sepheri* towards our left, we came again to the *Charadrus*; and having crossed its channel, we found upon the north-east side of it the remains of another *monument*, somewhat similar to that of *Miltiades*; close to which there is an *antient Well*, answering, by its position, to that of *Macaria*, mentioned by *Pausanias*: indeed there is no other which can be considered as being properly within the *Marathonian Plain*, if we except that which is near to the village of *Sepheri*; and which does not so well coincide with the description of *Pausanias*, because he is evidently proceeding towards the *muddy Lake* at the north-eastern extremity, which he mentions immediately afterwards, previously to his quitting the spot for the *Cave of Pan*, at some distance from the Plain, beyond the village of *Marathon*, towards the north-west. Leaving the *Well*, we continued, through rich corn land, until we reached the borders of that famous *Lake*, or *fen*, into which the *Persian* army were driven by the victorious *Greeks*. We found it overgrown with tall reeds and bulrushes, but well suited, by its unfathomable depth of water and mud, to confirm the probability of the fact related concerning it; and capable, at this day, of engulfing the most numerous army that might attempt its

CHAP.  
I.

Fountain  
of  
*Macaria*.

*Maratho-  
nian Lake*.

CHAP.  
I.

Mount  
Stauro  
Koráki.

Shuli.

Maratho-  
nian De-  
file.

Import-  
ance of the  
Pass.

passage. It occupies the whole of this extremity of the Plain, between Mount *Stauro Koráki* and the sea, reaching quite up to the base of the former; along which a narrow defile, exactly like that of *Thermopylæ*, and in the same manner skirting the bottom of a mountain, conducts, by an antient paved-way, to a village now called *Shuli*; perhaps the antient *Trycorinthus*, which occurred in the road from *Marathon* to *Rhamnus*. The resemblance between the two straits is indeed remarkably striking; for a spring, at the foot of the mountain, crosses the antient paved-way, as do the hot springs of *Thermopylæ*. As soon as we had reached this *defile*, we perceived at once what had been the main cause of the prodigious destruction which here befel the *Persian* army; and why so fatal a disaster particularly distinguished this swampy Lake. The appearance of the place is the best comment upon the catastrophe: it is, in fact, a pass which a smaller band than that of the *Spartan* heroes, under *Leonidas*, might have easily guarded against the myriads of *Darius*: and the story of the battle shews plainly that the vast overthrow which here took place, must have been owing as much to the *Persians* themselves as to the valour of the *Greeks*. In the beginning of the fight, an

interval of *eight stadia* separated the two armies; and this precisely corresponds with the distance, as before mentioned, between the *Charadrus* and the *Stelæ* at the foot of *Mount Agherlichi*. It was therefore beneath this mountain that *Miltiades* ranged his troops; having the *Platæans* upon his left wing, towards *Brauron*; and his right towards the sea, commanded by *Callimachus*. The *Charadrus* perhaps separated the hostile legions. That the *Greeks* were repulsed after their first onset, seems very probable; not only from the obstinate combat that ensued after they made the attack, but also from the situation of the mound raised over their dead, where the combat was the most severe, and which still serves to mark the situation of the *Grecian* line. Afterwards, when victory began to declare itself in their favour, it is related, that the right wing of the *Grecian* army turned the left of the *Persians* upon their centre, and, by throwing the main army into disorder, dispersed it in the Plain. Here it was again intercepted by the *Platæans* and *Greeks* stationed upon the left, and driven across the *Charadrus*; whence, flying in the utmost confusion, the whole body made at once for the *defile* we have mentioned; where the only passage afforded was by an antient paved



CHAP.

I.

causeway, hardly wide enough to admit of two persons abreast of each other, and which remains at the present day. Every other attempt to escape must have been fruitless, as the sea or the lake intervened to oppose it. The consequence, therefore, of so vast a multitude all rushing towards one narrow outlet, must be obvious; for it would be similar to that which so recently befel the *French* army, in its retreat from *Moscow*, at the sanguinary passage of the *Beresina*;—heaps of dead bodies choking the only channel through which any chance of a retreat is offered, the fugitives either plunge into the abyss, or turn their arms upon each other; and the few who escape drowning, or being crushed to death, fall by the hands of their comrades. Historians, in their accounts of the *Battle of Marathon*, simply relate, that the *Persians* were driven into the Lake, without being aware of *the defile* whereby they were ensnared: but it is very remarkable, that in the two memorable invasions of *Greece* by the *Persians*,—the first under *Darius*, when they were defeated at *Marathon*; and the second, only eleven years afterwards<sup>1</sup>, under *Xerxes*,

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(1) The *battle of Marathon*, according to *Corsini*, happened upon the 26th of *September*, in the year 490 B. C. (*Corsini Fast. Attic. vol. III. p. 150.*) That of *Thermopylae* in the year 481 B. C. *Kid. Chronic. Par. Ep. 52. Lond. 1788.*

when they encountered the *Spartans* at *Thermopylæ*,—the curious circumstance of a natural defile, exactly similar in either instance, should have tended so materially towards the renown acquired by the *Greeks*.

CHAP.  
I.

The day was now far spent; and, as the evening drew on, we returned towards the village of *Marathon*, having completed our survey of the Plain. The climate in *Greece*, during winter, is delightful; and the winter months are the most proper for travelling in the country. The morning had been cloudy; but before noon the sky became clear; and at sun-set it exhibited that mild serenity which our own Poets consider to be peculiarly characteristic of an *English* autumn<sup>2</sup>. It reminded us of that “even-tide” of the year which a late Writer<sup>3</sup> has forcibly described as the season when “we regard, even in spite of ourselves, the still, but steady, advances of time.” And if there be a spot upon earth pre-eminently calculated to awaken the solemn sentiments which such a view of Nature is fitted to make upon all men, it may surely be

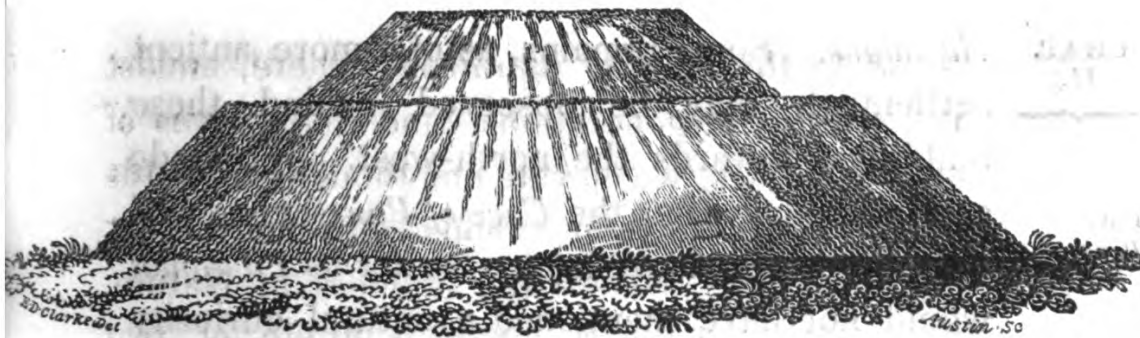
Return to  
*Marathon*  
Village.

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(2) “No Spring or Summer’s beauty hath such grace  
“As I have seen in one Autumnal face.” DONNE.

(3) *Alison* on Autumn, p. 327. *Edinb.* 1814.

found in the *Plain of Marathon*; where, amidst the wreck of generations, and the graves of antient heroes, we elevate our thoughts towards HIM "in whose sight a thousand years are but as yesterday;" where the stillness of Nature, harmonizing with the calm solitude of that illustrious region which was once a scene of the most agitated passions, enables us, by the past, to determine of the future. In those moments, indeed, we may be said to live for ages;—a single instant, by the multiplied impressions it conveys, seems to anticipate for us a sense of that Eternity, "when time shall be no more;" when the fitful dream of human existence, with all its turbulent illusions, shall be dispelled; and the last sun having set in the last night of the world, a brighter dawn than ever gladdened the universe shall renovate the dominions of darkness and of death.



## CHAP. II.

### MARATHON TO THEBES.

*Present Village of Marathon—Cave of Pan—Charadra—Plants—Dogs—Albanians of the Mountains—Summits of Parnes—View from the Heights—Kalingi—Capan-dritti—Magi—Plain of TANAGRA—Village of Shalishi—Ela—EURIPUS—Skemata—Medals—Villages of Bratchi, Macro, and Megalo Vathni—Plain of THEBES—surrounding Scenery—Thebes—State of Surgery and Medicine in Greece—Antiquities of Thebes—Inscriptions—State of Painting among the Greeks in the age of Alexander—Seven Gates of Thebes—Story of Amphion and his Lyre not a fable—Pretended Tomb of St. Luke—Description of that Monument—Antient Bulwark—Church of St. Demetrius—Rare variety of the Corinthian Order in Architecture.*

**E**XCEPTING one or two houses belonging to *Turkish* families which are not constantly resident, the present village of *Marathon* consists only of a few wretched cottages, inhabited by

CHAP.  
II.

Present  
Village of  
MARATHON

CHAP.  
II.

Cave of  
*Pan*.

*Albanians*. Some remains, as of a more antient settlement, may be observed behind these buildings, towards the north-west. We made a vain inquiry after the *Cave of Pan*; being well convinced that so accurate a writer as *Pausanias* would not have mentioned a natural curiosity of this kind, without good proof of its existence in his time; and from its nature, it is not probable that any lapse of time should have caused its disappearance. Our *Albanian* guides, however, either did not know that any such cave existed, or they did not choose to accompany us thither; and we have since learned, that we passed close to it, before our arrival at *Marathon*, in our road from *Athens*. Other travellers have found it; and they describe it to be a stalactite grotto, similar, in its nature, to the several caves of *Parnassus*, *Hymettus*, and *Antiparos*, although upon a smaller scale<sup>1</sup>: and this circumstance in its history of course explains all that *Pausanias* has written concerning the various phænomena with which that cavern abounds<sup>2</sup>; the eccentric shapes which the

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(1) It has been recently visited by Mr. *Hughes*, of *St. John's College, Cambridge*; who gave to the author this account of its situation.

(2) Ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρου τοῦ πεδίου, Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος, καὶ σπήλαιον θίας ἄξιον· εἴσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσὶν οἶκοι, καὶ λουτρὰ, καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πανός αἰσώλιον, πίτται τὰ πολλὰ αἰζὶν ἰκασμίνας. *Pausanias Attica*, c. 32. p. 80. edit. *Kuhnii*.

stalactites had assumed in the second century, being, by him, referred to *animal* and other forms; as *Joseph Pitton de Tournefort*, in the first year of the eighteenth century, with equal gravity, refers the ramifications of alabaster, in the Grotto of *Antiparos*, to *cauliflowers* and *trees*, as proofs of the *vegetation* of stones<sup>3</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.

We left *Marathon* on the morning of the *third* of *December*, being accompanied by our friend *Lusieri* as far as the mill, where the road to *Athens* separates from that which leads to *Kalingi* and to *Thebes*; and here we saw him for the last time. At this mill there are the remains of an aqueduct, with arches, covered with ivy. From hence we began to ascend a part of the mountain *Parnes*, now called *Noziā*, with a strong accent upon the last syllable. In the same manner, the modern name of the island *Ceos* is not pronounced, as written, *Zia*, but *Ziā*. Our ascent was along the course of

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(3) " Il n'est pas possible encore un coup que cela se soit fait par la chute des gouttes d'eau, comme le prétendent ceux qui expliquent la formation des congélations dans les grottes. Il y a beaucoup plus d'apparence que les autres congélations dont nous parlons, et qui pendent du haut en bas, ou qui poussent en différent sens, ont été produites par le même principe, C'EST-A-DIRE PAR LA VEGETATION." *Voyage du Levant*, tom. I. p. 229. à Lyon, 1717.

CHAP. II. the *Charadrus*, which we were surprised to hear  
 the *Albanians* call, in this part, *Charadra*; a  
*Charadra.* different name being given to it in its passage  
 across the plain. The scenery around us now  
 became mountainous, and broken into masses;  
 resembling that which is so frequently repre-  
 sented in the pictures of *Gaspar Poussin*. The  
 soil was covered with a beautiful Heath,  
 together with the gaudy blossoms of the *Crocus*  
 which we had found in the Plain of *Marathon*;  
 and a variety of the evergreen *Oak*, or *Quercus*  
*Ilex*, with prickly leaves. We saw also, every-  
 where, the *Velanida*, or *Quercus Ægilops*. Of  
 the *Ilex* the *Romans* first made their *civic*  
*crowns*; but they afterwards used the *Esculus* for  
 that purpose<sup>1</sup>. A noble race of dogs is found  
 over all this district; and the same may be said  
 of almost all wild and mountainous territories.  
 The animal appears to degenerate in proportion  
 as he is removed to more cultivated regions,  
 and among a civilized people. Even the  
 common mastiff appears no where of such

Plants.

Dogs.

(1) "Civica *Iligno* prima fuit, postea magis placuit ex *Esculo*, Jovi sacrâ." (*Pliny*.) The *Esculus* also furnished a wreath of honour in the Games :

"His juvenum quicunque manu, pedibusve, rotâve  
 Vicerat ; *Esculeæ* capiebat frondis honorem."

*Ovid. Metamorph. I. 448.*

magnitude and strength as in the wildest parts of *Turkey*<sup>2</sup>, or in the passes of the *Apennines*; and the genuine race of the wolf-dog of *Ireland* is now become almost extinct in that country. As an association corroborating this remark, wherever these dogs appeared in our route, we observed also a wilder tribe of *Albanians*, than those who accompanied us from *Marathon*; wearing upon their feet the *Scythian labhas*<sup>3</sup>, or old *Celtic sandals*, made of goat's-skin, with the hair on the outside; and the still more curious appendage to their dress of the *Celtic kilt*, as worn by antient *Romans*, and now found also in the *Highlands of Scotland*<sup>4</sup>. Our *Tchochodar*, *IBRAHIM*, at sight of this people, immediately grasped his carabine, and, shaking the hem of his pelisse<sup>5</sup>, made signs to us to be upon our

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*Albanians*  
of the  
Mountains.

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(2) The largest ever known was taken from the *Turks* at the capture of *Belgrade*, and made a present to the King of *Naples*: it was equal in size to a *Shetland* pony: his son used to ride it. The author saw it at *Naples*, in 1793.

(3) See Vol. I. of these Travels, p. 230. *Octavo Edit.*

(4) "Land of Albania! let me bend mine eyes  
On thee, thou rugged nurse of savage men!"

BYRON'S *Childe Harold*, Canto ii. stanza 37. line 5.

See also Note iii. to that Canto, p. 124. Lond. 1812.

(5) A sign of caution universal among the *Turks*, which it is not very easy to describe. The Reader taking the upper corner of the lappel of his coat delicately between his fore-finger and thumb, gently shaking it, and extending the other three fingers of his right hand, will



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guard. Our *Epidaurian* wolf-dog, *Koráki*, was himself as large as any of the *Newfoundland* breed, and he kept the fiercest of his mountain brethren at bay; but an amusing sight was afforded by the little *Danish* pug, mentioned in a former part of these Travels', who ran by the side of him; for although any one of the *Albanian* dogs might almost have swallowed him, he grew so insolent under the protection of *Koráki*, that he bade defiance to all of them; and not one of them ever deigned to notice the furious assaults he made upon them, whenever they came in his way. Notwithstanding *Ibrahim's* fears, and his calumnies with regard to the inhabitants of these mountains, whom he described as a set of lawless banditti ready "to kill and eat" every *Turk* and *Christian* within their power, we preferred them far above the other inhabitants of this country; and in every instance where we trusted in their honesty, we

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will have it practically illustrated. The *Turks*, from habitual indolence, use many such expressive signs, to avoid the trouble of speaking. A common sign to express "beware!" among the *Italians*, is that of drawing down the right corner of the right eye with the fore-finger of the right hand: and if it be necessary to express extreme caution, they draw down the corners of both eyes with both hands; extending, at the same time, the corners of the mouth with the two little fingers, into a hideous grimace.

(1) See Vol. I. of these Travels, Chap. XII. p. 327. Note (1). 8vo. Edit.

had no reason to repent of our rashness, nor did we ever apply to them in vain for hospitality. They sometimes, it is true, plunder the *Turks*; but such instances are always acts of retaliation upon their oppressors, who spare no opportunity of robbing them of every thing they possess: and even a *Turk*, who has confided in their solemn pledge for his security, and thus ventured under their protection, is never known to experience any violation of their engagement. But no reliance whatsoever ought to be placed upon the descriptions given of this people by the *Turkish* or by the *Grecian* inhabitants of the towns: with as much reason may a faithful account of the *Cossacks* be expected from a **RUSSIAN**, as of the *Albanians* from a **GREEK** or a **TURK**.

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We traversed some elevated plains upon the side of *Parnes*. The scenery, as we ascended, became more bold, but less beautiful, because more lofty and therefore more denuded; the rocky surface being more disclosed, but broken into masses, and dispersed with wildness and grandeur. From the heights we saw the island of *Zia*, with the opposite promontory, and all the summits and coast, of *Eubœa*. Afterwards we had an amazing prospect, at a great distance

Summit of  
*Parnes*.

View from  
the Heights.

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II.

before us, towards the north, of all the *Bœotian Plain*, and of its surrounding mountains<sup>1</sup>.

Upon the highest part of this route over *Parnes*, we noticed some ruins; and perhaps hereabouts were the altars and the bronze image mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>2</sup>. Soon afterwards we

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(1) As it has been rather hastily remarked—it matters not where, but the observation is likely to occur again—that the same geological features cause everywhere similarity of landscape; and that a vast *plain*, or a *lake*, surrounded by high mountains in one country, will necessarily resemble all other plains, and lakes, surrounded by high mountains in other countries; the author will take this opportunity of denying the fact: and, according to his former practice, he will now specify the particular territory which resembles, in the nature of its scenery, this view of the great plain of *Bœotia*. It possesses too much beauty to be unknown to many of his readers: it is that part of *Italy* which is beheld, in the *Apennines*, from the heights above the cataract of *Terni* in *UMBRIA*. The *Bœotian* territory being as highly diversified, accordingly as it is richly cultivated, or in parts wild, and filled with stately forests full of majestic oaks and pines; or interrupted and broken by bleak and naked rocks; presenting to the eye an amazing variety of colour, in its fields, and woods, and precipices. Indeed it may be said, that, amidst the changeful scenery which Nature is ever exhibiting to the eye of a traveller, it rarely happens that any very accurate resemblances can be traced; and he who does not at all times command the power of delineation by his pencil, may consider himself to be fortunate, if, by any faithful comparison, he be enabled to convey to the minds of others an impression of what they have not seen, derived from what they have seen. Thousands have seen the rich territory of *Umbria*, not one of whom will ever behold the *Plain of Bœotia*.

(2) Καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι, Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἴσσι, καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλίου Διός· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς· κ. τ. λ. *Paus. Attic.* c. 52. p. 78. ed. *Kuhnii*.

entered the village of *Kalingi*, distant about five miles, or one hour and a half, from *Marathon*. Here we saw a fragment of white marble which had evidently been used in some antient building. From *Kalingi*, or *Kalinga* (for the pronunciation varied), we descended to a village whose name we have not preserved; consisting only of two or three dwellings, and as many mills; but situate in the most picturesque manner, in a valley adorned with beautiful trees, surrounded by mountains and the most stupendous rocks. From this sequestered spot we continued our journey, through a delightful and fertile valley, to another village, called *Capandritti*, distant three hours from *Marathon*, and one hour and a half from *Kalingi*. This place is mentioned by *Wheler*, as famous for good wine<sup>3</sup>; and he believed that the antient town of *Ænoa* occupied the site either of *Kalingi* or *Capandritti*. The village is situate at the end of the valley, upon an eminence; and it consists of a great number of *Albanian* houses. After descending from *Capandritti*, we again ascended an opposite hill, and arrived at the village of *Magi*, inhabited also by *Albanians*; but they appeared better clothed than is usual in this country, and every thing

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(3) *Journey into Greece*, p. 454. Lond. 1682.

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about them wore an appearance of industry and cleanliness. *Magi* is only half an hour's distance from *Capandritti*. Leaving this village, we saw in a plain close to the road a marble *Soros*, without its *operculum*, sunk into the earth, and almost buried. In a short time we entered a defile between mountains; and rode, for two hours, along a *pass* which may be described as truly *Alpine*; the scenery being extremely sublime, and the mountains very high, and disposed into masses of great grandeur. This *pass* is very narrow; and it continues by the side of a deep water-course, perhaps enumerated among the rivers of *Greece*, but, like many of them, occasionally dry, and it was now without water. Hence we descended into the spacious plain which we had seen at such a distance from the heights of *Parnes*, and which we have every reason to consider as the land of *Tanagra*; a plain of such extraordinary beauty, extent, and fertility, that the sight of it alone is sufficient to explain all that antient authors have written concerning the contests maintained for its possession, between the inhabitants of *Attica* and of *Bœotia*. In a former note, the author has compared it to the rich plain of *Umbria*, near *Terni* in *Italy*; which it resembles, by its highly diversified aspect of cultivation and wildness; of

Plain of  
*Tanagra*.

fields and forests; of corn-land, and vineyards, and olive-grounds, and woods, and rocks, and mountains. The importance of its possession is therefore at once made manifest. The city of *Oropus*<sup>1</sup> was a valuable possession, in securing the command of this territory. It stood upon the *Attic* side of the *Asopus*, about three miles from the sea. Originally it belonged to *Bœotia*: the *Athenians* in the second century held it in their possession<sup>2</sup>. It had been frequently a subject of contention between the inhabitants of the two countries<sup>3</sup>: this is twice mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>4</sup>. *Wheler*, who visited the site of the ancient city, mentions the contest, as for the possession of the town only, between the *Thebans* and *Athenians*<sup>5</sup>, but takes no notice of the extensive and fertile plain on the *Attic* side of the *Asopus*; in which, and by the borders of the

(1) It is still called *Oropo*, and was visited by *Wheler*. See *Journey into Greece*, p. 456. Lond. 1682.

(2) Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὀρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγραικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξαρχῆς οὖσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. τ. λ. *Pausan. Attic.* c. 34. p. 85. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) Διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει κρίσις πολλάκις περὶ χωρίων τινῶν καθάπερ Ἀργείοις μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις, περὶ θυραίας, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοῖς περὶ Ὀρωποῦ. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. i. p. 98. ed. *Oxon.*

(4) Ὀρωπὸς δ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ γιγνέται πολλάκις ἴδρυται γὰρ ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 579. ed. *Oxon.*

(5) *Journey into Greece*, p. 456. Lond. 1682.

CHAP. II. river, there were other towns, now occupied by *Albanian* villages<sup>1</sup>. *Psaphis* was of this number, and perhaps *Ænoa*; although it be exceedingly difficult to fix the position of the latter town, which *Wheler* has stationed upon the top of *Parnes*<sup>2</sup>, and *Chandler* in the *Plain of Marathon*<sup>3</sup>. The circumstance of its being one of the four cities of *Tetrapolis*<sup>4</sup> is certainly strong for its position in the *Marathonian district*; and we had reason to think that the remains of it may possibly exist in the *Plain of Marathon*, as we have before shewn<sup>5</sup>.

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(1) This may be owing to the circumstance mentioned by *Wheler* of his descent from *Parnes* to *Marcopoli*, when "it was dark;" (*Ibid.*) and of his early departure thence in the morning, perhaps before it was light, according to the usual mode of travelling in *Greece*.

(2) *Journey into Greece*, p. 454.

(3) *Travels in Greece*, p. 162.

(4) *Wheler* has attempted to prove, from *Stephanus Byzantinus* (*See Journ. into Greece*, p. 455.), that *Tetrapolis* was itself a city; but the words of *Strabo* are clear and decisive as to the import of that appellation, which was a district of *Attica*, containing the four cities of *Ænoa*, *Marathon*, *Probalinthus*, and *Tricorythus*, founded by *Xuthus*, who married a daughter of *Erectheus* king of *Athens*. Of *Xuthus* it is said by *Strabo*, ἦκισι τὴν Τετράπολιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Οἰνόην, Μαραθῶνα, Πρεβάλινθον, καὶ Τρικορυθόν. *Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 555. ed. Oxon.* Mr. *Hobhouse* (*Travels*, p. 444. *Lond.* 1813.) mentions a village called *Ænoe*, to the north of the *Asopus*.

(5) It is plain, from a passage in *Thucydides*, that *Ænoa* was a frontier citadel, upon the confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*: the *Athenians* were wont to garrison it in troublesome times. Ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὔσα ἐν μεθορῶσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας, ἐπιτείχιστο, καὶ αὐτῷ Φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο, ὅποτε πόλεμος καταλάβοι. *Thucydid. lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 95. ed. Hudsoni. Oxon.* 1696.

Descending into this plain, we passed a village called *Shalishi*, where we observed an antient fountain. This place is distant three hours from *Magi*, and six hours and a half from *Marathon*, equal to about twenty miles. We had no sooner entered the plain than we were struck by the appearance of a large insular knoll or hill rising out of it, beautifully adorned with oak and pine-trees, and upon the top of which there was a tower; one of many edifices of the same nature which may be observed throughout *Bœotia*, built perhaps for alarm and defence, during the period of the *Latin* domination<sup>6</sup>. We passed, across the plain, to the right of this tower, leaving it upon our left hand. After a ride of two hours from *Shalishi*, we came to a village called *Ela*, situate upon an eminence. *Ela.* It is now in ruins; but it has a large tower and some walls remaining, among the ruins of several houses. There is no antient name with which the modern appellation of this place appears to correspond. Continuing our journey through the plain, we passed the ruins of other houses and towers, proving that it was once a very populous district. We now began to

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II.

Village of  
*Shalishi*.

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(6) Mr. *Hawkins* has informed the author, that such lofty square towers are also common over all *Eubœa*.



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II.



*Skemata.*

ascend the higher parts of the plain towards the north and north-west, and drew near to the mountains upon the opposite side of it to those we had quitted. Here we had a noble view of the whole *Gulph of Euripus*; to which we were now so close, that we could discern the buildings upon the opposite shore of *Eubœa*. We could not so plainly perceive the narrow strait where the bridge of *Yakindee*<sup>1</sup> now is; but we saw the two seas upon the opposite sides of the *Euripus*. At the distance of two hours from *Ænea*, we arrived at the village of *Skemata*, where we halted for the night. The great plain over which we had been travelling was called, by the *Albanians*, *Bratchi*; but after our arrival at *Skemata*, we observed that the inhabitants bestowed the name of *Nacra*, or *Nacri*, both upon the plain and upon their village. Our total ignorance of the *Albanian* language would render it absurd if we were to attempt to trace any connexion between this word *Nacra*, and *Tanagra*, the antient name of the city and district lying to the north, and perhaps to the

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(1) The name given in the country to the bridge which now connects *Eubœa* with the continent of *Greece*. Mr. *Hobhouse* visited the spot. He describes the water as rushing "like a mill-race" under this bridge, and as being "not much more than four feet deep." "A strong eddy is observable on that side from which it is about to run, about a hundred yards above the bridge." See *Hobhouse's Travels*, p. 453. Lond. 1815.

south, of the *Asopus*; although the names of places are so likely to continue in any country, that it would be an unjustifiable omission if we were to neglect altogether the attention that is due to such corresponding circumstances. But the fact that more than all proved our vicinity to a spot once occupied by some antient city, was the prodigious number of antient medals which were brought to us by the people of this place, during the evening that we remained with them. Our interpreter had been seized with an attack of *Malaria* fever; caught, perhaps, in the marshes of *Marathon*: and we had given to him a dose of ipecacuanha, as the usual preparative for administering the bark. Shivering with a violent paroxysm, and under the influence of the nausea excited by the medicine he had taken, the poor fellow came into the hut (where we were seated upon an earth floor, hastily devouring a baked turkey which the *Albanians* had brought for our supper), beseeching us to deliver him from the crowd he had gathered around him, by asking for old coins; and he placed before us his cap half filled with bronze medals. We had scarcely time to examine a third of these, before men, women, and children, came flocking in, each of whom added something to the stock. A considerable part of them

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II.

Medals.

CHAP. II. turned out to be of little or no value; either *Roman* coins of the Lower Empire; or *Greek* medals so injured by use and by time, that little could be discerned upon them. Many, however, were purchased by us, of a better date, and in better condition, at the usual price which we always paid, of two paráhs for each bronze medal. After this, we obtained, with more difficulty, a few that were of silver, from the women; but these constituting a favourite ornament of their head-dresses, they very reluctantly consent to sell. We had not seen so many medals in one place since the visit we paid to *Hexamillia*, in the *Isthmus of Corinth*. Among them were medals of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*; or of *Philip Aridæus*; with the figure of a youth on horseback, perhaps *Alexander* upon *Bucephalus*, and this curious monogram, after the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, Ϙ, for ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ: also medals of *Thessaly*, *Bœotia*, *Phocis*, *Ætolia*; but not one of *Attica*. Besides these were medals of cities; as of *Pelinna*—a very rare medal, struck after the *Achaian League*, with the legend entire, ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΩΝ,—*Larymna*, *Chalcis*, *Thebes*; and two which peculiarly interested us at the moment, from the present unknown situation of the city; namely, of *Tanagra*, with the *Omega* differently written in the legend, being

TΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΩΝ upon one, and ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΩΝ upon the other. We asked the peasants where these medals were found in such abundance; and they referred us, for the spot, to some Ruins that did not appear to us to be of much importance, which we had passed a short time before our arrival at *Skemata*<sup>1</sup>. They seemed to

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II.

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(1) The name of this place is written *Scimitari* by Mr. *Hobhouse* (*See Trav.* 459. *Lond.* 1813.); and *Skimatàri* by Mr. *Hawkins*. The last of these travellers has recently communicated to the author the result of his own observations upon the spot, with regard to the site of *Tanagra*; and it is highly probable that the coins found by the peasants in such abundance were discovered among the ruins of that city. Those ruins are at a place called *Grimàthi*, near *Skemata*, or *Skimatàri*. Mr. *Hobhouse* also mentions, that a copper coin of *Tanagra* was brought to him, by the peasants, from the same place; which he writes *Grematha*.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. HAWKINS to the Author, concerning the Asopus, and the Situation of Tanagra.*

“I am not much surprised at your omitting to notice the *Asopus* in your Journal, which, at this distance from its source, is in Winter a muddy torrent, and for eight months of the year wholly dry. Journeying from *Parnes* towards *Thebes*, soon after leaving the banks of this river, the plain ceases, and you reach a gently undulating territory, in which is situate the *Albanian* village of *Skimatàri*, inhabited by forty families. Here you were so near to the ruins of *Tanagra*, that I am surprised that you missed them. They are at a spot called *Grimàthi*, about three miles to the S.W. at the end of a ridge of hills which extend from thence several miles towards *Thebes*. The ground, too, has a gradual descent from these ruins towards the *Asopus* and the great plain beyond it, which it proudly overlooks, and which, I have no doubt, it formerly commanded. There are no well-preserved remains of public edifices, or of walls, at *Grimàthi*: the ruins are in such a state as hardly to deserve notice, did they not serve to point out the situation of *Tanagra*. I am, I believe, the first traveller who has  
visited

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II.

consist chiefly of ruined houses; and of these we before noticed examples, in the plain we so

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visited them. *Grimàthi* is between two and three hours distant from *Sikamno*, and six hours from *Thebes*: it lies within the territory of *Skimatàri*. As I have no intention of publishing the narrative of my travels, but only the result of them, the following story of an adventure, similar to one of your own, is much at your service, and may amuse your readers.

“ At the distance of about a mile eastward from *Grimàthi*, and at the same distance southward from the village of *Skimatàri*, there is a ruined *Greek* Chapel, in which I found an *Ionic* Capital in white marble, in fine preservation. I was so struck with the beauty of its proportion, that I resolved to convey it, if possible, to the shore of the Gulph, and thence on board the vessel which was there in attendance upon me. But it was first necessary to secure the permission of the *Papas* of the village of *Skimatàri*, to remove it from the sacred inclosure; and, in the next place, to contrive some mode of conveyance for it, in a country where the use of wheels is unknown. The protection of an Archon of *Livadia*, who at this time farmed the revenues of the village, powerful as it was, together with that of his *Soubashi* or *Turkish* intendant, would have scarcely sufficed to overcome the first of these difficulties, had the stone been in reality what is here called ‘ a consecrated stone,’ i. e. a part of an altar; nor in this case would I have had recourse to such protection; for my intercourse with the peasantry of *Greece* had been uniformly conducted with a scrupulous regard to their religious feelings. The *Papas*, however, after a due inspection of the altar of the Chapel, as well as of the situation in which the Capital stood, pronounced that the stone might be removed without committing the crime of sacrilege; and we had now no further difficulty than that of contriving the means of transporting it about six or seven miles across the country.

“ For this purpose a raft was made, of the branch of a *Vallania* oak, whereon the *Ionic* Capital was laid; and a pair of oxen were fetched from the village to drag it; a rope being first tied to the stem of the branch, and then to the yoke. A considerable time elapsed before all this preparation was completed; the oxen being taken from the plough, and their owner showing some reluctance to attend them.

At

lately traversed. They were situate upon a gently rising ground, to the left of the road as we came. As to the time of their finding these medals, it agreed with what we had always heard in *Greece*; that is to say, after heavy

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II.

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At last, however, the signal was given by my friend the *Soubashi*, an *Arnaut Turk*; and the oxen being goaded and cheered, put themselves in motion;—but, alas! they had not proceeded with the marble an hundred yards, before one of them fell, and refused, most obstinately, to rise again. It was evident that this arose from lassitude; for the oxen were of a small weak breed, and young; or perhaps it arose from the natural stubbornness of their disposition: but I soon perceived that the peasants attributed it to a very different cause; and, in fact, after another trial had been made, by cheering and goading these poor animals, and the refractory ox had joined his companion in dragging the marble about a furlong farther, and then dropped, their owner loudly proclaimed the impossibility of removing ‘*the consecrated stone*,’ as he called it, any farther. Even the *Papas*, who was more enlightened, shook his head, and would no longer assist; so that, were it not for the zeal of the *Soubashi* and of my attendant, no further attempt would have been made. The former, however, being a *Mussulman*, did not so readily believe in this supernatural interposition, and with direful imprecations and threats at length obliged the owner of the oxen to make one more effort. The beasts were now, with great difficulty, forced again upon their legs, and driven forward for a few yards, when they fell again, and their master exultingly cried out, ‘*Did I not tell you it was impossible? You are now convinced of it! nor would all the oxen in the world be able to move the stone one inch farther.*’

“To this opinion the *Papas* assented, as well as the other peasants. Even the *Soubashi* seemed to feel a flash of conviction, for he too desisted, and became silent; and in this state of things it would have been useless, and certainly wrong, to prosecute the attempt. I relinquished it, however, with reluctance; and the mortifying history of my failure is, without doubt, recorded as a miracle wrought by the Patron Saint of *Skimatàri*.”

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II.

rains, when they are more easily perceived upon the soil, and are left in the channels made by rain water.

Villages of  
*Bratchi,*  
*Macro,* and  
*Megalo*  
*Vathni.*

Plain of  
THEBES.

Upon the *fourth* of *December* we set out for *Thebes*, at the distance of five hours, or fifteen miles. Three-quarters of an hour after leaving *Skemata*, the village of *Bratchi* was upon our left, and *Macro* and *Megalo Vathni* upon our right: but the two last were not in sight. We then quitted the Plain of *Bratchi*; and having crossed an eminence, immediately entered the noble Plain of *Thebes*. This will serve to confirm an observation before made, that every principal city of GREECE occupies its peculiar plain, surrounded in a most remarkable manner by a natural wall of mountains: and, in alluding once more to the fact, the author must of course repeat what he has already said; but too much stress cannot be laid upon it, because it will enable the Reader to take, as it were, a mental survey of the country; and the mere name of any *Grecian* city, by this circumstance of association, will convey with it, whenever it is mentioned, a correct, although an imaginary picture of its appearance and situation; especially to the minds of travellers who have once seen any similar instance of this nature. The country

is naturally distributed into a series of distinct craters, each containing a spacious and level area, admirably adapted to the purposes of maintaining and defending as many different colonies<sup>1</sup>. Among the mountains that surround the *Plain of Thebes*, the snow-clad ridges of *Parnassus*, and of *Helicon*, are particularly conspicuous. It may easily be imagined, without much description, what scenes for the painter such a country must afford — what subjects for poetry it must contain: heaven and earth seem to be brought together: the mountain-tops appear shining above the clouds, in regions of ineffable light, as thrones for immortal beings; and the clouds, collected into stupendous volumes of inconceivable splendour and of every possible form, come rolling

CHAP.  
II.

Surround-  
ing Sce-  
nery.

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(1) The most practical method of exhibiting this position of the *Grecian* mountains, and the contiguity of plains thus surrounded, although in an imperfect manner, is by placing together a number of saucers with broken lips, upon a table; the *first* of which may be supposed to contain the Plain of *Athens*, the *second* that of *Thebes*, the *third* that of *Larissa*, &c. &c.; for these plains are all so many *vast basins* of limestone, with high and broken sides, through which the rivers flow. Attention to this circumstance of external character in the general appearance of limestone, upon the outer crust of the *Earth*, may enable us to form a reasonable conjecture as to the nature of the surface of the *Moon*; which exhibits, when viewed through a telescope, precisely the same features, by the disposition of the mountains visible upon its surface; and hence it may be inferred, that the *Moon's* surface is similar to that of the *Earth*.



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around the bases of the mountains, as if bringing the majesty of their celestial conductors towards the earth. Under the influence of so many sublime impressions, the human mind becomes gifted as by inspiration, and is by nature filled with poetical ideas. The Muses have ever made such scenes their favourite abode; and it is upon this account that they have haunted *Helicon* and *Parnassus*, and all the heights and the depths, the vales, and the rocks, and the woods, and the waters, of GREECE:—nor can an example be adduced, where, in any country uniformly flat and monophanous, like *Scythia* or *Belgium*, the fire of imagination has ever kindled. If GREECE derived her celebrity from an *Orpheus* and *Pindar*, and from the long list of poets it produced, those illustrious bards owed the bent of their genius to the scenes of nature wherein they were born and educated. *Homer* himself, had he been a native of oriental *Tahtary*, cradled and brought up under the impressions made by such scenery, and under the influence of such a climate, would never have been a poet.

THEBES.

Journeying along the south-west side of this plain, the fine view of THEBES at last appeared, within two miles of us, upon an eminence near the mountains, to the left, interspersed with

groves of cypress-trees; a mosque and a minaret being its most conspicuous edifices. Having suffered more than any other city of GREECE, it has little within its walls worth notice;—but that little must not be disregarded. Beheld externally, it wears a more imposing appearance; and the view of it from a distance in the plain shews how greatly nature contributed to aid the operations of art in its antient fortifications. When it is thus seen, it still assumes all the aspect of a great city. Prodigious ramparts, and high mounds of a very artificial form, appear upon the outside of it; a deep fosse surrounds it; and the traces of its old walls may yet be discerned. We entered, by an antient gate, about noon. Half the arch of this gate, and one of the buttresses, remain. Soon afterwards arrived the *English* Consul of *Patras*, Mr. *Strani*, from *Livadia*, in company with an *English* officer, Captain *Lacy*. We accompanied these gentlemen, upon the usual visit of ceremony, to the *Waiwode*; and then we all dined together, upon such fare as the place afforded. We were in a wretched house, belonging to a poor *Greek*, who was the apothecary of the place, but who gave us all he could, namely, a *welcome*. Our interpreter being again attacked by his fever, we were forced to go into the town ourselves

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II.

for provisions; and the consequence was, the loss of our fine wolf-dog, *Koráki*; who disappeared, and could not be found. We were so attached to this faithful animal, that we spent the rest of the day in vain endeavours to recover him; and we offered a reward to any of the inhabitants who should find him, and take him safe to Signor *Lusieri* at *Athens*<sup>1</sup>. The next morning, our Consul *Strani*, and Captain *Lacy*, set out for *Athens*. Soon afterwards, we had a singular opportunity of judging of the state of medicine and surgery in this part of *Greece*, by the example which our host afforded. To the business of an apothecary he joined every other branch of the medical and surgical professions. A wealthy *Turk*, followed by his pipe-bearer and a train of other attendants, entered the yard, and made application to our *Æsculapius* for relief from an excruciating pain in one of his teeth. A bargain was instantly set on foot between him and the *Greek*; and upon promise of instant relief, a sum of money was paid. The *Turk* was then told, that the only hope of relief would be afforded by the extraction of the tooth. To this

State of  
Surgery  
and Me-  
dicine in  
GREECE.

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(1) He was afterwards discovered by an *Albanian*, upon the side of a mountain half-way between *Thebes* and *Athens*; and being taken to Signor *Lusieri*, was by him forwarded to us, in a vessel bound to *Constantinople*.

the patient assented, with great calmness and fortitude. Being seated upon a log of wood, in the open air, the operator thrust into his mouth a most terrific instrument, and presently out flew two of the soundest teeth in his head. It was a job not to be mended by apology; so, with matchless presence of mind, the *Greek* began to cross himself, telling his patient to call again the next day if the pain should return, as there was still an ugly-looking tooth remaining, which perhaps would prove troublesome, but might be removed in a twinkling. When his patient had quitted the premises, finding that we were disposed to rally him a little upon his dexterity, he made no secret of what had happened, but produced the two teeth, without even a speck upon either of them; saying, the *Turk* had asked for a sight of what he had lost, but was easily persuaded that some hungry turkeys, which had strolled into the yard and were making a great noise, had gobbled all that he desired to see.—So much for his skill in this particular branch of his calling! As a physician, he entertained very high ideas of the efficacy of pills made of *yellow silk* and *live spiders*, in the cure of a *quotidian*, *tertian*, or *quartan*. However, as *Englishmen*, we had little reason to ridicule the *Greeks* for such superstitions with

CHAP. II. regard to the cure of an ague; since there is no part of *Europe* where the *nostrums* recommended as remedies for that disorder are so barbarous as among the middle, and sometimes among the higher classes of society in our own country.

Antiquities  
of *Thebes*.

The antiquities of *Thebes* principally claimed our attention. In coming from the gate into the town, near a *public fountain*, there is an antient buttress or bastion, where, upon a large block of stone, we found one of those affecting inscriptions, of which two were given in the account of the island of *Cos*<sup>1</sup>; commemorating, as public benefits, the examples of women, who had rendered themselves illustrious by their virtues.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ . . . .  
 ΘΕΟΓΕΙΤΟΝ Ο ΣΠΕΜ . . . . .  
 . . ΟΥ . ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΕΝ

It sets forth, that “THE SENATE AND THE PEOPLE (*honour*) THE DAUGHTER OF THEOGITON, THE WIFE” of some person whose name is partly lost, “ON ACCOUNT OF HER VIRTUE AND MODESTY.”

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(1) Vid. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 11. tom. III. p. 444. L. Bat. 1635.*

And upon the opposite side of the street we found another, recording the grateful tribute of a citizen to *Domitian*, son of *Vespasian*, and brother of *Titus*, both of whom might have visited *Thebes*, for their father accompanied *Nero* into Greece. Whatsoever contributes towards the history of *Vespasian's* family, may be deemed worth preserving. Having risen from the humble station of a farrier, to that of a Roman sovereign, he was the first of the Emperors who was succeeded by his son upon the throne. It states, that "ARISTIDES, WITH HIS CHILDREN, AT HIS OWN EXPENSE, (*honours*) DOMITIAN, A SON OF THE EMPEROR CÆSAR AUGUSTUS VESPASIAN:"

ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΥΤΟ ΚΡΑΤ  
ΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΟΥ  
ΕΣ ΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΔΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ  
... ΑΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΔΗ ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ

In the age of *Alexander*, there was at *Thebes* a painter of the name of *Aristides*, by some believed the inventor of encaustic painting: but this is disputed by *Pliny*<sup>2</sup>, who, in his valuable

State of  
Painting  
in the age  
of *Alexan-  
der*.

(2) Vid. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. c. 11. tom. III. p. 444. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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II

account of this artist, has made us acquainted with two very curious facts. The first is, that *picture-cleaners* did as much mischief in his time as they do now<sup>1</sup>. The second, that it is an error to suppose that the *Greek* painters, who generally represented the human countenance by a single outline in profile upon the *terra-cotta* vases, were not as well acquainted with the art of delineating the passions as the best of our modern artists. Take, for example, the interesting anecdote which *Pliny* has afforded, among others, of the dying mother lying wounded and bleeding among the victims in the sacking of a city, whose infant was represented as creeping to reach her breast, while in her countenance were pictured all the emotions of tenderness and fear, lest her child, wanting the milk, should suck the blood of its parent; a picture upon this account so highly valued, that *Alexander* caused it to be removed to *Pella*, the place of his nativity<sup>2</sup>. Above four hundred years had

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(1) "Tragœdum et puerum, in Apollinis: cujus tabulæ gratia interiiit pictoris inscitia, cui tergendam eam mandaverat M. Junius Prætor sub die ludorum Apollinarium." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 11. tom. III. p. 439.*

(2) "ARISTIDES *Thebanus*: is omnium primùm animum, pinxit, et sensus omnes expressit, quos vocant Græci ETHE: item per turbationes: durior paulò in coloribus. Hujus pictura est, oppido capto  
ad

elapsed from the death of this celebrated painter, when *Vespasian* visited *Greece*; but as professions and names continued in the same family in that country, and were often transmitted together to succeeding generations, his son might have found in *Thebes* a painter to represent his father's battles, who thus commemorates his gratitude for the patronage conferred upon him. It happened at a time when it was particularly the practice of the *Romans* to employ *Grecian* artists in such representations: and the *graphic*' illustrations of those conquests which *Titus*, the brother of *Domitian*, had achieved were not long afterwards exhibited in *Rome*, where they remain at this day.

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A very correct topography of antient *Thebes* might be composed from the traces still discernible. The situation of its *seven gates*<sup>4</sup> might be ascertained: and as a beginning of

Seven  
Gates of  
*Thebes*.

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ad matris morientis e vulnere mammam adrepens iufans : intelligiturque sentire mater, et timere ne emortuo lacte sanguinem infans lambat : quam tabulam Alexander Magnus transtulerat *Pellam* in patriam suam." *Plin. ibid. c. 10. p. 438.*

(3) *Pausanias* calls the representations of things, by means of sculpture, in *basso-relievo*, ΓΡΑΦΑΙ.

(4) Θεβαίους δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τεύχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, x. τ. λ. *Pausaniæ Bœotica*, c. 8. p. 727. ed. *Kuhnii*.



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this part of the work, it will be evident that the entrance, near to which these inscriptions were found, was that called, from the fountain we have mentioned, “*the Crenæan Gate*’.” The city was demolished, it is true, above two thousand years ago, when *Alexander* invaded *Greece*: but since its restoration by *Cassander*², very little has happened to it, which could possibly alter the appearance of its dykes and ramparts: upon these, time has little influence; and their situation and form serve to point out the position of the gates. *Thebes* was almost a deserted village in the age of *Strabo*³: but *Pausanias* says its *seven gates* remained in his time⁴; and he has written rather a copious account of its antiquities⁵. The present town appears to occupy little more than the site of the old *Cadmæan Acropolis*; which is the opinion of *Wheler*, and of *Pococke*⁶: and in the harmonious adjustment of

(1) Πύλας δὲ Κρηναίας, τὰς δὲ Ἑψίστας ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιαῦται ὀνομάζουσι. *Pausan. Bœotica*, p. 728.

(2) Vid. *Diodor. Sic.* libro xix. in *Epitome Rerum Thebanarum*, tom. II. p. 697. edit. 1604.

(3) Οὐδὲ κώμης ἀξιολόγου τόπον σώζουσι. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 585. ed. *Oxon.*

(4) Μίνουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστι. *Pausan.* *ibid.* c. 8. p. 727.

(5) See also *Dicæarchus*, p. 14, *et seq.* ed. *Hudson.*

(6) See *Pococke's Travels*, vol. II. Part II. page 159. *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 331. *Lond.* 1682.

those masses which remain, belonging to the *antient walls*, we saw enough to convince us that the story of *Amphion* was no fable; for it was a very antient custom to carry on immense labour by an accompaniment of music and singing. The custom, indeed, still exists, both in *Egypt* and in *Greece*. It might therefore be said, that the *walls of Thebes* were built at the sound of the only musical instrument then in use; because, according to the custom of the country, the *lyre* was necessary for the accomplishment of the work.

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Story of  
*Amphion*  
and his  
Lyre not a  
fable.

We saw, in two instances, upon stones in the walls of a church, the traces of inscriptions which were no longer legible: but in another wall we found the following; informing us, that in antient *Thebes*, as in *London*, there were different *companies*, or *communities*, established for the different vocations. It is rendered moreover interesting, by containing the name of the city; thereby confirming our knowledge of the spot: and it purports, that  
“TIMOCLES, THE SON OF TIMOSTRATUS, is honoured BY THE COMMUNITY OF THE ARTIFICERS AT THEBES.”

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ ΤΕΧΝΗΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΕΝ ΘΕΒΑΙΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΜΟΣ  
ΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ

There is another line upon the stone; but it is written in much smaller characters, and cannot now be read. In this inscription it appears to be written ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ, but this must be an error<sup>1</sup>.

Near the door of the Church of *St. George* there is an inscription of some length, beginning "LYSIPPUS THE SON OF TRALLION," &c. ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ κ.τ.λ. but it contains only a list of names; and as a very considerable part of it is concealed by the base of a small pillar, the imperfect copy we made of it is not worth publishing. Many scraps of this kind might be added, which would serve only to swell the volume, and they are therefore omitted. We thought we should obtain something

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(1) [The expression *Οἱ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τεχνίται* occurs frequently in inscriptions. In the same manner we have *Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα νεανίσκοι*, "*Juvenes circa Herculanæum ludum.*" Vid. *Chishull Ins. Sig.* p. 47.]  
*Note by Mr. WALPOLE.*

of more consequence, from the positive assurances made to us by several *Greeks*, that the *Sepulchre of St. Luke* was preserved within a chapel upon the outside of the town, towards the east; and that a long inscription, proving the fact, existed upon the tomb. We hastened to the sanctuary said to contain this remarkable relic, and found a beautiful *Soros* of white marble, with an inscription thereon; the first sight of which convinced us of the astonishing ignorance of the *Greeks* of *Thebes*, whose priests could not undeceive their countrymen with regard to its pretended origin. They shewed to us, indeed, the word **TYMBΩI** upon the monument; and the chapel being dedicated to *St. Luke*, thence concluded that this *Soros* must contain his relics. Its *operculum* is beautifully sculptured, so as to exhibit in relief, upon its sloping sides, the resemblance of a thatch made of the foliage of the laurel. The oblong sides of the *Soros* are channelled into indented pannels, three on each. Upon the south side of the tomb there is an inscription in the middle pannel; and the other pannels, to the right and left of this, are ornamented with a rose, or sun-flower, in the center.

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II.

Pretended  
Tomb of  
*St. Luke.*

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The inscription has been already published by *Wheler*<sup>1</sup>, and by *Spon*<sup>2</sup>, and by *Muratori*<sup>3</sup> from the Travels of *Du Loir*; but as no accurate copy has yet appeared, we shall insert our own; stating, at the same time, in the Notes, the different Readings that have before been published. It is remarkable, that, among four travellers who have copied a legend of only ten lines, fairly inscribed upon the marble, there should be so much disagreement\*. It relates to a person of the name of *Nedymus*; and from the mention made of the *soul's immortality*, in the last line, it is supposed that he was a *Christian*. If this be true, it must have been some *Christian* who had imbibed the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul; as appears from an allusion to it in the fifth line: but the general tenor of the composition, and some of the particular expressions, rather prove that it was written by one of the later *Platonists*.

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(1) Journey into *Greece*, Book IV. p. 333. *Lond.* 1682.

(2) *Voyage de Grèce et du Levant*, tom. II. p. 267. *à la Haye*, 1724.

(3) *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, tom. IV. p. MMLXI. No. I. *Mediolani*, 1742.

1. ΣΚΗΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΕΝΕΤΗΡΕΣ ΕΠΕΙ ΓΕΡΑΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΘΑΝΟΥΣΙ
2. ΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΕΣ ΚΛΑΙΕΣ ΚΟΝΑΝΑΙΣ ΘΗΤΩΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΙ
3. ΨΥΧΗ Δ' ΕΣΤΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΒΗΗΝ Δ' ΟΥΝ ΟΜΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝ
4. ΝΗΔΥΜΟΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ ΑΔΑΗΣ ΠΑΙΣ Η ΜΕΡΟΣ ΟΝΤΩΣ
5. ΟΥΚ ΗΜΗΝ ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕ ΠΟΛΥΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΙΤΕ ΓΕΝΗΘΗΝ
6. ΕΙΣ ΟΛΙΓΩΝ ΕΤΕΩΝ ΕΝΑΡΙΘΜΙΟΣ ΑΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΙΩΝ
7. ΟΥΚ ΑΝΕΔΡΑΣΤΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΗΣ Δ' ΕΛΑΧΕΝΤΙΣ
8. ΜΟΙΡΗ ΣΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ
9. ΤΑΥΤΕ ΠΕΓΡΑΨΕ ΠΑΤΗΡΟΣ ΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΕΙΝΕΚΕ ΜΕΙΟ
10. ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΠΟΘΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΟ

## (\*) NOTE.

- Line 1. ΠΗΝΟΣ is put for ΣΚΗΝΟΣ, in *Muratori*.  
 ΣΚΗΝΩΣ for ΣΚΗΝΟΣ, *Wheler*.
- l. 2. ΚΕΙΡΟΝΤΕΣ for ΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΕΣ, *Muratori*.  
 ΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΕ for ΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΕΣ, *Wheler*.  
 ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥΜΒΟΝ for ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΤΩΙ-  
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΙ, *Spon*.
- l. 3. ΔΕΣ for Δ'ΕΣ, *Muratori*, *Wheler*, and *Spon*.  
 ΔΟΥΝΟΜΑ for Δ'ΟΥΝΟΜΑ, *Muratori*, *Wheler*, and  
*Spon*.
- l. 4. ΝΗΔΙΜΟΣ for ΝΗΔΥΜΟΣ, *Muratori*.  
 ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ for ΙΤΑΔΙΚΗΣ, *Muratori*, *Wheler*, and  
*Spon*.  
 ΗΜΕΡΟΣ for ΗΜΕΡΟΣ, *Wheler* and *Spon*.
- l. 5. ΕΜΕΡΟΣΘΕ for ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕ, *Wheler*.
- l. 6. ΟΛΙΓΟΝ *Muratori*, ΟΛΙΤΩΝ *Wheler*, for ΟΛΙΓΩΝ.
- l. 7. ΑΝΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΝ for ΑΝΕΔΡΑΣΤΟΝ; also ΕΧΕΙ for  
 ΕΧΩΝ, *Muratori*.
- l. 9. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΕΓΡΑΨΕ for ΤΑΥΤΕ ΠΕΓΡΑΨΕ, *Muratori*.

The following is a literal translation of the original:

“MY PARENTS, HONOURING MY BODY, WEPT AROUND A SENSELESS TOMB, SINCE SUCH IS THE TRIBUTE TO THE DEAD: BUT I, A SOUL, WENT TO THE ABODE SUITED TO ME. MY NAME WAS NEDYMUS, IN TRUTH THE GENTLE SON OF THE ITALIAN ADAE. I HAD NOT EXISTED LONG IN A PREVIOUS STATE; THEN I WAS BORN TO NUMBER A FEW YEARS, ALWAYS IN MOTION, HAVING MY PECULIAR COURSE TO RUN, FROM WHICH I COULD NOT ESCAPE; FOR THE DESTINY WHICH IS ASSIGNED TO EACH MAN, THAT HE MUST FULFIL; SINCE KINGS MUST DO THE SAME. MY FATHER ZOSIMUS WROTE THESE LINES ON MY ACCOUNT, FEELING AN IMMORTAL REGRET FOR AN IMMORTAL SOUL.”

Upon the north side of the same *Soros* there is also an inscription; but the buttress of one of the arched niches of the altar of the chapel has been erected against it, in such a manner as to leave only a few of the characters visible. Upon a slab near this tomb we also saw the following:

ΕΠΙΖΗΝΩΝΙΗΡ  
ΑΚΛΙΔΟΥΧΡΗΖ  
ΤΟΥ

The chapel seems evidently to have been erected posterior to the construction of the tomb, from the manner in which one of its

inscriptions has been concealed by the altar; and it is also evident, that it was built of materials derived from some more costly edifice. We observed fragments of the *Verde Antico*; and some inscribed marbles have been broken to form the pavement.

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Returning from this chapel towards the town, we were struck by the very artificial appearance exhibited by a lofty hill upon the eastern side of it. The shape of this hill will best be comprehended from a sketch made of it at the time. Perhaps there can be no doubt but that it formed a part of the antient fortifications; as there is another hill, equally artificial, near to it; and between the two there seems to have been the eastern gate, or entrance, to the old city. It consists, as to its form, of two cones, with truncated summits; the one smaller than the other. The smaller cone stands upon the larger, as upon a pedestal; thereby leaving room for a road all round its base, and having, in consequence of its truncated summit, a level *plane*, or terrace, upon its top<sup>1</sup>. The whole of this hill is now covered by turf, and no attempt has yet been made to injure its form by excavation.

Antient  
Bulwark.

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(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.



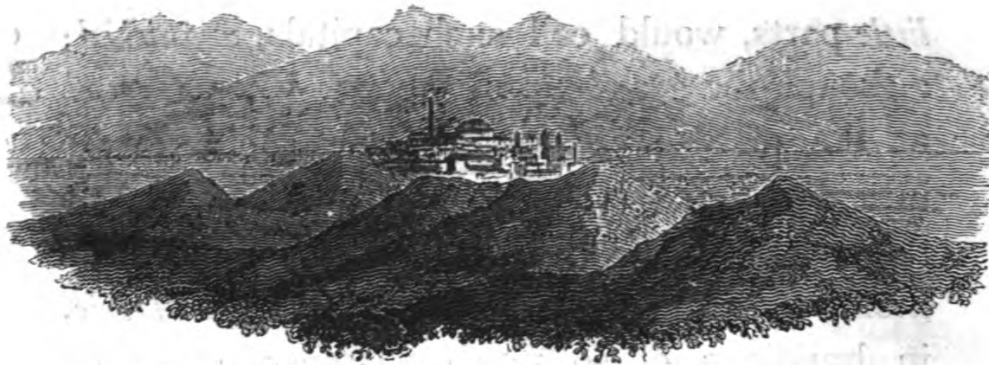
CHAP.  
II.

Church of  
St. Demetrius.

Rare variety of the  
Corinthian  
order in  
Architecture.

But the most curious part of the antiquities of *Thebes* is in the Church of *St. Demetrius*, and upon the western side of it. There may still be seen the rarest specimens of architecture in *Greece*; namely, several beautiful capitals of that chaste and antient pattern of the *Corinthian order*; which is entirely without *volute* for the *corners*, and has a single wreath of the simplest *Acanthus* foliage to crown its base. There is not in *Europe* a single instance of this most elegant variety of the *Corinthian* in any modern structure. In fact, it is only known to those persons who have seen the very few examples of it that exist among the ruins of the *Grecian* cities. There is no trace of it among the ruins of *Rome*; yet, in point of taste, it is so exceedingly superior to the more ornamented and crowded capital which was afterwards introduced, that both the rival *connoscenti* of *Athens*, *Lusieri* and *Fauvel*, have designed and modelled it; and they have spoken of its discovery as forming an *epocha* in the history of the art. In one or two instances, the attention of the antient sculptor to simplicity has been so severe, that even the edges of the foliage have not been *ruffled* (to borrow from the builder's vocabulary), but expressed *in gross*; and, consequently, the admirers of excessive minuteness, in the detail of

*little* parts, would call such capitals, *unfinished*; although the grandeur of design, when viewed at the distance in which such objects were intended to be seen, especially in the majestic temples of *Greece*, be thereby considerably augmented. It is to this cause that the *Doric*, in buildings of so much vastness, owes its superiority over all the other orders of architecture—to that *simplicity* which is the very soul of grandeur; where nothing that is *little* can be tolerated for an instant. Excessive minuteness of design, and of execution, may suit the puny imitations of *Grecian* architecture seen in the buildings of modern cities; upon the same principle that it is allowable in a piece of *Chinese* carving in ivory; because works of this kind are fitted for a small scope of observation; but when such minuteness is introduced into the vast features of a gigantic style, it becomes superfluous and contemptible.



*View of Thebes towards the North, as seen in the Road to Plataea.*

### CHAP. III.

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#### THEBES, TO THE GROVE OF THE MUSES IN MOUNT HELICON.

*Population of Thebes — Female inhabitants — Antient Gates of Thebes — Other antiquities — Medals — Remarkable Soros — Albanian Market — Journey to Cithæron and Plataea — View of the Cadmæan Citadel — Platånã Village — Asopus — Source of the River — Traditions of the Battle of Plataea — Condition of the Inhabitants — Camp of Mardonius — Situation of the Sacred Well — Platæan Territory — Ruins of the City of Plataea — Medals observed upon the spot — Mural Turrets of the Citadel — Coclæ — Remains of LEUCTRA — Ruins at Phria — Helicon — Village of Neocorio — Doubts respecting the supposed Situation of Thespia — Medals — Discovery of the old Route over Helicon — Further Account of the Albanian Peasants — Journey over Mount Helicon*

—*Monastery of St. Nicholo — Antiquities discovered there—Situation of the Fountain Aganippe and Grove of the Muses ascertained—River Permessus—Inscription relating to the Games called MOΥΣΕΙΑ—Extraordinary beauty of the scenery—Situation of the Fountain Hippocrene.*

THEBES contains about three hundred houses<sup>1</sup>, and it is governed by a *Waiwode*. Including the inhabitants of its suburbs, it has a numerous population; but no accurate calculation of this can be made, because no reliance can be placed upon the contradictory statements which are given to travellers. *Du Loir*, in the middle of the seventeenth century, affirmed that he found THEBES as well peopled as *Athens*, and better provided with the necessaries of life. *Spon* computed its population at three or four thousand souls<sup>2</sup>; but he was not one entire day in the town, and his information could only have been obtained from the Greek with whom he lodged<sup>3</sup>. THEBES has one advantage over

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Population  
of *Thebes*.

(1) Five hundred, according to Mr. *Hobhouse* (*Trav. p. 278. Lond. 1814.*); two mosques; and four churches.

(2) "Trois ou quatre mille ames, en comprenant les faux-bourgs." *Voyage en Grèce, tom. II. p. 55. à la Haye, 1724.* Mr. *Haygarth* also makes the number of inhabitants "about 4000." See *Notes, &c. to Part. I. of Haygarth's Greece, a Poem, p. 166. Lond. 1814.*

(3) *Wheler* says, they left *Livadia*, "January the twenty-fifth, about eleven in the morning," and *Thebes* by day-break Jan. 26; but this

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*Athens*, in being well watered<sup>1</sup>; and to this circumstance, in former times, might be attributed the number and beauty of its gardens<sup>2</sup>, and the plantations now decorating its suburbs. At present, however, we must consider the remains of this city as almost unknown: the travellers who have passed through it, and who possessed abilities for the undertaking, wanting the leisure or the liberty of exploring it, rather teach us to despair of reaping any information upon the spot, than to expect discoveries among the ruins. One of the earliest writers by whom it is mentioned in modern times<sup>3</sup>, with the true gallantry of a *Frenchman*, supplies the absence of literary intelligence, by a lively encomium upon the extraordinary charms of its *living beauties*; and especially of its *Jewesses*, which, in his opinion, he says, “*valent bien des pierres et des tombeaux.*” We could neither dispute nor confirm the accuracy of his observations respecting the *Theban*

Female Inhabitants.

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this must be an error; for he also states, that they passed the night, after leaving *Livadia*, at a place called *Megalo-molci*, before they reached *Thebes*, where they arrived at noon. See *Wheeler's Journey into Greece*, pp. 330, 331, 333. Lond. 1682.

(1) Ἡ δὲ πόλις (τῶν Ἀθηναίων) ξηρὰ πᾶσα, οὐκ ἔυδρος. *Dicæarchi Status Græciæ*, p. 9. ap. Geog. Vet. tom. II. Oxon. 1803.

(2) Κάλυδρος πᾶσα, κλωρά τι καὶ γαίολοφος κηπέματα ἔχουσα πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων. *Dicæarch. ibid.* p. 15.

(3) *Voyage du Sieur Du Leir*, p. 330. Paris, 1654.

women, since nothing can be more difficult than to obtain a sight of them; and of this indeed he complained<sup>4</sup>. The same reserve and jealousy with respect to its female inhabitants was perhaps characteristic of *Thebes* in the first periods of its decline. Its women are mentioned by *Dicæarchus*, as being remarkable for the dignity and decorum of their carriage<sup>5</sup>; and he describes their antient *costume* as corresponding with the same disguise in which alone we were constrained to view them; passing the streets like so many mute and moving spectres, veiled from head to foot, leaving nothing visible of their features but their eyes, and these peering indistinctly through two holes in the drapery covering their faces<sup>6</sup>. The time cannot be far distant when society will be upon a different establishment in this country; when the hidden treasures of *Greece*, of every description, will at least become liable to observation; and *Thebes*,

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(4) Ibid. p. 331.

(5) Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τοῖς μεγάλῃσι πορείαις ῥυθμοῖς (sic enim legit Steph. pro πορείαις ῥυθμοῖς) εὐσχημονίσταται τε καὶ εὐκρεπίσταται τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γυναικῶν. *Dicæarchi Status Græciæ*, p. 16.

(6) Τὸ τῶν ἱματίων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ προσωπίδι δοκίῃ πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον κατεκλήφθαι. οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ διαφαίνονται μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ προσώπου πάντα κατέχεται τοῖς ἱματίοις. φορεῦσι δ' αὐτὰ πᾶσαι λευκά. Ibid.

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Antient  
Gates of  
Thebes.

for so many ages "illustrious only in its misfortunes<sup>1</sup>," will again revive, becoming conspicuous for the importance of its contributions to History and to the Fine Arts. Although described by antient writers as retaining no other vestige than its name of what it once had been, yet we find that so late as the *second* century, its gates were not only entire, but *Pausanias* was enabled to collect their several appellations\*. The

(1) "Non virtutibus sed cladibus insignes fuere." *Justin.*

(2) The *Seven Gates* of *Thebes*, according to *Nonnus*, (*lib. V. Dionys.*) were erected according to the number and order of the *seven* planets. *Pausanias* has thus preserved their names: (*vid. Pausan. Bœotica, cap. 8. p. 727. edit. Kuhnii.*)

I. The Gates of *Electra*.

II. The *Prætan*, or Gates of *Prætus*.

III. The *Neïtan*, or Gates of *Neïs*: so called, either from *Néte*, the name of a string belonging to the lyre, which *Amphion* invented before this gate; or from *Neïs*, the nephew of *Amphion*.

IV. The *Crenæan* Gates; so called, in all probability, from their fountain *Dirce*; for these gates are called *Dircæan* by *Statius*. *Pausanias* does not say that these gates received their appellation from their fountain: but *Kuhniius* attributes it to the stream or fountain of *Dirce*; and he has this curious emendatory note upon the words (*πύλας δὲ Κρηναίας*): "Locum esse in mendo nemo non videt quem ex conjecturâ sic restituerem: πύλας τὰς μὲν Κρηναίας τὰς δὲ Ἑψίστας ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιαῦδε ὀνομάζουσι. πρὸς μὲν Κρηναίαις Δίρκης κρήνη, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ἑψίσταις Δίος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησίν ἐστιν Ἑψίστου. Κρηναίας, vel ut *Apollod.* lib. iii. scribit, *Κρηνίδας*, a rivo qui *Dirce* dicebatur nomen trahere dubium non est: nam et *Statius*, lib. viii. *Thebaïd.* has portas vocat *culmina Dircæa*. Dabo ejus versus integros, quia ad rem faciunt:

"Ogygiis

inhabitants also pointed out to him their *antient sepulchres*; and many *temples*<sup>3</sup> were standing, together with *statues*, which were at that time exhibited as the works of *Phidias*, of *Scopas*, of *Praxiteles*, and of other renowned artists<sup>4</sup>.

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Other An-  
tiquities.

“Ogyiis te sorte Creon: Eteoclea mittunt  
Neitæ: celsas Homoloidas occupat Hæmon.  
Hypsea Proitidiæ: celsum fudere Dryanta  
Electræ: quatit Hypsistas manus Eurymedontis:  
Culmina magnanimus stirpat Dirœa Menœceus.”

“Æschylus, in Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις, nominat Prætidus, Electras, Neitidas, Ὀγκείας, pylas, Boreales, Homoloidas, pylas hebdomas. Apollodorus omissis Νηΐτισι numerat Ὀγκείδας.”

- v. The Gates called *Hypsistæ*, because there was the *Hieron* of the *Most-High God* (Διὸς Ἑψίστου).
- vi. The *Ogygian* or Gates of *Ogyges*. This was the most antient name of any of the gates of *Thebes* (αἱ δὲ Ὀγύγαι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον).
- vii. The *Homoloian* or *Homoloan* Gates, so called from the mountain *Homole*. This last appellation was considered by *Pausanias* as more recent than any of the others (τὸ ὄνομα νεώτατον).

(3) Vid. *Pausan. Bœotica*, cc. 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, &c. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(4) The statues of *Thebes* seem to have been the productions of the most celebrated artists of *Greece*. Their materials, besides *stone* and *marble*, consisted of *bronze*, and of *cedar*. The *Thebans* had *wooden statues*, so antient, that they were said to have been made from the prows of the ships of *Cadmus* (*Pausan. Bœotica*, c. 16. p. 742. edit. *Kuhnii*). Naturalists may have overlooked the very curious notice of the *Elk*, which occurs in *Pausanias*, after the description he gives of the statue of a *Triton*, and which does not much differ from the notions now entertained of this rare animal. He says it is found in the country of the *Celts*, and that it is called Ἄλκη, (*ibid.* p. 750.) being half a stag and half a camel; of rare occurrence; and only casually taken, in hunting other wild beasts.



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Besides a *Theatre*, and a *Hippodrome*, containing the SEPULCHRE OF PINDAR, there were also a *Gymnasium* and a *Stadium* contiguous to the *Heracléum*<sup>1</sup>. The *Stadium* will doubtless be hereafter discovered, and the future knowledge of its situation will serve as a beacon guiding to the buried vestiges of the *Gymnasium* and the *Temple*. In this edifice there were *colossal statues* of *Hercules* and *Minerva* in *Pentelican marble*, the workmanship of *Alcamenes*<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore almost impossible that the antiquities enumerated by *Pausanias* can have been all removed from the ruins of a city placed at such a distance from the coast, and so remote from the military operations of the *Romans* after the age of the *Antonines*, and from all those means which afforded to them a facility of ransacking the *Grecian* cities for works of art: neither is it likely that *Thebes* has been despoiled of its valuable remains to serve as building materials for the *Turks*; because there is no place near enough to render it a convenient object of resort for such a supply; and *Turks*

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(1) It is uncertain of what nature this edifice was. *Pausanias* does not once call it a *temple*, although it is several times mentioned by him. The words 'Ἐνθαῦθα Ἡράκλειόν ἐστιν are, by *Amasæus*, rendered "*Herculis illic templum*:" and it is very usual to consider every structure as a *temple* which is noticed by *Pausanias* as containing statues.

2) *Pausan. Bœot.* c. 11. p. 733. ed. *Kuhni*.

are not likely to use extraordinary exertions upon any occasion of this nature. The probable conclusion therefore must be, that within the mosques, baths, and dwellings of its present inhabitants, and, above all, beneath the soil now occupied by the town and by the suburbs, many of its antiquities lie concealed from observation.


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Our success at *Shemata* in collecting medals Medals. made us more than usually diligent in our inquiries among the silversmiths at *Thebes*. Upon our return from the morning's excursion, we paid a visit to all the persons we could find of this description, and we collected several valuable relics. Among these were, a marble bust of *Venus*, of very diminutive size; and one of a *Vestal*, exquisitely modelled in *terra cotta*<sup>3</sup>. These antiquities had been evidently votive offerings; for they had no marks of fracture as if broken from small *statues*, but were so shaped as to admit of their standing upright, either upon the *altars*, or within some of the numerous *Hiera* of the antient city. We also collected many silver and bronze medals of the *Macedonian* Kings and cities of *Greece*. Some of the silver medals had the rude globular form which characterizes

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(3) See the Plate in the *Fourth Volume* of the *Quarto Edition* of these *Travels*, p. 70.

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the oldest coinage of the country: they exhibited in front the figure of the *Bœotian shield*; and upon the obverse sides, an indented square with this *monogram*  in the centre. The other silver medals were of *Thebes*, of *Corinth*, and of *Athens*. The *Macedonian* silver consisted of medals of *Alexander*, and of *Cassander*. We also procured many bronze coins: among these were several of *Bœotia*, of very diminutive size, with the usual symbol of the *shield* before mentioned, and with the legend ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. It will not be necessary to give a particular description of all the bronze coins found here; because they are less worth notice than medals in silver; being more modern. They consisted of the coins of the *Macedonian* kings, particularly of *Alexander*, and of *Cassander*; the latter appearing with the *legend* entire, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and with a portrait of this monarch; one of the few instances where a portrait occurs upon *Greek* medals. Of the bronze coins of *cities*, may be mentioned, as the most rare, those of *Abdera*, with the legend ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ; of *Thespia*, ΘΕΣΠΙΕΩΝ; of *Athens*, ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ; of *Elatea*, representing a *bull's head with fillets*, and the legend ΕΛ; and lastly, a bronze medal, which, with one exception alone, is perhaps unique, of *Ilesium* in *Bœotia*.

We have no other authority for the name of the city, than the mention made of it by *Homer* as a city of *Bœotia*, in his catalogue of the ships<sup>1</sup>. It represents in front the *armed head of Pallas*; and for its reverse, the *head of a goat encircled by a laurel wreath*, containing the letters *IA*. *Mentelle*, author of the *Géographie Ancienne*, in the French *Encyclopédie*, observes, that it should be written without the aspirate<sup>2</sup>; but *Eckhel*<sup>3</sup> writes it *Hilesium*; and he has attributed to *Ismene* a bronze medal, which he describes as being unique; but it is evidently of *Ilesium*, for it has the same reverse; and he confesses that the letters were not sufficiently perfect to decide the name of the city to which it belonged<sup>4</sup>.

During the afternoon of this day we made the entire circuit of *Thebes*, returning by the *western* side; and we computed the circumference of the present town as about equal to two *English* miles and a half. Beneath a ruined tower upon

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(1) *Iliad*. B. ver. 499.

(2) "Le Grec porte *Ειλίσσιος*; ce qui sembleroit indiquer qu'il convient d'écrire *ILESIIUM*." *Encyclop. Méthod. Géog. Anc.* tom. II. Paris, 1789.

(3) Vid. *Doctrin. Num. Vet.* a *Jos. Eckhel*, Pars I. vol. II. *Vindobon.* 1794.

(4) "Fateor ne has quidem omnes literas esse satis integras, etsi per clypeum *numum esse Bœoticum* dubitari non possit." *Eckhel*. *ibid.*

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Remark-  
able *Soros*.

the walls, at the outside of the town, we observed a massive *Soros* of one entire block of marble, serving as a cistern beneath a *fountain*. It is close to the public road. Upon this *Soros* there appeared a very curious *bas-relief*, representing, in rude and most antient sculpture, the figure of a *Phœnix*, perched upon the pinnacle of an obelisk<sup>1</sup>. In the position of a *Soros* so near to one of the *antient fountains* of the city, there is certainly nothing remarkable, because it is a custom common to all *Turkey*; but such is the habitual indolence of the *Turks*, that although they make this use of the sepulchres of the nations which formerly surrounded the *Ægean*, and more *eastern* parts of the *Mediterranean*, yet they will not bestow much labour upon the removal of immense monolithal *Soroi*: the *fountain* must be near to the spot where the *tomb* is situate, or they will be contented to carry on their ablutions without placing any such *cistern*

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(1) A valuable observation is made by *Pausanias*, to prove that the colony under *Cadmus* was not *Egyptian*, but *Phœnician*. He says, that a statue of *Minerva* shewn in *Thebes*, as being dedicated by *Cadmus*, was not called *SAÏS*, according to her *Ægyptian* appellation, but that it bore her *Phœnician* name of *SIGA*. Τῶς οὖν νομίζουσιν εἰς γῆν ἀφίκεσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαΐδα, Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ οὐ Φοῖνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἰναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Σίγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινικῶν καλεῖται, καὶ οὐ Σαῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν φωνήν. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 12. p. 734. ed. Kuhni.*

beneath it. If therefore so accurate a writer as *Pausanias*, being upon the spot, as he declares himself to have been<sup>2</sup>, has, in his description of this place, mentioned the contiguity of a *sepulchre* and a *fountain* near to the *public way*, we may perhaps recognise the objects he has alluded to; for this *Soros* may have been the TOMB of HECTOR, and the *fountain* near to it the *ŒDIPODIA*<sup>3</sup>; where, according to the name it consequently received, the *Thebans* maintained that *Œdipus* washed off the blood with which he was contaminated, after the murder of his father<sup>4</sup>. It is true that *Pausanias* uses the word *τάφος* to signify the *Tomb*; and this word he generally applies to a *Tumulus*. There is also another *tomb* mentioned by him as near to the same *fountain*; but the remarkable representation of a *Phoenix* upon an *Obelisk of the Sun*, as having risen from its ashes, seems to be peculiarly adapted

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(2) The ruins of the house where *Pindar* lived (the only building which *Alexander* suffered to remain at the destruction of *Thebes*) were shewn to *Pausanias*: and it is in speaking of a *Sacristy*, containing a *statue*, contiguous to those ruins, which the inhabitants opened only upon one day in the year, that *Pausanias* alludes to his own *Autopsy*, in these words: 'Εμοὶ δὲ ἀφικεσθαί τι ἐξεργάσει τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἴδον λίθου ὃν τοῦ Πεντίλησι καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν θρόνον. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 25. p. 758. ed. Kuhnii.*

(3) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορος Θεβαίους τάφος τοῦ Πριάμου πρὸς Οἰδιποδία καλουμένη κρήνη. *Ibid. p. 746.*

(4) Τῇ δὲ Οἰδιποδία κρήνῃ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν τὸ αἷμα ἐνίψατο Οἰδίπους τοῦ πατρῷου φόνου. *Ibid.*

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to the story of the removal of *Hector's ashes*, in obedience to the *Oracle*, from his *Trojan grave*, to become an object of reverence in the city of *Cadmus*<sup>1</sup>. The superstition respecting this *bird* is older than *Herodotus*<sup>2</sup>; and in after ages the

- (1) Θηβαῖοι Κάδμοιο πόλιν καταναμιστάοντες,  
Αἴψ' ἐβίλητε πάτρυν οἰκίην σὺν ἀμύμονι Πλούτῳ,  
Ἐκτορος ὄστιά Πριαμίδου κομίσαντες ἐς οἴκους  
Ἐξ Ἀσίας, Διὸς ἐνεσίης ἤρωα σέβασθε.

*Pausan. Bæol. c. 25. p. 758. ed. Kuhnii.*

(2) Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἰρὸς, τῷ ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ. (*Herodoti Euterpe, lib. ii. p. 117. Lond. 1679.*) The superstition concerning this bird existed in *Egypt* long before the time of *Herodotus*, who saw there a *representation* of the *Phœnix*, and says it bore a resemblance to the *Eagle*: (*Ibid.*) The same may be said of the figure on the *Theban bas-relief*, which might be taken for an *Eagle*, but for the circumstance of the *Heliopolitan Obelisk*, or *Pillar of the Sun*, which refers it at once to the *Phœnix*. The earliest *Thebans* could not have been unacquainted with the notions entertained of the *Phœnix*; because its very name, and perhaps the origin of its fabulous history, were *Assyrian*. *Ovid* tells us from whom it received its appellation:

“ Solis avi specimen ———  
Una est quæ reparat, seque ipsa reseminet, ales;  
*Assyrii Phœnica vocant.*”—— *Metamorph. lib. xv.*

And *Claudian*, by whom it is repeatedly mentioned, having dignified the history of the *Phœnix* with all the majesty of his *Muse*, expresses himself in language that would not have been inapplicable as an epitaph upon the *Soros* here mentioned; admitting that it really enshrined the deified relics of the son of *Priam*.

“ O senium positura rogo, falsisque sepulchris  
Natales habitare vices, qui sæpe renasci  
Exitio, proprioque soles pubescere letho.  
O felix, hæresque tui! quo solvimur omnes,  
Hoc tibi suppeditat vires, præbetur origo  
Per cinerem, moritur te non pereunte senectus.”

*Claud. de Phœnice.*

*Phœnix* appeared upon antient monuments as a symbol of *reviving nature*, especially upon the *Roman medals*<sup>3</sup>. With so many existing monuments of the earliest ages of history and poetry, thus presented to the notice of a transitory traveller, it will not surely be again said that no vestige remains of the *Bœotian* capital: indeed, it may be asked, whether any part of *Greece* exhibits a nobler association of sublime and dignified objects than was here collected into one view?—the *living fountain*—the *speaking sepulchre*—the *Cadmæan* citadel—the *Ogygian* plain—overwhelming the mind with every recollection that has been made powerful by genius and consecrated by inspiration; where every zephyr, breathing from *HELICON*, and *PARNASSUS*, over the mouldering fabrics of *THEBES*, seems to whisper, as it passes, the names of *Epaminondas* and *Pindar* and *Homer* and *Orpheus*.

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The next day, *December the sixth*, there was, as it is usual in the *Greek* towns, a *Sunday* market for the *Albanians*; and this enabled us to see a great number of them from all parts of the country, and to inspect the produce of *Bœotia*,

*Albanian*  
*Market.*

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(3) It appears upon the reverse of a medal of *Antoninus Pius*; also upon a reverse of a medal of *Constantine*, with this legend, "FELIX TEMPORUM REPARATIO."



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in the commodities they offered for sale. They appeared in all the colours of their extraordinary dresses, supposed to be of the same nature with that which was worn by the antient *Macedonians*. It has been already represented in a former part of these Travels<sup>1</sup>; and its resemblance to the habits of the *Celts* has also been pointed out<sup>2</sup>. They brought to this market, oxen, fish, butcher's meat, and wood. We entered into a place where they had assembled to eat their food; not as at an ordinary, but rather an *Albanian pic-nic*, to which every individual contributed something that he had conveyed with him from his own home. This food, packed in a cleanly manner by their women, consisted principally of heavy corn-cakes baked in wood embers, and of dried fruit. Game abounds in the country; but they have a strange prejudice, which, as it also characterized the antient inhabitants of *Greece*<sup>3</sup>, and is still universal,

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(1) See the Plate facing p. 762, Vol. III. of the *Quarto Edition* of these Travels, *Broxb.* 1814. — Their military dress, with all its embroidery, is however much better represented by a coloured plate in Mr. *Hobhouse's Travels* (facing p. 133. *Lond.* 1813), which exhibits an *Albanian warrior* to the life: and for a full account of this remarkable people, the Reader is particularly referred to Mr. *Hobhouse's Work*.

(2) See Vol. VI. p. 586, of the *Octavo Edition*; and the Note from Lord *Byron's* "Childe Harolde."

(3) See what is said of the *δειρῶν αἰστῶν* that was odious to *Diana*, by *Æschylus*; ver. 142 of the *Agamemnon*.

ought to be mentioned. They will neither eat a *hare*, nor touch it after it has been killed: and so powerful is their aversion from this animal, that no *Albanian* servant can be prevailed upon to take the skin from a *hare*, or even to remain in the house where it is dressed<sup>4</sup>. Some of these *Albanians* came from *Skemata*; where they said they had seen our *Epidaurian* dog, during the preceding evening; and that he had been to the house where we had lodged, in search of us. In the course of the day a letter arrived from Captain *Lacy*, who informed us that he had also seen him, about six miles from *Thebes*: so that the poor animal had scoured the whole country, and was apparently making his way back to *Athens*; which indeed proved to be the case<sup>5</sup>.

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(4) The *English* Consul at *Salonica*, Mr. *Charnaud*, being fond of shooting, and having plenty of game in his neighbourhood, yet found that it was wanton destruction to kill the *hares*; for his servants, natives of the country, would neither eat them, nor dress them for his own table.

(5) Such a loss may appear to be of little importance to a Reader, by his fire-side; but it was seriously regretted on our part; for it deprived us of a guard upon whose fidelity and watchfulness we could always rely, and whose sagacity seemed almost human. He would sometimes go forward with the baggage-horses upon a journey; and when the owner of the horses dismounted the baggage, he never quitted it until we arrived.

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Journey to  
Cithæron  
& Platæa.

On Monday afternoon, *December the seventh*, being the fourth since our arrival, we left *Thebes*, at three o'clock, by the *Gate of Electra*<sup>1</sup>, pursuing the route marked out by *Pausanias*, as leading towards Mount CITHÆRON and PLATÆA, in the hope of finding some vestiges of that city; no remains of it having hitherto been discovered. Leaving the town, there is an aqueduct, in the wall of which we saw a *bas-relief* representing an equestrian figure, with one of his horse's fore feet resting upon the marble cylinder of a well, as in the act of striking it with his hoof. This evidently alludes to the *Bœotian* story of the *Hippocrene fountain*, produced where the earth was struck by the hoof of *Bellerophon's* horse *Pegasus*<sup>2</sup>; and it confirms what the author has elsewhere said of the antiquity of those massive marble

(1) Ἐρχομένη δὲ ἐκ Πλαταιῶν ἴσθδος εἰς τὰς Θήβας κατὰ πύλας ἐστὶν Ἡλέκτρας. *Pausan. Bœot. c. 8. p. 728. edit. Kuhni.*

(2) Vid. *Pausan. in Bœotic. c. 31. p. 771.—et in Corinth. c. 31. p. 105. Πιγῶσα γὰρ τῆ ἵππου καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνείναι τὴν γῆν θίγοντι τοῦ ἰδάφους τῆ ἰπλῆ. This Greek fable originated, according to Bochart, in the corruption of a Phœnician word. (Vid. *Not. Clerici in Varior. Not. Hesiod. p. 347. Edit. Robinson. Oxon. 1737. Not. 6. in voc. Ἰπποκερήνης.*) “Phœniciè dixeris, ut recte Bochartus eodem loco, Ἰππῆτι *happigran*, quod fontem erumpentem sonat, et corruptum in *hippocrenen*, ortum fecit fabulæ, quasi esset κρήνη ἵππου, fons equi, seu ab equo excitatus.”*

cylinders placed over the mouths of wells in Greece; as at Athens, and Argos: for the well represented by this *bas-relief* resembled, as they do, externally, an antient altar; and it might be mistaken for an altar, were it not for the remarkable position of the horse, which plainly refers to the real subject intended to be represented. On the outside of the town, upon this southern side of Thebes, there is a fountain; perhaps the same described by Spon<sup>3</sup> as that which the Antients called *Dircé*, and which flowed into the *Ismenus*. The view of the *Cadmæan Citadel* is here very grand; and it is by much the finest view of Thebes. It appears to stand amidst several broken eminences, towering above all of them, and commanding the great plain which extends towards the right and left, reaching from east to west<sup>4</sup>. Beyond the plain, towards the north, appear the wavy summits of the mountain boundary. We continued through pasture land to *Platånä*, distant two hours from THEBES; a small village, consisting only of seven cottages, but perhaps retaining, in its name, a derivative from the antient appellation

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View of the  
*Cadmæan*  
*Citadel.*

*Platånä*  
Village.

(3) Voyage de Grèce, tom. II. p. 55. à la Haye, 1724.

(4) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter. The whole of the level country intervening between *Mons Mesapius*, or *Mesapion*, and *Cithæron*, is called, by *Æschylus*, Πεδίον Ἀσωπῶν. Vid. *Agam.* v. 305.

CHAP. III. of PLATÆA. The whole of this part of the plain, through which the *Asopus* flows, is still called *Platānā*, as far as the village of *Purgos* to the west; where there is one of those ruined towers common in the plains of *Bœotia*, probably the remains of forts constructed for alarm and defence, during the period of the *Roman* power; but as it is likely that they were erected upon the site, and with the materials afforded by the ruins of the *Grecian* towns, they are always worthy of notice. We arrived at *Platāna* one hour before sun-set, and immediately set out for the source of the *Asopus*. This river maintains the character of almost all the *Grecian* streams, being only a winter torrent; and so dry in summer, that it may be passed without observation; a circumstance that happened to us in this month of *December*, as we journeyed from MARATHON to THEBES<sup>1</sup>. The source of it is erroneously placed by geographers<sup>2</sup> in Mount CITHÆRON. It does not rise in the mountain, but in this plain, at the foot of CITHÆRON, as we shall presently shew. A

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(1) See the observation made by Mr. *Hawkins*, as contained in the extract from his Letter to the author, given in a Note of the preceding Chapter.

(2) See the Map of *Bœotia* by *Barbié du Bocage*, published by *Barthelemy*, &c.

minute attention to the relative position of objects near the village of *Platănă* will here be requisite, that it may enable us to correct the very erroneous description of this district published by the *Abbé Barthelemy*, to illustrate his account of the *battle of Plataea*, from the observations of *Barbié du Bocage*<sup>3</sup>. The *Asopus* is there deduced from the heights of CITHÆRON, whence it flows from the *south* towards the *north*, through an imaginary valley, separating into two channels which do not exist; and PLATÆA is placed upon the mountain to the *south* of these separate streams. We had this map upon the spot; and finding it to be so false and confused, that it was wholly irreconcilable with the scene itself, the author, with the very imperfect means he possessed, made a more accurate survey; but this document has since been lost. However, from the notes written at the time, he is able in some measure to supply its place; and for this purpose, it may be proper to recapitulate a little of that which has been said before. *Platănă* is about six miles to the south of *Thebes*. To the south-west of *Platănă* upon CITHÆRON, now

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(3) Recueil de Cartes Géographiques, &c. relatifs au Voyage du *Jeune Anacharsis*. Troisième Edition, No. IV. *Paris*, 1790.

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bearing the name of *Elatæa*, is a place called *Cocla*, in view, and as it were hanging upon the side of the mountain. Due west is *Purgos*, with its ruined tower, at the extremity of the plain of *Platănă*. Turning from the south towards the east, to the south-east of *Platănă* village, there are some ruins: first, of a chapel, upon a hill at about gun-shot distance, in which we saw an antient bas-relief; and somewhat farther on, in this direction, are the ruins of a village, and of another chapel, standing upon the site of an antient temple, whose dilapidations are observable in the large hewn stones lying all around the arêa it occupied. Below this chapel is the SOURCE OF THE ASOPUS; not upon CITHÆRON, but in the *Platæan* plain, below the mountain. From its source winding round to the right, thereby inclosing the land in which the village of *Platănă* lies, and flowing at first from the south-east towards the north-west, it afterwards turns off towards the north and north-east, separating the antient *Theban plain* from that of *Platæa*; and thence, pursuing its course towards the Gulph of *Euripus*, it there falls into the sea. The appearance of the source is that of a little well in the midst of a small marsh; and close to it are the vestiges of some antient structure, perhaps the *Hieron* of the source itself.

Source of  
the River.

Night put a stop to our farther researches, after our visit to the *source of the Asopus*; and we returned to the village of *Platănă* without having as yet found any remains of the city of PLATÆA. To our great surprise, the inhabitants of *Platănă* entertained traditions remarkably connected with the history of the place. They spoke of a *great battle* having happened here in former times; and said they would conduct us in the morning to the spot where it was fought; for they knew it well, both from the circumstance of its being more fertile than any other part of their land, and from the various bits of iron, lead, and other antiquities, which they had always been accustomed to find there. They spoke also of a *Palæo-castro*, in the direction of *Cocla*, but less distant; situate upon a projecting part of *Cithæron*, where they occasionally find medals. The most interesting conversation we ever had with the *Albanians* took place this evening, among the inhabitants of *Platănă*. The owner of the little hut where we lodged, welcomed us, as we entered, with the usual hospitality of his countrymen. Seating himself upon the clean and well-swept floor of his dwelling, with his back leaning against his upright sacks of corn, he bade his wife be brisk, and get a cake of bread ready, and bake it upon the hearth,

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Traditions  
of the  
Battle of  
*Platæa*.

Condition  
of the In-  
habitants.





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while he peeled the onions; "for," said he, "the strangers shall eat and be merry." The cake was soon prepared, and covered with glowing embers; the wife every now and then pushing the hot coals aside, with her fingers, to see when the edges of the dough began to crack<sup>1</sup>. Presently it was all uncovered; and taking it from the fire, she wiped off the ashes with her woollen apron; and then, breaking it nicely into shares, she gave to each person present a smoking portion, accompanied by a large peeled onion. The custom is, to eat the onion raw, with the hot cake of the unleavened bread: and this diet we relished, with a little salt, to the full as much as did our host himself; who setting the example, encouraged us, by adding, that "his sacks were all full, and that we need not fear to eat plentifully." His neighbours, attracted by curiosity, joined the circle round his hearth; and a fresh cake was made for them; another and another being afterwards devoured. When they had all eaten, as it sometimes happens:

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(1) Cakes of bread, thus baked upon the hearth and covered with the embers, were called, by the Antient Greeks, *Σποδίται ἄρτοι, Ἐγκρυφίαι*. (Vid. *Athenæi Deipnosoph. lib. iii. c. 27. Suid. Hesych.*) If baked upon the embers, the bread bore another name: "Ἄρτου δ' εἶδος ἑστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀπαπυρίας καλούμενος, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων δ' ὀπτάται. καλεῖται δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ τινος ζυμίας." *Athen. Deip. lib. iii. c. 29. p. 111. Lugd. 1657.*

among people who are well fed, a conversation began upon the faults of their rulers, and the grievous oppressions under which they laboured. We then began to perceive that these poor peasants are not so entirely ignorant of the antient renown of their country, or of its present resources, as might be supposed. They said, that the land they cultivated had once been tilled by a race of famous warriors; and that it would be found now, as formerly, full of heroes, if a leader were to present himself. The family of our host consisted of himself and his wife, and eight sons and daughters. His boys were stout and sturdy, and his girls extremely beautiful. He said that the daily expense of his household amounted to three *parás* a head; and that his annual payment to his *Turkish* masters came to an hundred and fifty *piastres* more, which he found it a very difficult thing to supply. Allowing, therefore, that the amount of his earnings barely equalled his expenditure, his income altogether, for the maintenance of a wife and eight children, would not be equal to twelve pounds sterling of our money, according to the average of exchange between *England* and *Turkey*<sup>2</sup>.

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(2) Reckoning fifteen *piastres* for the pound sterling, as the *par* of exchange.

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The next morning, *Tuesday, December the eighth*, we were surprised to find the ground covered with snow, it being the first time we had seen snow in *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platǎnǎ* told us so great a quantity fell in the preceding winter, that they were confined to their cottages during several weeks;—a remarkable circumstance in so low a situation, and in such a latitude<sup>1</sup>. It affords a striking confirmation of the accuracy of *Thucydides*, who says that a great deal of snow fell during the night when the *Platæans* fled to *Athens*, and left their city; taking the road towards *Thebes*, in order to deceive their enemies who were there stationed<sup>2</sup>. We set out with our host, to visit the place still pointed out, by the tradition of his countrymen, as the field of THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA. In our way thither, we passed a very small stream, called, by the people of this village, *Platǎnǎ river*: it falls into the *Asopus*. And near to it there is an *antient well*, distinguished as such by being covered with a massive marble cylinder, whose interior is worn into deep furrows by the ropes formerly used in drawing water. To mark the situation

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(1) About 38°. 20' of North latitude.

(2) Καὶ ἡ νύξ τοιοῦτη ἀνέμῃ ὑπονοημένη πολλὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκει, ὃ μόνος ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν. *Thucydid. lib. iii. cap. 23. p. 160. edit. Hudsoni. Oxon. 1696.*

of this *well* as precisely as possible, it is necessary to state, that the whole distance to the ground called *The field of battle* by the people of *Platæa*, is not more than a mile to the north-east of their village; and this *well* is about half way thither. The stream near to it may perhaps be that of the *Gargaphian fountain*, mentioned by *Herodotus* when he notices the station of the *Lacedæmonian* soldiers, before the battle of *Platæa*<sup>3</sup>: it was near to the *Asopus*, and upon the right wing of the *Grecian* army at the foot of *Cithæron*<sup>4</sup>. And the *well* seems to correspond, as to its situation, with the *sacred well* of *Pausanias*; but there were no ruins by the side of it<sup>5</sup>. The peasants still entertain traditions and superstitious notions concerning another *well*, somewhat farther on, more accordant with his account<sup>6</sup> of the inspiring properties of the *ΦΡΕΑΡ ΤΕΡΟΝ*, and whose situation will be particularly described. Every object of this kind, not being liable to change, will be eagerly sought for by travellers, as the antient topo-

(3) Τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἔσαν μὲν ὧν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι μόνου τεταγμένοι. *Herodoti Calliope*, c. 48. p. 532. Lond. 1679.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Ἐν τοῖς ἱερειπίοις, κ. τ. λ. *Pausan. Bæot.* c. 2. p. 714. ed. *Kuhn.*

(6) Ἐμαντιύοντο πίνοντες. *Ibid.*

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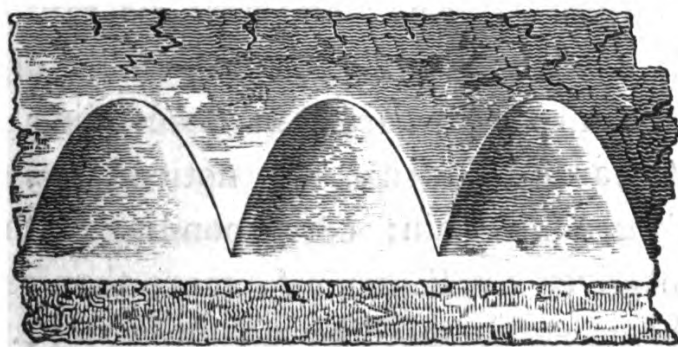
graphy of *Greece* becomes more known ; for the time is fast approaching when the history of the *battle of Platæa* will be illustrated by an accurate survey of the scene of action. The position of the *sacred well* is falsely assigned in the plan of the battle by *Barbié du Boccage*. Instead of being sought for towards *Cithæron*, or in the plain immediately below the mountain, as he has placed it, the vestiges, perhaps of the *Temple of Apollo*, and the *well* itself, may be found quite in a contrary direction. That we may describe the spot with so much precision as to become guides for others who follow us, it will be necessary to mark its situation, with reference not only to the village of *Platănă*, but to the main route from *Thebes* to the *Peloponnesus*. In the road which leads from *Thebes* to the *Morea*, about a league and a quarter from *Thebes*, there is a bridge over the *Asopus*, now called "*the Morea bridge*;" and here, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, was *the camp of Mardonius*, or, as they style him, "*the Generalissimo of the grand army of the Medes*:" and certainly there is nothing in their tradition contradicting what historians teach us to believe was the real position of the *Persian* camp. From this bridge (which, as a landmark, no traveller will be at any loss to dis-

Camp of  
*Mardonius*.

cover) turning out of the road, and crossing the *Asopus* to the south-west, about a mile up the plain of *Platănă*, is the well considered by the inhabitants as the "sacred well." Among several large antique stones, lying by the side of it, they pointed out to us a piece of rude and very antient sculpture, considered by them as now exhibiting the marks of horses' feet; but which is evidently nothing more than a part of an architectural ornament belonging to some temple once erected near to this well, probably that of *Apollo*, which was in ruins in the time of *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>, and with whose situation, from the remarkable circumstance of the well itself, and its reputed sanctity even at the present time, it seems so accurately to correspond. The form of the grooving in the stone exhibits an

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Situation  
of the  
Sacred  
Well.



appearance, which has given rise to the absurd notion of an impression made by the feet of

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(1) Vid. *Bæot.* c. 2. p. 714. ed. *Kuhnii.*

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horses. Throughout this plain, from the *Morea* bridge to the well, the peasants, as they till the soil, find bits of iron and of lead, together with antient coins: from this circumstance, and the great fertility of the soil, they maintain that this was the field of the memorable *battle of Plataea*. The road leading from *Thebes* to the *Peloponnesus* is the present boundary of the territory of *Platǎnǎ*<sup>1</sup>: which is however very extensive, as the people of *Platǎnǎ* informed us; for they say it reaches to a very considerable distance, winding in a fine fertile plain between *Platǎnǎ* and *Purgos*. We observed no tombs either upon or near to the spot assigned by tradition for the scene of such a memorable contest; but in going from *Platǎnǎ* to *Cocla*, just before arriving at the latter place, we found the ruins of the city of PLATÆA; and here we saw some antient sepulchres without the walls of the Citadel<sup>2</sup>; also afterwards, in descending from *Cocla* towards LEUCTRA, we noticed *tumuli* in the *Platæensian* plain; corresponding with the account given by *Pausanias*<sup>3</sup>; more than one of them being surmounted by a ruin in stone.

*Platæensian* Territory.

Ruins of the City of *Platæa*.

(1) According to *Pausanias*, the *Asopus* afforded the antient boundary between the *Theban* and the *Platæensian* plains.

(2) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἴσθον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιας τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχησαμένων ἰστί. *Pausanias*, lib. ix. c. 2. p. 715. edit. *Kuhnii*.

(3) *Pausan.* *ibid.*

*Platănă* of course takes its present name from the ground whereon it stands. The ruins of PLATÆA are upon a promontory, projecting from the base of CITHÆRON. The place has now the usual appellation bestowed upon the ruins of Grecian citadels: it is called *Palæo-Castro*; but it must not be confounded with *Cocla*, being at least a mile nearer to *Platănă* than that village. In going from *Platănă* to *Palæo-Castro*, before arriving at these ruins, we saw the tombs before mentioned: then we arrived at the walls of PLATÆA; standing rather in an elevated situation, upon the promontory which here stretches out from the mountain. Those walls exhibit the earliest style of military architecture, and are almost *Cyclopéan*; consisting of very considerable masses, evenly hewn, and well built. Here the peasants, in ploughing the soil, find their labours frequently obstructed by large blocks of stone; and the earth is filled with broken remains of *terra cotta*. The upper part of the promontory is entirely covered with ruins: among these we found some pieces of *serpentine porphyry*, but the buildings in general appear to have been constructed with common *limestone*. Some labourers, employed among these ruins, had found upon the spot a few small silver coins, which they sold

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Medals  
observed  
upon the  
spot.



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to us. The legend not being entire upon any one of them, we could only conjecture, from the subjects represented, that they were medals of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. In front they exhibit the same head of *Ceres* that appears upon the smaller *Carthaginian* medals; and upon their obverse sides, *an eagle devouring a serpent*, which may be considered as an invariable type of the medals of *Chalcis*<sup>1</sup>. Besides these, both here and at *Platănă*, we obtained a few very small bronze coins of *Bœotia*, with the usual symbols—the *Bœotian shield*, a *trident*, and the legend **ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ**. No medal of *Platæa* could be procured, either here, or in any other part of *Bœotia*; nor is there an example of such a medal in any *European* collection. It has been said, in order to explain this, that the city was destroyed at a very early period; but after its restoration, first by *Philip*, and afterwards by *Alexander*, it continued to be inhabited until a very late age. *Pausanias*, in the second

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(1) This curious symbolical representation of the *Eagle and Serpent* may admit of a conjectural illustration, when it is considered, that the *bird of Jove* denoted *apotheosis*, or *immortality*; and the *serpent* typified *life*. Perhaps, therefore, it was one of those mysterious allusions to a state of existence after death which existed among the Antients. *Arius*, a king of *Lacedæmon*, affixed his signet, with this representation, upon the Letter he sent to *Onias*, High-priest of the *Jews*; as it is related by *Josephus*. See also *Du Pin*, *Bibl. Univ.* p. 8. *Amst.* 1708.

century, gives an account of the curiosities of the city, and relates the traditions of its inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. Future travellers, who have leisure for making excavations, will find this spot very likely to reward them for the labour and expense of such an undertaking. The foundations of *temples* are visible among the vestiges of the citadel, and the remains of *towers* are conspicuous upon its *walls*. A remarkable proof of the great antiquity of *mural turrets* in military architecture was afforded in a former Part of these Travels<sup>3</sup>; and this style of building characterizes the fortifications of PLATÆA. In the account given of the citadel by *Thucydides*, we further learn that it was protected by a *fosse*: yet such was the simplicity of the means used for securing those antient fastnesses, compared with the complicated structure of a modern fortress, that when the *Thebans*, after their vain attempt to surprise the city, endeavoured to effect their retreat, they cut the *wooden bolt* of the gates asunder;

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Mural  
Turrets  
of the  
Citadel.

(2) Vid. *Pausan.* lib. ix. cc. 1, 2, 3, 4. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(3) See the *Vignette* to Chap. II. vol. II. of the *Octavo Edition* of these Travels; also the observations which afterwards occur in that Chapter, p. 69, upon a very antient medal found in *Macedonia*, whence that *Vignette* was taken.

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 III. for this purpose<sup>1</sup>.

*Cocla.* About a mile beyond the ruins of PLATÆA, is the modern village of *Cocla*. Here we also collected some bronze medals of *Bœotia*, from the inhabitants. It occupies an eminence upon the side of CITHÆRON, at one hour's distance from *Platānā*.

Remains of LEUCTRA. Descending from *Cocla* towards LEUCTRA, which retains something of its antient name, although pronounced *Leftra*, or *Lefca*, we noticed several *tombs*; and upon a lofty conical hill, about half way between these two places, we observed the remains of an ancient *fortress*. Below this hill, upon the left hand, about a quarter of a mile from the road, we saw also some *columns*, and the remains of a *temple*, since formed into a chapel. The peasants told us that there was an inscription in the pavement of this building: but after working for some time, to no purpose, in search of it, by removing the earth and rubbish which covered the pavement, we abandoned the undertaking. The modern chapels which exist

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(1) Οἱ δὲ, κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμου, γυναῖκος δούσης πέλικον, λαθόντες καὶ διακόφαντες τὸν μοχλὸν, ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί. *Thucydid.* lib. ii. c. 4. p. 86. edit. *Hudsoni*.

everywhere in the vicinity of *Thebes*, and indeed over all *Bœotia*, constructed from the ruins of Pagan sanctuaries, prove the vast number of ancient *Hiera* and *temples* which formerly abounded in this country. We observed them in all the *Bœotian plain*, at *Palæo-Castro*, and throughout the whole route towards *THESPIA* and *HELICON*. Having crossed the hills which separate the plain of *PLATÆA* from that of *LEUCTRA*, we arrived at the ruins of the latter place; which though but a village of *Bœotia*, became so conspicuous, owing to the victory obtained here by the *Thebans* under *Epaminondas*, over a very superior force of the *Spartans*, that the traces yet remaining of its ancient monuments are like those of a considerable city. This famous battle was fought on the eighth of *July*, in the year 371 before Christ. On the side of the *Thebans* only three hundred were slain; but the *Spartans* lost four thousand<sup>2</sup>, who were all put to death, together with their king *Cleombrotus*; and they forfeited, for ever, the empire of Greece, which they had retained during three centuries<sup>3</sup>. *Wheler* seems

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(2) *Pausaniās* states the numbers very differently; making the loss of the *Thebans* only equal to *forty-seven*, and that of the *Spartans*, *one thousand*.

(3) Οὐμίτι γὰρ ἐξ ἰπείνου τὴν σῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν ἀναλαβὴν ἴσχυσαν, ἢ ἰχον πρότερον. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 601. edit. Oxon.*

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to have mistaken the ruins of LEUCTRA for the remains of another city. They are situate at the distance of three hours from *Cocla*<sup>1</sup>. The ground for a considerable space is covered with immense fragments of marble and stone; among which the inhabitants have long laboured in vain to introduce the plough for the cultivation of the soil. We saw them employed in breaking a huge *bas-relief*, and labouring hard to remove the foundations of antient edifices: but the remains of the trophies, temples, and walls of LEUCTRA will resist their utmost unremitted efforts for a long time to come. Half a mile farther on, upon the brow of a hill, above the plain of *Leuctra*, is *Rimocastri*. We continued journeying along this plain towards *Neocorio*; and about two miles from LEUCTRA we passed upon our right the remains of an antient town, now called *Phria*, whose vestiges are very considerable. It was here that *Wheler* found several inscriptions; but none of them enabled him to ascertain the original name of the place<sup>2</sup>. Near the road was observed a *bas-relief* representing a human figure

Ruins at  
*Phria*.

(1) Δείκνυται δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Πλαταιῶν εἰς Θισπιᾶς ὁδόν.  
*Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 601. edit. Oxon.*

(2) "We came to some ruins, and old decayed churches, called *Phria*: where we also found some inscriptions; especially one, which was a pedestal, dedicated by the town to one TITUS FLAVIUS ARISTUS."  
*Wheler's Journ. into Greece, Book vi. p. 470. Lond. 1682.*

with a lance or spear, standing by a horse. Thence turning towards the left, we crossed a river which runs from HELICON into the plain, and saw the shaft of a column lying in the channel of it. We then ascended gradually towards the side of HELICON, now called *Zagără*, and came to the village of *Neocorio*, considered by *Wheler* as antiently THESPIA: it is distant one hour, or three miles, from LEUCTRA. There are so many ruins at the foot of HELICON, that we could not confirm the observations of *Wheler* as to the exact situation of THESPIA. The ruins at *Phria* have perhaps more pretension to the name of THESPIA than the village called *Neocorio*, where there is not a trace even of the broken pottery which is always found upon the site of antient cities, nor of any antiquity whatsoever<sup>3</sup>. At a short distance from *Neocorio*, in our way thither, upon our right, we thought we had found the situation of THESPIA, by the quantity of ruins we there observed: but its position is by no means certain; nor have we since been satisfied with what other travellers, whom we consulted, have said upon the subject.

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III.

Village of  
*Neocorio*.

Doubts  
respecting  
the supposed  
situation  
of THESPIA.

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(3) The very name of the place is against the notion of its having ever been an antient city. *Neocorio* signifies *New-town*; in opposition to *Palæo-corio*, and *Palæo-castro*, names generally applied to places where there are ruins.

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If *Neocorio* be considered as now occupying the site of THESPIA, not a vestige remains of the antient city. Even the inscription which *Wheler* discovered upon the pedestal of a statue serving for the altar of a church was not found at *Neocorio*, but in its neighbourhood; and this we sought for in vain<sup>1</sup>. We observed, indeed, a few letters belonging to a *Greek* inscription, in a chapel above the village of *Neocorio*; but these stones might all of them have been brought from *Phria*, which is hard by, and which has evidently served as a quarry for the inhabitants of all this district, whenever building materials were required. As the ruins at *Phria* immediately occur after those of *Leuctra*, to one journeying from PLATEA to MOUNT HELICON, it seems probable that they are those of THESPIA. At *Neocorio* we failed in obtaining one essential requisite towards information upon this subject; namely, *Thespian* medals: for by attention to local circumstances connected with the discovery of the antient coins of *Grecian* cities, many doubts may be removed concerning the situation of those cities. Scholars, visiting *Greece*, ought to be very careful in noticing the particular symbols which predominate upon *gems* and *medals*, in particular places,

Medals.

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(1) See *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 471. Lond. 1682.

before these relics are indiscriminately mixed together, or classed according to the cabinet notions of untravelled antiquaries; for by so doing, much of the confusion caused by their writings might be avoided<sup>1</sup>. The particular symbol that might be said to predominate among the medals found here, was that of a *radiated female head*, represented in front; and upon the obverse side, a *warrior*, leaning with his right arm upon his right thigh, his right foot being elevated and supported by a pedestal; the same figure also holding in his left hand a spear. Such medals we often found in *Bœotia*; but never with any legible inscription. We obtained at *Neocorio* two very remarkable bronze coins, having a beautiful full face in front of each, differing from the former; and upon their obverse sides was the letter  $\Phi$  in a chaplet or wreath of laurel. Perhaps these are medals of *Phocis*; but being found upon this spot, it is possible that they might belong to *Phria*, and that an antient town of this name once stood

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(2) For examples of errors thus introduced into *Numismatic* history, the reader may be referred to the splendid description of the *Hunterian Collection* by *Combe*, where the medals of AMPHIPOLIS are assigned to *Lesbos*, and those of ÆGINA to *Ægium*. *Vid. Num. Vet. Pop. et Urb. &c. Caroli Combe, p. 171. Tab. 33. et p. 12. No. 1. &c. Lond. 1782.*



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III.

where the ruins now are, which bear this appellation. From these observations, it must be evident that some employment remains for future travellers in this part of *Bœotia*; and above all, that the situation of *THESPIA*, although nearly that which *Wheler* has assigned for it, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained.

Perhaps we may be more fortunate in marking the position of places in *MOUNT HELICON*. As there is no map to illustrate the topography of *HELICON*, it was necessary to be more than usually attentive to the observations of *Strabo* and *Pausanias*: no description of the mountain having been given by any modern author; nor, at the time of our journey, was there any thing known of the antient road from *LEUCTRA* and *THESPIA* to *LEBADÉA*. It had always been customary to avoid the mountain, and to proceed to *LEBADÉA* by a circuitous route along the level country. Yet it must have been evident to any one who had read the learned work of *Barthelemy*, respecting the imaginary Travels of *Anacharsis*, that, being guided by *Strabo* and by *Pausanias*, he proceeds from *PLATÆA*, to *LEUCTRA* and to *ASCRA*, as a common route in going to *LEBADEA*. We were therefore convinced, that if we could discover the old route in which

ASCRA was situate, we should not only be gratified by visiting the birth-place of HESIOD, but perhaps discover also the site of THE GROVE OF THE MUSES, which was also in HELICON; although neither of these places had then been recognised by any modern traveller.

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III.

After a very diligent inquiry at *Neocorio*, we were informed that a defile, or pass, of *Mount Helicon* conducted to *LEBADÉA*; and that this road might be used, instead of the more usual way by the plain. As we remained in this village during the night, we had an opportunity of examining many of the peasants concerning this route. Attracted by a natural curiosity to see strangers, several of them came from their dwellings to the cottage where we lodged. They told us, that if we would send our baggage round by *Palæo Panaja*, and *Mazi*, we might go over the mountain, by the *Monastery of St. Nicholo*, to *Sagără*, or *Sackra*, and afterwards descend by another *monastery*, (that of *St. George*), to *LEBADÉA*. "It was," they said, "a mountain pass; and the shorter way: but being the old road, narrow and stony, and difficult for travellers, it had long been disused, excepting by the peasants; the other route having been considered as more convenient for travellers."

Discovery  
of the old  
Route  
through  
*Helicon*.

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III.

This was precisely the sort of information we had been desirous to obtain. In many parts of *Greece*, where the antient paved road has fallen to decay, and the parts of it have been torn up, it has been abandoned: in the passage of a mountain, the destruction of the antient pavement would therefore, in all probability, cause the road to become so bad as to occasion the entire desertion of the whole route; and that this was the case in the present instance, will presently be evident.

Further  
account  
of the  
*Albanian*  
Peasants.

We passed the night, as we had done at *Platănă*, in the midst of *Albanians*, stretched around a hearth upon the same floor with us; their cattle occupying one half of the room, and the family the other. The same simplicity appeared in all things relating to their manner of life,—the same disinterested hospitality, and the same cleanliness: for although the best *Albanian* cottages have not even a hole in the roof for the smoke from the hearth to escape, yet the walls and the floor, being covered with clay or plaister, constantly swept, are so perfectly clean, that neither vermin nor dirt of any kind can be harboured; nor is there in these dwellings the same liability to contagion which exists in the divans and couches of more stately mansions. For the

rest, the condition of the *Albanian* peasantry, who cultivate the plains of Greece, is so much the same, and their way of living so uniform, that the description of a single family may apply to the whole community. The great plains of *Bœotia* and *Thessaly* may be said to surpass all other in the world in beauty and fertility. To our eyes, the plain of *Bœotia* appeared like one vast natural garden. Yet the labouring peasants, who are all of them *Albanians*, (the idea of industry in *Greece* having no other association than that of an *Albanian* peasant,) complain everywhere of oppression: and indeed the labours of the plough can hardly be considered as a peaceful occupation, in a land where the husbandmen appear in the fields armed as for battle. Such, however, seems to have been the condition of the country ever since the days of *Homer*. When the traveller enters one of the houses, every thing he sees calls to mind the simplicity of manners which characterized the inhabitants of *Hellas* in the first ages of its history. The bread is always made into cakes, which are baked upon the hearth, beneath the embers: while this is preparing by the women, the men are engaged in peeling and splitting the onions to be served with it. The master of the house, after receiving his guests, as it has been before stated, takes the post of

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III.

honour, by seating himself against his sacks of corn, which often occupy a considerable portion of the floor of his cottage: there he remains, issuing his orders to his family until the meal is over; when he encourages his guests to take their rest, by first setting the example, and consigning himself to sleep, without moving from the spot where he finished his repast.

Journey  
over Mount  
HELICON.

The next morning, *December the ninth*, we left *Neocorio*, and immediately began to ascend MOUNT HELICON in a N. W. direction, above the village; passing the ruined chapel before noticed, which we believed to be the building where *Wheler* found the inscription relating to THESPIA. Below us, upon our right hand, there was a *rivulet*, formed by a stream of water falling from HELICON, towards the plain of *Neocorio*, or THESPIA; and beyond this, upon the opposite side of the dingle through which this rivulet fell, standing upon an eminence, we saw a village, called *Panaja*<sup>1</sup>. Our road conducted us along the *north-east* side of the mountain; and in about an hour we arrived at the little *Monastery* of *St. Nicholo*, within a sheltered recess of HELICON. The description of this remarkable scene shall

Monastery  
of  
*St. Nicholo*.

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(1) Πάν ἄγιν.

be given from notes written upon the spot, without the slightest alteration. A more delightful retreat can hardly be found in the romantic passes of *Swisserland*. It is surrounded on all sides by the mountain; one small opening alone presenting a picturesque view of a ruined tower belonging to *Panaja*, upon an eminence, in front. The air was filled with spicy odours, from numberless aromatic plants covering the soil. A perennial fountain, gushing from the side of a rock, poured down its clear and babbling waters into the rivulet below. A thick grove almost concealed the monastery; and every tree that contributed to its beauty or luxuriance appeared to be the wild and spontaneous produce of the mountain\*. Nothing interrupted the still silence of this solitude, but the humming of bees, and the sound of falling waters. As we drew near to the *fountain*, we found it covered with moss, and with creeping plants, which spread everywhere their pendent foliage, hanging gracefully from the trees by which it was shaded. Such

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(2) The number and variety of the trees growing near the *Monastery of St. Nicholo* were so remarkable, that we made a list of them: and as the natural productions of HELICON are probably the same now that they were formerly, this list may give the Reader some idea of the *Grove of the Muses*, as it existed during the celebration of the ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ.

1. Walnut

CHAP. III. are the natural beauties of this *Aëonian bower*. It may next perhaps be manifest, that nothing in its natural character is likely to excite half the interest afforded by its antient history.

Monasteries and chapels, throughout this country, may generally be regarded as favourable indications of the former situation of the shrines and sanctuaries of Antient Greece. The ruins of the Pagan *Hieron* afforded to the pious labours of hermits and monks, in the first ages of Christianity, the most ready materials for building their own places of religious worship. The simple altars they put together, consisted often of

- 
- |                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Walnut . . . . .          | <i>Juglans Regia.</i>      |
| 2. Pine . . . . .            | <i>Pinus Sylvestris.</i>   |
| 3. Olive . . . . .           | <i>Olea Europæa.</i>       |
| 4. Almond . . . . .          | <i>Amygdalus Communis.</i> |
| 5. Strawberry-tree . . . . . | <i>Arbutus Unedo.</i>      |
| 6. Fig . . . . .             | <i>Ficus Carica.</i>       |
| 7. Plum . . . . .            | <i>Prunus Domestica.</i>   |
| 8. Holly . . . . .           | <i>Ilex Aquifolium.</i>    |
| 9. Rosebay . . . . .         | <i>Nerium Oleander.</i>    |
| 10. Vallonia . . . . .       | <i>Quercus Ægilops.</i>    |
| 11. Vine . . . . .           | <i>Vitis vinifera.</i>     |
| 12. Myrtle . . . . .         | <i>Myrtus Communis.</i>    |
| 13. Ivy . . . . .            | <i>Hedera Helix.</i>       |
| 14. Bramble . . . . .        | <i>Rubus Fruticosus.</i>   |

Also a tree, called, by the Greeks, *Κοχιλία*. We took the seed of it, but it produced no plants in *England*. To this list might also be added the Woodbine (*Lonicera*); and many parasitical plants, heaths, &c.

little more than so many rude heaps of stone, which were afterwards enlarged, and more regularly constructed, as the number of their followers increased. Contiguous buildings were then added to those altars, and thus monasteries were erected. In this manner many of the most valuable antiquities were either buried, broken, and destroyed, or they were accidentally preserved; accordingly as they were required for the purposes either of laying foundations, or for making lime; or as they were casually suited, by their shape and size, to facilitate the barbarous masonry now conspicuous in all the walls and pavements of those ecclesiastical structures. Yet, if we attribute such a style of building entirely to the Modern *Greeks* and to the *Turks*, we may perhaps be liable to error. The works of the Antients themselves were sometimes characterized by similar disorder. Evidence may be adduced to prove that even the walls of *Athens*, in the time of the *Peloponnesian war*<sup>1</sup>, exhibited the style of building which is now generally

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III.

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(1) This evidence occurs in the First Book of *Thucydides*; and, considering the curious fact it contains, it has been unaccountably overlooked by those who have written upon the antiquities of *Athens*. Πολλὰί τε Στῆλαι ἀπὸ Σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελίγησαν. μίζων γὰρ ἡ Πίριβλος πανταχῶ ἐξήχθη εἴς τε πόλιος. *Thucydid.* lib. i. c. 93. p. 52. edit. *Hudsoni.* Oxon. 1696.



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III.

considered as the characteristic of a *Moslem* dynasty and a barbarous people; the most discordant masses being collected from other works, and the *Stélæ* of the sepulchres mixed with stones of all shapes and sizes in the materials then used; just as they now appear when heaped together, as it is commonly believed, by *Romaic* or by *Turkish* workmen. That the Antients may, therefore, have left examples of this promiscuous masonry, even in *their* works, is evident: but a search for inscriptions, and fragments of sculpture, in this country, is seldom more successful than when it is carried on among modern ecclesiastical buildings. The capitals of the columns of antient temples often serve in the *Greek* chapels for *Christian* altars: and when these chapels have been erected upon the site of a *Heathen temple*, those capitals not unfrequently denote the order of architecture observed in the original building, when every other trace of its history has been lost. The *Monastery of St. Nicholo* is among the number of modern edifices constructed from the ruins of a long-forgotten shrine; and a clue to its pristine sanctity and celebrity has been preserved, in the manner we have mentioned. In a church near to the monastery we found a long inscription upon the shaft of one of the pillars, distinctly mentioning the

Antiquities  
discovered  
at the Mo-  
nastery of  
*St. Nicholo*.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ, OR GAMES SACRED TO THE MUSES; (which *Pausanias* says were CELEBRATED NEAR A GROVE, UPON MOUNT HELICON); and containing the names of the CONQUERORS IN THOSE GAMES, WHEN AURELIUS CALLICLIANUS THE SON OF SOTERICUS WAS PRESIDENT, AND AURELIUS MUSEROS WAS ARCHON. This inscription therefore, added to other circumstances of collateral evidence, which we shall subsequently adduce, satisfied us of the propriety of the route we had chosen: it had already conducted us to THE FOUNTAIN AGANIPPE, AND TO THE GROVE OF THE MUSES. These land-marks being ascertained, the guidance afforded by *Strabo* and by *Pausanias* is sufficient for the rest. The rivulet below becomes at once the PERMESSUS, named from the parent of AGANIPPE; called TERMESSUS by *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>; and flowing, as he describes it, *in a circuitous course*, from MOUNT HELICON. Both the *fountain* and the *river* were sacred to the MUSES. *Wheler* calls this rivulet TERMESSUS, and very accurately describes its course, as beheld by him from the ruined tower at *Panaja*. He considered *Panaja* as having been antiently CERESSUS, a citadel of the *Thespians*.

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III.

Situation  
of the  
*Fountain*  
*Aganippe*  
and *Grove*  
of the  
*Muses*, as-  
certained.

River  
*Permessus*.

(1) *Pausan. Bœot. c. 29. p. 766. ed. Kuhn.*

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But he distinguishes the TERMESSUS of *Pausanias* from the PERMESSUS of *Strabo*; saying, that the former falls into the *Gulph of Livadostro*, and the latter into the *Lake Copais*<sup>1</sup>. This distinction, whether correct or not, has not been admitted by the commentators upon *Pausanias*; for they expressly state, that the two names apply to the same river<sup>2</sup>. *Wheler*, who seems to have taken uncommon pains in seeking for antiquities that might enable him to ascertain the situation of THESPIA, although he visited *Neocorio* upon one side of HELICON, and the *Monastery of St. George* upon the other side, yet knew nothing of this antient passage of the mountain from the former to the latter place: consequently, the remarkable *fountain* here falling into the PERMESSUS, and the remains of antiquity near to it, together with the other interesting objects occurring along this route, entirely escaped his observation. Yet with what zeal did he endeavour to penetrate the recesses of *Helicon*; retracing even his own

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(1) *Journey into Greece*, Book VI. p. 476.  *Lond.* 1682.

(2) “ (Τερμήσσος) Hartungus legit Περμησσοῦ: itidemque mox Περμησσοῦ ex Strab. 469, 473. Ejusdem Περμησσοῦ mentio est in Theogonia, et in Virgilio Bucolicis. A Nicandro in Theriacis appellatur παρμησσοῦ. Τέρμησος sanè per τ Straboni est urbs Pisidica, 764. pro qua Τερμησσοῦ legitur apud Stephanum. S. Vid. Annot. Sylburgii in Pausan. lib. ix. p. 766 edit. Kuhnii.

footsteps, to find a position for the fountain HIPPOCRENE; and actually obtaining, with difficulty and danger, a distant prospect of the Vale of ASCRA, into which this road would easily have conducted him<sup>3</sup>.

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III.

In the Inscription, of which the following copy is a *fac-simile*, the M occurs in the same form as in an inscription at *Telmessus*. There are also other proofs of its being written in a late age: and were it not for the intelligence it affords respecting the place where it was found, we should not deem it worthy of being inserted in its entire state.

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(3) "As to the fountain *Hippocrene*," (See *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 478. Lond. 1682.) "the famous haunt of the Nine Sisters, it was then frozen up, if it were where I guessed it to have been. So that were I a poet, and never so great a votary of those *Heliconian Deities*, I might be excused from making verses in their praise; having neither their presence to excite, nor their liquor to inspire me. For having gone two or three miles forwards on the top, till I came to the snow, my further proceedings that way were hindered; only alighting, I made shift to clamber up the rocks somewhat higher, until I came to look down into a place encompassed round with the tops of mountains; so that the inclosed space seemed to me to be a lake frozen and covered with snow." It will afterwards appear plainly that this was *Ascra*; and thither *Wheler* was directing his steps, in his endeavour to ascend *Helicon*, from the *Monastery of St. George*, on the side of *Lebadéa*.

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III.

Inscription  
relating to  
the Games  
called  
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ.

## ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΝΤΟΕΤΩΝ  
 ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ<sup>Ο</sup>ΝΩΝ  
 ΣΟΚΑΡ<sup>Ε</sup>ΤΩΝΜΟΥΣΕΙ  
 ΩΝΑΥΡΗΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΙ  
 ΑΝΟΥ<sup>Ο</sup>ΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΙ  
 ΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ  
 ΑΥΡΗΜΟΥΣΕΡΩΤΟΣ  
 ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΟΣΑΥΡΗ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΕΠΙΚΤΑ  
 ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΒΑ  
 ΝΟΥ<sup>7</sup>ΕΝΕΙΚΑΝΟΙΔΕ  
 ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΗΣΠΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΣΣΕΡΑ  
 ΠΙΩΝΕΦΕΣΙΟΣΚΗΡΥΖ<sup>Α</sup>ΑΥΡΗ  
 ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΟΣΡΑΨΩ  
 ΔΟΣΜΑΥΡΗΕΥΚΑΙΡΟΣΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙ  
 ΟΣΠΥΘΙΚΟΣΑΥΛΗΤΗΣ<sup>Α</sup>ΑΥΡΗ  
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ  
 ΠΥΘΙΚΟΣΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΛΟΥ  
 ΓΑΙΟΣΑΙΛΙΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
 ΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ<sup>Ο</sup>ΑΥΛΗΤΗΣ<sup>Α</sup>ΑΥΡΗ  
 ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΣΝΕΜΕΣΙΑΝΟΣΑΝ  
 ΤΙΓΕΝΙΔΗΣΚΟΛΩΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ  
 ΤΡΑΓΩΔΟΣΜΑΥΦΙΔΙΟΣΑΙΤΕ  
 ΕΙΔΩΡΟΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ<sup>Ο</sup>ΚΩΛΩΔΟΣ

ΜΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
 ΚΙΘΑΡΩΔΟΣ ΜΑΥΡΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ  
 ΔΡΟΣ ΝΕΙΚΟΣ Η ΔΕΥΣ  
 ΧΟΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΙΚΟΥ ΑΥΡΗ ΖΩΣΙ  
 ΩΝΟΣ ΓΑΥΚΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ  
 ΣΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΜΑΥΡΗΣ ΕΠΤΙ  
 ΜΙΟΣ ΝΕ ΜΕΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΕ  
 ΝΙΔΗΣ ΚΟΛΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ

That nothing may be lost of any inscription belonging to this place, we shall add every trace of this kind that we found upon the spot; however unworthy of notice in any other point of view. Upon a small stone we observed the following letters:

ΕΠΙ  
 ΕΥΚΑΙΡΗΩΣ

And upon another,

ΔΜΜΑΤΡΙΑ

And in the wall of the church,

ΓΕΡΑΣΟΙΜΩ  
 ΣΙΕΡΟΙΟΥ ΑΥ  
 ΚΔΙΚΤΟΙΤΟΡΑ

CHAP. III. These imperfect legends, and the vestiges of antient architecture in the walls of the buildings, are sufficient to prove that the monastery and its church occupy the site of some more antient shrine: and the allusion to the *Games here solemnized in honour of the Muses* plainly indicate its real nature. With *Pausanias* in our hands, we began a further examination of the place; comparing the different objects with his description. The *sacred Grove*, according to him, was *in Helicon* (ἐν Ἑλικῶνι), at a distance from *THESPIA*, which was not *in Helicon*, but *beneath*, that is to say, at the foot of the mountain'. In the time of *Pausanias*, the *Grove* was surrounded by inhabitants; and thither the *Thespians* annually resorted<sup>2</sup>, to celebrate *Games in honour of the Muses*, which were called *ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ*. It is to these *games* that the inscription we found within the church evidently relates: and as the pillar, upon which it is written, perhaps remains upon or near to the spot where this festival was commemorated, we may thence proceed towards the *FOUNTAIN AGANIPPE* and the *RIVER PERMESSUS*, being

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(1) Ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, κ. τ. λ. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 26. p. 761. ed. Kuhni.*

(2) Περσικοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ ἰερτὴν τε ἰνταῦθα οἱ Θησπιῶς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ. *Ibid. c. 51. p. 771.*

guided by the words of *Pausanias*; for the *fountain* then occurs upon the *left hand*, exactly as he has described it<sup>3</sup>. From the monastery, a path, winding through the *Grove* now covering this part of the mountain, conducts to the spot where, upon the *left hand*, the water gushes forth in a clear and continued stream. The work about the *fountain* was, until lately, very antient: not long ago there was an antient cistern in front of it; but the present monks, finding the work in a ruined state, undertook to repair it, and thus destroyed much of its original and venerable appearance. In its present state of restoration it is not, however, without picturesque beauty: they have merely erected an arcade of stone, beneath which the water issues; and this arcade is already adorned by moss and by creeping plants, as before described. The walks about the *fountain*, winding into the deep solitude of HELICON, are in the highest degree beautiful: all above is grand and striking; and every declivity of the mountain is covered with luxuriant shrubs, or pastured by browsing flocks; while the pipe of

CHAP.  
III.

Extra-ordinary beauty of the Scenery.

(3) Ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγαπίη πηγὴ. Ibid. c. 29. p. 766.

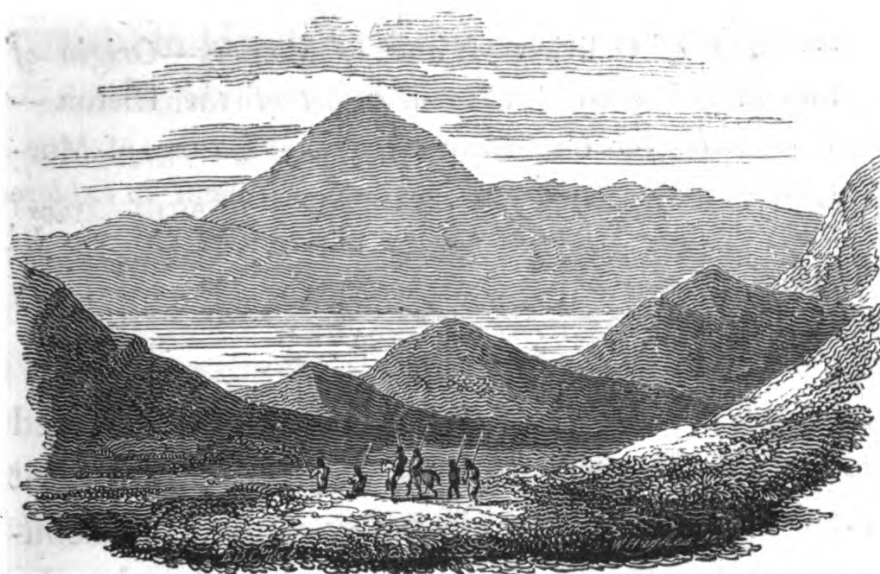


Situation  
of the  
Fountain  
*Hippo-  
crene.*

the shepherd, mingling its sound with that of the bells upon the goats and the sheep, is heard at intervals, among the rocks, producing an effect happily adapted to the character and genius of the place. Higher up the mountain, at the distance of twenty *stadia* (two miles and a half) from this *Grove*, and from the FOUNTAIN AGANIPPE, was the FOUNTAIN HIPPOCRENE, fabled to have sprung from the earth, when struck by the hoof of *Pegasus*<sup>1</sup>: and here the inhabitants exhibited to *Pausanias* a most antient votive offering made of *lead*, “inscribed,” says he, “with that poem of *Hesiod*’s which is called ‘WORKS.’<sup>2</sup>”

(1) Ἐπαναβάντι δὲ στάδια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου τούτου ὡς εἴκοσι, ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ Ἴαπων καλουμένη κρήνη. ταύτην τὸν Βιλλεροφόντου ποιησαί φασιν Ἴαπων, ἰκτιψάσαντα ἐπλῆ τῆς γῆς. *Pausan. Bœot. c. 51. p. 771. edit. Kuhni.*—*For the origin of this fable, see Note (2), page 94.*

(2) Καί μοι μόλιβδον εἰδείκυσαν ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρέουσι λιλυμασμίνα· γίγρεσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ Ἔργα. *Ibid.*



*View, from the Summit of Helicon, of a Mountain now called Delphos, in Eubœa,*

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### GROVE OF THE MUSES, UPON MOUNT HELICON, TO LEBADÉA.

*Plants of Helicon—View from the Heights—Valley of Sagără—Ascra—Summit of Helicon—Descent of the Mountain—Kotûmala—Panori—Lebadéa—House of the Archon—Manners of the higher class of Modern Greeks—Order of their meals—Society—'Ραψωδοὶ—Ceremony observed in holding a Divân—Low pride—Dresses—Etiquette concerning slippers—Albanian Tenants—Joannina—Modern state of Lebadéa—Hieron of Trophonius—Uncertainty respecting the Adytum—Sources of the Hercyna—Validity of the remarks by Pausanias—Further account of the sources of the River  
—Water*

—*Water of Oblivion—Water of Memory—Origin of these appellations — General aspect of the Hieron — Receptacles for the votive offerings—Throne of Mnemosyne—Stoma of the Adytum—Attempt to explore the interior—Situation of the Consecrated Grove—Its original decorations—Denuded state of the antient city —Acropolis — Commerce of LEBADÉA.*

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Plants of  
*Helicon.*

FROM the Grove of the Muses we descended towards the PERMESSUS; and crossing that rivulet, quitted this charming scene, and continued our journey, north-west, towards the higher parts of MOUNT HELICON. The weather was stormy: and as we ascended almost to the summit of this part of the mountain, we saw only the *Snow-drop* in bloom, although we had left the *Crocus* and *Heath* in full flower about *Marathon*; but all *Bœotia* is colder than *Attica*. We have already alluded to the fact of snow falling in *January*, so as to bury the doors of the cottages. This happens also at THEBES. In ATHENS, snow is rarely seen; but when it falls there, it is considered as a promising indication of a good crop of olives for the ensuing summer. *Pausanias* relates<sup>1</sup>, that no unwholesome plants are found in HELICON: perhaps he did not place

(1) "Ἀγορεύει δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες καὶ ἀπάσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὰς κρίους, καὶ τὰς ῥίζας ἤδιστα ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου θανάτῳ φύσθαι. Paus. Bœotica, c. 28. p. 764. ed. Kuhnii.

*Fungi* in his class of vegetables: we noticed a *white mushroom* that is not considered eatable in *England*. Many however of the *Fungus* tribe are much esteemed in foreign countries as luxurious food, which the inhabitants of our country consider as poisonous<sup>2</sup>. In *Russia*, they are almost all eaten indiscriminately, salted, and thus kept for winter use. It is observed by *Martyn*, that many have suffered disease, and some even death, from eating voraciously or incautiously of *funguses*; but that it is doubtful whether many of them be really poisonous, in the strict and proper sense of the word<sup>3</sup>. The other plants, as we ascended the mountain, were, *Thyme*, *Sage*, and *Balm*; with few or no trees, excepting the *Vallonïa* Oak, appearing as a shrub. In the lower parts of *Helicon*, as about the *Monastery* of *St. Nicholo*, and in sheltered places nearer to the summit, the *Vallonïa* grows to a tree of considerable magnitude. Wherever the naked surface of the mountain was disclosed, we found the rocks to consist of *limestone*. A craggy narrow path, along which our horses proceeded with difficulty, conducted us to the heights above *Sagără*, or *Sacra*, whence the mountain has received its modern

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(2) See *Martyn's* edit. of *Miller's* Dict. vol. I. Part 2. (Article *Fungus*.) *Lond.* 1807.

(3) *Ibid.*

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View  
from the  
Heights.

appellation; and not, as *Wheler* relates, from the abundance of the *hares* found upon it. Here we observed a part of the antient paved causeway, which formerly led from THESPIA to ASCRA and LEBADÉA<sup>1</sup>. Crocuses, and other early plants, were in flower. The weather, which had before been boisterous in this elevated region, was changed suddenly to the finest temperature of spring. We saw from hence all *Bœotia*, with here and there more distant regions and towering summits, whose bearings by the compass we immediately ascertained. The following statement will give the situation of the principal objects thus viewed from the N. E. side of HELICON; and the *Vignette* to this Chapter exhibits the appearance presented by the highest mountain of *Eubœa*, bearing *East and by North*, from the same point of view; the sea being here admitted into the prospect.

Highest Mountain of NEGROPONT . . . . E. and by N.  
 Mountain PARNES, here called *Oxiā* . . . s. E. and by E.  
 Mountain CITHÆRON, called *Elatæa* . . . s. E. And between the mountain CITHÆRON and the spectator, in this line of observation, the high tower near *Panaja*, occurring as the first principal object.  
 Helicon concealed all the other western and southern points of the *panoramic* circle.

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(1) Rectiùs Λιβάδεια, ut Ἐλάτεια, et similia. Vid. Annot. Sylburgii in Pausan. p. 788. edit. Kuhnii.

The Plain of *LEBADÉA* appeared through two gaps or openings of the mountain, bearing N. and by E. and E. N. E.; the villages of the *Greater* and *Lesser Mulchy* being at the foot of *HELICON*, in this direction; and beyond them, in the plain, the village of *Topola*.

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Our road extended S. E. and N. W. — The distance from *Neocorio* to this spot is reckoned a journey of two hours; and it required almost another hour to descend into the deep valley in which *Sagără* is situate. The view of it, from above, somewhat resembles the appearance of the remarkable valley of *Urseren*, or *Ursaria*, in the passage of *St. Gothard*, in the *Alps*; but it is still more inclosed; and it is walled in by bolder acclivities, being entirely surrounded by high rocks, and by the towering summits of *HELICON*. Below is seen a level plain, whose woods and corn-fields are almost buried in the deep bosom of the mountain. A very steep and rugged descent at last conducted us into this sequestered vale; and as we drew near to the village of *Zagără*, here situate, the same pleasing notes of shepherds' pipes which we had heard at *St. Nicholo*, with the cheerful noise of bells tinkling in the groves, seemed to give gladness to the scene, and again to welcome our coming. A river, flowing across this valley, divides the village into two parts; one being

Valley of  
*Sagără*.

CHAP. high above the other, on the right hand. The  
 IV. lower part stretches into the level plain: and  
 above the upper part, a small white edifice  
 appears rising among thick embowering trees,  
 as such buildings are often seen in *Swisserland*,  
 commanding every beauty and advantage of  
 situation: it is called the *Monastery of Panaja*,  
 or the (*all holy*) *Virgin*.

There is every reason to believe that this  
*Ascra.* village of *Zagără* occupies the site of the antient  
 ASCRA, the place of *Hesiod's* nativity<sup>1</sup>. Its distance  
 from THESPIA accords very accurately with  
 that mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>2</sup>, of forty *stadia*; either  
 supposing THESPIA to have stood where *Phria*  
 now is, or where *Wheler* places it, at *Neocorio*;  
 and its situation cannot have been remote from  
 either of those places, on account of its distance  
 from LEUCTRA. The site of *Zagără* also corre-  
 sponds with the account given of ASCRA, in a  
 fragment of the poems of *Hegesinous*, preserved  
 by *Pausanias*<sup>3</sup>. Its fertility is mentioned by

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(1) *Hesiodi Ἔργα*, v. 639, 640. p. 172. (Vid. *Dissertat. de Vit. Script. et Ætat. HESIODI*, in edit. *Robinson.*) Oxon. 1737.

(2) Ἀπίχουσα τῶν Θισπιῶν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 594. ed. *Oxon.*

(3) ——— ἢ θ' Ἐλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πίδακόντα. Vid. *Pausan. Bæot.* c. 29. p. 765. ed. *Kuhnii.*

*Homer*<sup>4</sup>; and this character is given of it, in the inscription found upon the *Tomb of Hesiod*, by the people of *Orchomenus*<sup>5</sup>. It should be also stated, that the only arable land in all HELICON is this of *Zagără*, which is remarkable for its fertility, and has been cultivated from immemorial time. Although a valley, its elevation is very considerable; and being surrounded by lofty rugged rocks, it is exposed in summer to the most vehement heat, as it is to extreme cold in winter; when it is continually covered with snow. In this respect it answers to the account given of it by *Hesiod* himself<sup>6</sup>. It is also to be observed, that *Pausanias*, speaking of ASCRA, seems to consider it as connected, by its situation, with the *Hieron* and *Grove of the Muses*. The two places occurring successively in the same passage over the mountain, are therefore associated in his description of

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(4) See also the passage cited from *Xenodotus* by *Strabo*, (p. 600. ed. *Oxon.*) who was at a loss to reconcile the account given of *Ascra* by antient Poets, with what *Hesiod* had said of his native country.

(5) ΑΣΚΡΗΜΕΝΙΑΤΡΙΣΠΟΛΥΤΗΙΟΣΑΛΛΑΘΑΝΟΝΤΟΣ  
ΟΣΤΕΑΠΛΗΞΙΠΠΩΝΓΗΜΙΝΥΩΝΚΑΤΕΧΕΙ  
ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥΤΟΥΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΝΕΝΕΛΑΔΙΚΥΔΟΣΟΡΕΙΤΑΙ  
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΕΝΒΑΣΑΝΩΙΣΟΦΙΗΣ.

(6) Νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος ἰίζυρήν ἐνὶ κόμῃ,  
"Ἄσκη, χιῖμα κακῆ, θέρε ἀργαλίη, οὐδέ ποτ' ἰσθλῆ.

*Hesiodi* "Ἔργα, v. 639. p. 172. *Oxon.* 1757.



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HELICON; the mention of one inducing an allusion to the other<sup>1</sup>. Having stated the names of those by whom the *Hieron of the Muses* was first consecrated, he terminates the sentence by adding<sup>2</sup>, that "the same persons founded ASCRA." Every observation of *Pausanias* is particularly valuable; because he passed along this route himself, and his remarks were made upon the spot. This may be gathered from what he has said of the condition of ASCRA. He relates, that in his time nothing remained of it but a single tower; and that of every thing else, even the remembrance had perished<sup>3</sup>. But the observations of *Strabo* are more decisive in confirming the opinion here given. Speaking of ASCRA, he says it was situate "in a lofty and rugged part" of HELICON, at the distance of forty *stadia*<sup>4</sup> from

(1) Vid. *Pausan. Bæot.* c. 29. p. 765. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Οἰκίσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀσκραν. *Ibid.*

(3) Ἀσκρας μὲν δὲ πύργος εἰς ἑμῶν, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ἐλείπετο εἰς μνήμην. *Ibid.*

(4) Ἐν δὲ τῇ Θεισπιείῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀσκρα κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἑλικῶνα μέρος, ἢ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πατρὸς ἐν διζιῶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τραχίως τόπου κειμένη, ἀπέχουσα τῶν Θεισπιῶν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου, κ. τ. λ. *Strab. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 594. edit. *Ozon.* These words therefore of *Strabo*, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τραχίως τόπου κειμένη, and still more the appearance of the place itself, prove the classical accuracy of *Kennet*, in describing *Hesiod's* occupation as that of a shepherd keeping his "sheep on the top of HELICON;" (See *Lives and Characters of the Grecian Poets*, Part

THESPIA. The name of the place seems also to be still preserved, although corrupted, in the modern appellation of this village; for, with a transposition only of the two first letters, ASCRA becomes *Sacra*; and although it be commonly written *Sagără*, as the modern name of HELICON, in books of travels, the pronunciation of the word is *Sacra*, or *Sackra*; evidently being rather a corruption of the old name of the place, than an allusion, as *Wheler* supposes<sup>5</sup>, to the number of *hares* found upon the mountain. Many instances of more remarkable changes may be observed in the modern appellations of places in *Greece*, still retaining something of their original names. It was therefore in this retreat that the shepherd, and poet, *Hesiod*, fed his flock; although in a *valley*<sup>6</sup>, yet

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*Part I. p. 47. Lond. 1697.*); and they serve to nullify the critical objection made to that biographer by the learned Professor *Robinson*, editor of the *Oxford Hesiod*; who, in the dissertation prefixed to his edition of *Hesiod's Poems*, makes the following remark: "Rus plerumque se abdebat *Hesiodus*, ibique in *vallibus* (non *jugis*, ut narrat ingeniosissimus βιόγραφος) HELICONIS pastor erat." *Vid. Dissertat. in Vit. &c. Hesiodi, p. 4. Oxon. 1737.*

(5) "This mountain is now called *Zagără* by the *Turks*, from the great abundance of *hares* they say breed there." *Journey into Greece, p. 477. Lond. 1682.*

(6) "Nec mihi sunt visæ Clio, Cliûsque sorores,  
Servanti pecudes *vallibus*, ASCRA, tuis."

*Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. i. v. 25.*

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near the *summit*<sup>1</sup> of HELICON: and amidst the rugged rocks surrounding this *valley*, we saw shepherds, guarding their sheep and goats; and heard them piping their tuneful reeds, as when the *Muses* first vouchsafed to the *Ascræan* bard their heavenly inspiration<sup>2</sup>. Around the village are many *fountains* and *streams*, falling into the river upon whose banks it is placed; and there are woods near it<sup>3</sup>. After passing *Zagără*, we advanced among the boldest rocks imaginable, exhibiting the liveliest colours. Thence we began once more to ascend, by a narrow, rough, steep, and stony path, as before; and soon gained the highest point of all this passage over HELICON; commanding a pro-

Summit of  
*Helicon*.

(1) Ἀπροτάτη Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο,  
καλοὺς, ἡμερόντας.

*Hesiodi Deorum Generatio*, v. 7. p. 2. edit. Robins. Oxon. 1737.

(2) Αἱ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἰδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν,

Ἄγρας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑπὸ Ζαθέοιο.

Τὸν δὲ με πρότεστα θεαὶ ἄρδς μῦθον εἰπῶν

Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, ποῦρτι Διὸς Αἰγίοχοιο. Ibid. v. 22. p. 4.

(3) At *Sagără* we found the "true Greek HELLEBORE," *Helleborus Orientalis* of *Willdenow*. This species of HELLEBORE, whose virtues were so highly extolled by the Antients, was first illustrated by *Tournefort* (*Voyage du Levant*, tom. II. p. 474.); and an original drawing of the plant, taken for him by *Aubriet*, has been lately engraven, and published in the *Annales du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*. We found also upon *Helicon* the "Scarlet Oak," (*Quercus Coccifera*, Linn.); and the "Flax-leaved Daphne," (*Daphne Gnidium*, Linn.)

spect, which, in the grandeur of its objects, and in all the affecting circumstances of their history, cannot be equalled in the world. The eye ranges over all the plains of **LEBADÉA**, **CHÆRONÉA**, and **ORCHOMENUS**, looking down upon the numerous villages now occupying the sites of those and of other illustrious cities. From the spot where the spectator is placed, the most amazing undulation of mountain scenery descends, like vast waves in the heaving of an ocean, towards **PARNASSUS**; whose snowy bosom, dazzling by its brightness, appeared, fronting our route, with incomparable grandeur<sup>4</sup>.

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As we began to descend from this place, we passed another fountain, pouring its tribute into other streams that, on this side of **HELICON**, fell, in noisy, rapid, and turbulent courses, from the summit of the mountain. An antient paved causeway, of which we had before observed the frequent remains, again occurred, and it was continued to the distance of a quarter of a mile;

Descent  
of the  
Mountain.

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(4) " And yet how lovely in thine age of woe,  
Land of lost Gods and godlike men ! art thou !  
Thy vales of ever green, thy hills of snow,  
Proclaim thee Nature's varied favourite now."

*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto II. 77. p.103. Lond. 1812.

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conducting us to a magnificent terrace, elevated, as it were, above all *Greece*, and actually commanding the principal features of the whole country. Hence, as we continued to descend, the *Monastery of St. George* appeared in view, below us, bearing *north and by west*; and that part of *HELICON* which extends into the plain of *LEBADÉA*, *north-east*. We then arrived at a village called *Regania*, or *Kotúmala*, for it has recently changed even its modern name. This village is distant one hour and three quarters from *Zagără*. It lies where sages, poets, and painters might wish to spend their days; amidst such a marvellous assemblage of the great and sublime features of Nature, as perhaps no other region can exhibit; and certainly calling forth feelings which the view of no other country can excite; all the mountains and plains of *HELLAS* being here displayed in one living picture. Alas! the effect produced by this prospect upon the mind of the traveller is transitory; because new objects succeed, and dissipate the impressions;—it fades even as he writes<sup>1</sup>.

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(1) The following stanzas are admirably calculated to convey to every reader of taste and genius that vivid impression which can be communicated by no other hand:—

“Where'er we tread, 'tis haunted holy ground;  
No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould;

But

The *Papas*, or priest, at *Kotúmala*, told us that this village had changed its name from that of *Regania*, the name of a neighbouring fountain. It is about one fourth of the way down the mountain, on the side of *LEBADÉA*. Hence descending towards the plain, we passed the remains of an aqueduct, and also the ruins of an antient city, upon a hill, which we left towards our right. A small chapel, as usual, had been constructed from the ruins. We then continued along the side of the lower part of the mountain, again noticing an antient paved causeway: this appeared in different places, during the rest of

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But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,  
 And all the Muses' tales seem truly told,  
 Till the sense aches with gazing to behold  
 The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon :  
 Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold,  
 Defies the power which crushed thy temples gone :  
 Age shakes Athena's power, but spares gray Marathon.  
 Long to the remnants of thy splendour past  
 Shall pilgrims, pensive, but unwearied, throng ;  
 Long shall the voyager, with th' Ionian blast,  
 Hail the bright clime of battle and of song ;  
 Long shall thine annals and immortal tongue  
 Fill with thy fame the youth of many a shore ;  
 Boast of the aged ! lesson of the young !  
 Which sages venerate, and bards adore,  
 As Pallas and the Muse unveil their awful lore."

*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto II. stanzas 80, 81.*  
*p.105. Lond. 1812.*

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IV.  
Panori.

the day's journey. At the distance of one hour from *Kotúmala*, there is a *fountain*; and at two hours' distance a village, called *Panori*<sup>1</sup>, upon the left, beyond which there is another *fountain*; —trivial occurrences when regarded merely as fountains, but on no account to be disregarded by the writer of a book of travels intended to illustrate the antient topography of *Greece*; where every fountain was consecrated to some Deity; and every insignificant rivulet, as the country becomes more known, will be an object of importance, in serving as a land-mark. We passed two bridges built over small streams descending from the mountain; and then came in sight of *LEBADÉA*, which was covered with a white milky fog, the never-failing indication of bad air. Its inhabitants are consequently subject to agues during the summer; and strangers, of course, are more liable to such fevers. The rest of our road was over that part of the base of *HELICON* which projects into the plain of *LEBADÉA*; and the view of this plain, appearing below us, with its numerous villages, and the courses of the rivers through it, was very pleasing. We did not arrive at *LEBADÉA* until it was almost dark. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour,

*Lebadéa.*

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(1) Πᾶν, omne; et ἰδέω, video?

such is the extraordinary situation of the town, that it presented a very remarkable appearance, amidst the surrounding gloom of rocks, which here rise in perpendicular elevations, at the extremity of an extensive plain. It occupies the two sides of a ravine, growing narrower as you advance towards a lofty naked precipice; upon whose summit appears an antient fortress, towering over all the scene. At the foot of this precipice, below the fortress, was the *Hieron* of the famous oracle *Trophonius*; and the rushing waters of the *Hercyna*, flowing thence through the *ravine*, called to mind the extraordinary history of the *cavern* of that oracle, whose present appearance and situation we were now particularly anxious to view.

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We were conducted to the house of a rich Greek merchant, of the name of *Logothesi*, the *Archon* or chief of LEBADEA, a subject of the Grand Signior, since well known to other *English* travellers for his hospitality and kind offices. His brother had been beheaded for his wealth, two years before, in *Constantinople*. In the house of this gentleman we had an opportunity of observing the genuine manners of the higher class of Modern *Greeks*, unaltered by the introduction of any foreign customs, or by a frequent

House of  
the  
Archon.

Manners of  
the higher  
class of  
Modern  
*Greeks*.



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Order of  
their meals.

intercourse with the inhabitants of other countries. They seemed to us much as they are said to have been in the time of *Plato*, and, in many respects, barbarous and disgusting. Their dinners, and indeed all their other meals, are wretched. Fowls boiled to rags, but still tough and stringy, and killed only an hour before they are dressed, constitute a principal dish, all heaped together upon a large copper or pewter salver, placed upon a low stool, round which the guests sit upon cushions; the place of honour being on that side where the long couch of the *divân* extends beneath the white-washed wall. A long and coarse towel, very ill washed, about twelve inches wide, is spread around the table, in one entire piece, over the knees of the party seated. Wine is only placed before strangers; the rest of the company receiving only a glass each of very bad wine with the dessert. Brandy is handed about before sitting down to table. All persons who partake of the meal, wash their hands in the room, both before and after eating. A girl, with naked and dirty feet, enters the apartment, throwing to every one a napkin: she is followed by a second damsel, who goes to every guest, and, kneeling before him upon one knee, presents a pewter water-pot and a pewter bason, covered by a *grille*,

upon the top of which there is a piece of soap. An exhibition rather of a revolting nature, however cleanly, then succeeds. Having made a lather with the soap, they fill their mouths with it, and squirt it, mixed with saliva, into the bason. The ladies of the family also do the same; lathering their lips and teeth; and displaying their arms, during the operation of the washing, with studied attitudes, and a great deal of affectation; as if taught to consider the moments of ablution as a time when they may appear to most advantage. Then the master of the house takes his seat at the circular tray, his wife sitting by his side; and stripping his arms quite bare, by turning back the sleeves of his tunic towards his shoulders, he serves out the soup and the meat. Only one dish is placed upon the table at the same time. If it contain butcher's meat or poultry, he tears it into pieces with his fingers. During meals, the meat is always torn with the fingers. Knives and spoons are little used, and they are never changed. When meat or fish is brought in, the host squeezes a lemon over the dish. The room all this while is filled with girls belonging to the house, and other menial attendants, all with their feet naked; also a mixed company of priests, physicians, and strangers, visiting the family. All these persons are

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Society

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admitted upon the raised part of the floor or *diván*: below the *diván*, near the door, are collected meaner dependants, peasants, old women, and slaves, who are allowed to sit there upon the floor, and to converse together. A certain inexpressible article of household furniture, called *chaise percée* by the *French*, is also seen, making a conspicuous and most disgusting appearance, in the room where the dinner is served; but in the houses of rich *Greeks* it is possible that such an exhibition may be owing to the vanity of possessing goods of foreign manufacture: the poorer class, whether from a regard to decorum, or wanting the means of thus violating it, are more decent. The dinner being over, presently enters the *Ῥαψωδοί*, or *Homer* of his day, an itinerant songster, with his lyre, which he rests upon one knee, and plays like a fiddle. He does not ask to come in, but boldly forces his way through the crowd collected about the door; and assuming an air of consequence, steps upon the *diván*, taking a conspicuous seat among the higher class of visitants; there, striking his lyre, and elevating his countenance towards the ceiling, he begins a most dismal recitative, accompanying his voice, which is only heard at intervals, with tones not less dismal, produced by the scraping of his three-stringed instrument.

The recitative is sometimes extemporaneous, and consists of sayings suited to the occasion; but in general it is a doleful love-ditty, composed of a string of short sentences expressing amorous lamentation, rising to a sort of climax, and then beginning over again; being equally destitute of melodious cadence, or of any animated expression. The *Ψωδία* that we heard, when literally translated, consisted of the following verses or sayings, thus *tagged together*:

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“ For black eyes I faint!  
For light eyes I die!  
For blue eyes I go to my grave, and am buried!”

But the tone of the vocal part resembled rather that of the howling of dogs in the night, than any sound which might be called musical. And this was the impression always made upon us by the national music of the Modern *Greeks*; that if a scale were formed for comparing it with the state of music in other *European* countries, it would fall below all the rest, excepting that of the *Laplanders*, to which nevertheless it bears some resemblance. The ballads of the *Greeks* are generally love-ditties; those of the *Albanians*, war-songs, celebrating fierce and bloody encounters, deeds of plunder, and desperate achievements. But these general remarks are

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Ceremony  
observed in  
holding a  
*Diván*.

liable to exception, and to error: other travellers may collect examples of the *Romaic* and *Arnaout* poetry, seeming rather to prove that a martial spirit exists among the *Greeks*, and a disposition towards gallantry among the *Albanians*<sup>1</sup>. One of these *Ψαψωδοί* entertained us, during dinner; every day that we remained in *LEBADÉA*. When the meal is over, a girl sweeps the carpet; and the guests are then marshalled, with the utmost attention to the laws of precedence, in regular order upon the *diván*; the master and mistress of the house being seated at the upper end of the couch, and the rest of the party forming two lines, one on either side; each person being stationed according to his rank. The

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(1) See, for examples, the famous *Greek* war-song *Δούρε παιδὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων*, as it has been beautifully translated by LORD BYRON, (*Poems printed at the end of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,"* No. VIII. p. 183. *Lond.* 1812.) Also two popular choral songs in the *Albanian* or *Arnaout* dialect of the *Illyric*, in the Notes to "*Childe Harold*," p. 133.— However, the stanzas taken from different *Albanese* songs, p. 97, breathe all the martial spirit of the ballads that we heard among the *Arnaouts*; particularly the tenth, where the poet, with all the fire of his own genius, has transfused into his lines the most genuine character of his original sources:

"Dark Muchtar his son to the Danube is sped,  
Let the yellow-haired Giaours view his horse-tail with dread;  
When his Delhis come dashing in blood o'er the banks,  
How few shall escape from the Muscovite ranks."

See "*Childe Harold*," p. 100. *Lond.* 1812.

*couches* upon the *divâns* of all apartments in the *Levant* being universally placed in the form of a *Greek Π*, the manner in which a company is seated is invariably the same in every house<sup>2</sup>. It does not vary, from the interior of the apartments in the Sultan's *seraglio*, to those of the meanest subjects in his dominions; the difference consisting only in the covering for the couches, and the decorations of the floor, walls, and windows. After this arrangement has taken place, and every one is seated cross-legged, the pewter bason and ewer are brought in again; and again begins the same ceremony of ablution, with the same lathering and squirting from all the mouths that have been fed. After this, tobacco-pipes are introduced; but even this part of the ceremony is not without its etiquette; for we having declined to use the pipes offered to us, they were not handed to the persons who sate next to us in the order observed, although the tobacco in them were already kindled, but taken out of the apartment; others of an inferior quality being substituted in lieu of them, to be offered to the persons seated below us. There are no

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(2) Hence may be understood what is meant by "*holding a divân*," as well as the origin of that expression; the members of a Council, or of any State assembly, being thus seated.

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Low pride.

Dresses.

Etiquette  
concerning  
slippers.

people more inflated with a contemptible and vulgar pride than the *Turks*; and the *Greeks*, who are the most servile imitators of their superiors, have borrowed many of these customs from their lords. Costly furs are much esteemed by both, as ornaments of male and female attire; that is to say, if they be literally *costly*; as the finest fur that ever was seen would lose all its beauty in their eyes if it should become cheap. Their dresses are only esteemed in proportion to the sum of money they cost; changes depending upon what is called *fashion* being unknown among them. The cap of the infant of *Logothesi* consisted of a mass of pearls, so strung as to cover the head; and it was fringed with sequins, and other gold coin, among which we noticed some medals of the latest *Christian* Emperors, and Ecclesiastical coins. The dress worn by his wife was either of green velvet or of green satin, laden with a coarse and very heavy gold lace; the shoulders and back being otherwise ornamented with grey squirrel's fur. There is yet another curious instance of their scrupulous attention to every possible distinction of precedency. The slippers of the superior guests are placed upon the step of the *diván*: those of lower rank, of the unfortunate, or dependant, are not allowed this

honour; they are left below the *diván*, upon the lower part of the floor of the apartment, nearer to the door. About the time that the tobacco-pipes are brought in, female visitants arrive to pay their respects to the mistress of the house, who, upon their coming, rises, and retires with the women present, to receive her guests in another apartment. On one of the days that we dined here, it being the day of a *Greek* festival, two *Albanians*, with their wives and children, came to visit the archon. These peasants, upon entering the room, placed each of them a sack of provisions in one corner of the apartment, and then came forward to salute their landlord. When the women advanced, they touched his hand only, and then placed their own hands to their foreheads, making the sign of the cross, as they do in *Russia*: but the children took his hand and kissed it, applying afterwards the back part of it to their foreheads.

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IV.

*Albanian  
Tenants.*

The famous *Ali Pasha* had already exacted tribute from the inhabitants of *LEBADÉA*. The archon informed us that he had been more than once to *Joannina*, to convey it. He spoke much of the riches of *Joannina*, distant seven days' journey, telling us that it contained 7000 houses. The mother of his wife was a native of that

*Joannina.*



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city, and a very handsome woman. Being in the costume of the place of her nativity, as she herself informed us, it was evident, from her appearance, that the elder females of *Epirus* dress better, and in a more comely style than those of *Greece*: they bind up their braided hair around the head, after the manner represented in antient sculpture; and they wear a more decent and becoming apparel than the *Greek* matrons; of whom, in general, nothing is conspicuous but what ought to be concealed.

Modern  
state of  
*Lebadéa*.

LEBADÉA contains fifteen hundred houses. A commerce is here carried on, in the produce of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Thessaly*. The archon received an order from *Constantinople*, the day after our arrival, to purchase the worth of fifty thousand piastres in oil; for which purpose he sent to *Athens*, to buy up all the oil that could be found. He told us that the produce of *Attica*, in oil, exceeded that of all the rest of *Greece*. The streets of the town are narrow and ill paved. Water is seen falling in all directions; so numerous are the conduits and channels for supplying mills and reservoirs from the bed of the *Hercyna*. This river issues with great force from beneath a rock, a few paces from the old  
HIERON OF TROPHONIUS. Among all that now

Hieron of  
*Tropho-  
nius*.

remains of the antiquities of Greece, there is nothing better authenticated than this most curious relic; the site of it being distinctly ascertained by the cavities grooved in the rock for the reception of the *votive offerings*. The only uncertainty respects the *Adytum*, where the *oracle* was supposed to reside; for although the mouth of this place seem very accurately to correspond with the account given of its entrance by *Pausanias*, the interior has never been explored in modern times. As it was very near to the house of *Logothesi*, we had frequent opportunities of visiting the spot, and of making all the inquiry in our power. Every thing belonging to the *Hieron* appears to exist in its original state; except, that the *vows* have been removed from the niches where they were placed; and that the narrow entrance, supposed to lead to the *Adytum*, is now choked with stones and rubbish. The women of *Lebadéa* kindle fires here while washing their linen, and the sides of it are consequently covered with soot. This aperture in the rock is close to the ground. Immediately below it, in the front of the little terrace above which the niches were cut for the *dona votiva*, a fountain issues, from several small pipes often out of repair, into a *bath*, the interior of which is faced with large

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Uncertainty respecting the *Adytum*.

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hewn stones and pieces of marble: here the *Lebadéan* women wash their linen; and at the distance of a few paces from this *bath*, as before stated, is the spot where the river *Hercyna* bursts forth, receiving almost in the instant of its birth the tributary streams from the *fountain*.

Sources of  
the *Her-*  
*cyna*.

The river therefore may be described as having *two sources*; and this agrees with the account given of it by *Pausanias*. The *bath* was used by those who came to consult the *oracle*; for these persons were obliged to purify themselves, and, abstaining from the use of hot baths, to wash in the river *Hercyna*<sup>1</sup>. Indeed nothing can accord more accurately with the present appearance of the place than his description of the *Hieron*; and we ought to rely upon it with the greater confidence, because we receive it from a writer always accurate, who in this instance is pre-eminently entitled to notice, having not only visited the spot, but also himself descended into the *Adytum*, and consulted the oracle. "WHAT I HERE RELATE," says he<sup>2</sup>, "WAS NOT RECEIVED AT SECOND-HAND, BUT WHAT BY OCULAR DEMONSTRATION I HAVE PERCEIVED

Validity  
of the re-  
marks by  
*Pausanias*.

(1) Vid. *Pausan.* in *Bœot.* c. 39. p. 790. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Γράφω δὲ οὐκ ἀκοήν, ἀλλὰ ἰστίους τι ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς Τροφονίῳ χρησά-  
μνος. *Ibid.*

IN OTHERS, AND WHAT I HAVE PROVED TRUE BY MY OWN EXPERIENCE." Laying aside the reserve he sometimes assumes, with regard to the sacred mysteries of the country, he gives a succinct and very interesting detail of all he witnessed upon the occasion; and his readers, viewing the scene itself, are made almost as well acquainted with every thing that was necessary to carry on the solemn farce, as if they had been present with him; the juggle of a stupid superstition, as far as it related to the *oracle*, being easily understood, without any preternatural communication from *Trophonius*. The *two sources* are called, by *Pausanias*, the waters of LETHE and MNEMOSYNE; or, in other words, the *Water of Oblivion*, and the *Water of Memory*<sup>3</sup>. But a remarkable observation previously occurs, respecting the place where they rise: he says<sup>4</sup>, they are both of them (ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ) "WITHIN THE CAVERN." Hence we may learn that the *Adytum* and the *Cavern* were two distinct things: the *first* was a small aperture within the other: and the appellation ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ was applied to the whole of the chasm, or range of precipitous rock, around the place, which contained not only the "sacred

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Water of  
Oblivion.  
Water of  
Memory.

(3) Vid. *Pausan.* *ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* p. 789.

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General  
aspect of  
the *Hieron*.

*aperture*" (στόμα τὸ ἱερὸν), but also the *source of the Hercyna*, and perhaps the *Grove of Trophonius*, with all its *temples, statues*, and other *votive offerings*. The *stoma* is described, as it now appears, to have been a small opening like unto an *oven*<sup>1</sup>; and it was near to the terrace or floor; for the votary, lying down, was thrust into it with his feet foremost; the rest of his body being rapidly hauled in afterwards by some person or persons within the *Adytum*. These leading facts being stated, an accurate description of the place, according to its present appearance, will be rendered more perspicuous: and it is proper that it should be so; because it may not only illustrate a very curious part of the religion of *Greece*, but all that *Plutarch*, and *Pausanias*, have written upon a subject, for whose investigation Archbishop *Potter* dedicated an entire chapter of his work<sup>2</sup>.

The main body of water which constitutes the principal source of the *Hercyna* is very different from that of the *fountain*<sup>3</sup>. The *first*

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(1) Τοῦ δὲ οἰκοδομήματος τούτου τὸ σχῆμα εἴκασται κριβάνη. *Paus. Bæot. c. 39. p. 791. ed. Kuhnii.*

(2) *Archæologia Græca*, vol. I. chap. 10. p. 289. Lond. 1751.

(3) See the Plate facing p. 126 of the Fourth Quarto Volume of these *Travels*.

is troubled, and muddy; the *second*, clear, and much better fitted for use. The *first* is evidently the gushing forth of some river, from a subterraneous channel, that had been previously exposed to the surface; having been swallowed up, during its course, in some chasm of the earth. This appears, both from the substances found floating in the water, and from its perturbed muddy aspect. We observed at this principal source an antique *terra-cotta* cylinder, for compressing the current within a narrower channel: it was fixed into the rock with cement and tiles. That this was the source called *LETHE*, must be evident; because the other, being close to the throne of *MNEMOSYNE*, as will presently appear, was necessarily the *Water of Memory*: and perhaps the origin of the name of the *Water of Oblivion*, and the superstition thereon founded, may be deduced from this singular circumstance of its re-appearance after being once buried; receiving a new birth after its resurrection, oblivious, as it were, of its former course. The Antients could not have been ignorant of this part of its history, because it is obvious to all who examine the water. *Wheler*, when he had seen the force with which it gushes forth, and examined

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the nature of the current, said<sup>1</sup>, “ I do not call it the *Fountain*; but think that some other rivers from the *Helicon* do make it rise here, *by a subterraneous passage* under the mountain:” and in a preceding paragraph he describes it as coming “ with such a plentiful source out of the mountain, that it turneth twenty mills in the town, not a bow-shot off its rise.” But this writer, in the map prefixed to his work<sup>2</sup>, has marked the disappearance of two rivers into the earth, south of *LEBADÉA*,—the one during its descent from *Helicon*, and the other from *Anticyra*; and has traced what he conceived to be their subterraneous courses, by dotted lines, towards this source of the *Hercyna*. The same therefore might antiently have been said of the river that was believed to happen to those who drank of its water,—that it assumed a new state of existence, forgetful of the past<sup>3</sup>: and having once received a name derived from any thing marvellous or remarkable in its history, it is easy to account for the appellation bestowed upon the neighbouring *fountain*, and all the

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(1) *Journey into Greece*, p. 327. Lond. 1682.

(2) See the edition printed at *London* in 1682.

(3) Ἐνταῦθα δὴ χερὴ πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδαρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθη γίνηται εἰ πάντων ἃ εἶως ἐφρόντιζι. *Paus. Bæot.* c. 39. p. 790. ed. *Kuhn*.

other circumstances of association connected with the spot ; since nothing was more common among antient nations, particularly in *Greece*, than to erect a vast and complicated system of superstition upon the most insignificant foundation. There was something in the nature of the scenery here, which tended to excite the solemn impressions that were essential to the purposes of priestcraft. The votaries of the Oracle were conducted through a *Grove*<sup>4</sup> to the *Hieron*: having reached the consecrated precincts of the divinity, they could not avoid being struck by its gloomy and imposing grandeur. It is surrounded with rocks, bare and rugged, rising in fearful precipices to a great height ; the silence of the place being only interrupted by the roaring of waters bursting with uncommon force from their cavernous abyss. The most sacred part of the *Hieron*, containing the narrow entrance to the *Adytum* and the receptacles for the *offerings*, is a perpendicular rock of black marble. It faces the east. The niches are above the *Adytum*, to the right and left of it : they are of different capacities and shapes, and amount to twelve in number. The most capacious is an entire

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Receptacles for the  
*Votive Offerings*.

(4) \*Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Ibid. p.791.



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Throne of  
Mnemosyne.

chamber of stone, containing a *stone bench*. This, according to *Pausanias*, may have been the *throne of Mnemosyne*: it was near to the *Adytum*; where those, who came from consulting the oracle, being seated<sup>1</sup>, underwent the necessary interrogatories. This chamber is five feet ten inches from the ground. The whole of it is hewn in the solid rock, like the sepulchres of *Telmessus* in *Asia Minor*; being twelve feet eight inches in length, eleven feet three inches in width, and eight feet eight inches high. The stone bench within is eight feet nine inches long, fourteen inches wide, and eighteen inches in height. There are two niches, one on either side of the opening to this chamber; and seven others to the left of it, in the face of the rock. Immediately below the chamber, a little towards the left hand, is the *Stoma*, or *sacred aperture* of the *Adytum*. It is small and low, and shaped like an oven; and this *Pausanias* affirms to have been the form of the artificial masonry adapted to its mouth: it is, in fact, barely capacious enough to admit the passage of a man's body. The inhabitants of *Lebadéa* refused to *Monsieur Fauvel*, of *Athens*, the permission of removing the rubbish from

Stoma of  
the *Ady-*  
*tum*.

(1) Καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ θρόνον Μνημοσύνης καλούμενον. *Paus. Bæot.* c. 59. p. 792. ed. *Kuhnii*.

the opening, through fear of an *Avania*<sup>2</sup> from the *Turks*; who might suspect them of having discovered a concealed treasure. The work might be accomplished, and with little labour; having the proper utensils, and the consent of the *Waiwode*. We made some progress towards it; and after obtaining permission from the *Turkish* governor, endeavoured to prevail upon some workmen to assist us; but they were deterred by their fears, and would not, for any consideration, begin the labour. There was therefore no other alternative than that of putting our own hands to the task: and we so far succeeded, as to enable Mr. *Cripps* to introduce the whole length of his body into the cavity; where being provided with a long pole, and thrusting it before him, he found at last the passage to be entirely closed. The difficulty of carrying on the work within so narrow a space becoming insurmountable, and the *Oracle* being deaf to our entreaties of assisting us by his advice, we were compelled to abandon the undertaking.

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IV.

Attempt to  
explore the  
interior.

The stone chamber, with seats, being thus

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(2) A species of robbery, constituting the chief riches of the *Turkish* Government in the great cities. It consists in the payment of money extorted to avoid a vexatious suit at law.

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considered as corresponding with the description given by *Pausanias* of the *throne of Mnemosyne*, (for he says<sup>1</sup> it was not far from the *Adytum*,) it will follow, of course, that the fountain, springing into the *bath* below, was also that which afforded the *Water of Memory*. At present, this fountain supplies the town of *LEBADEA* with its best water; adding greatly to the picturesque beauty of this remarkable scene; which is further heightened by deep shadows in all the cavities of the rock, by a number of pensile plants adorning the face of the precipice, and by an old stone bridge of one arch, crossing the *Hercyna* a little below. *Pausanias* mentions another curious circumstance, which seems to prove that the small opening above the *bath* can be no other than the mouth of the *Adytum*: it is this; that the place where the *Oracle* resided was surrounded by a wall of *white stone*, not exceeding the height of two cubits<sup>2</sup>, inclosing a very small area. The diameter of such a *peribolus* must have been very limited; because it could only extend from the face of the precipice to the brink of the river; this being at the distance of nine feet

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(1) Κίται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀδύτου. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 39. p. 792. edit. Kuhn.*

(2) *Ibid. p. 791.*

four inches from the *stoma*, or mouth, of the *Adytum*. And the reason why the wall was only two cubits in height, is also explained by the appearance of the *stoma*; for this was all the elevation necessary to conceal it from view. Near the same *peribolus* were two sanctuaries; the one (*οἶκημα*) being sacred to the good *dæmon*, and the other (*ἱερόν*) to good luck<sup>3</sup>. It is impossible to ascertain the real nature of those sanctuaries. That they were any thing rather than *temples*, must appear from the want of space for such edifices. The present town of LEBADÉA seems to occupy that part of the consecrated district once covered by the *Grove of Trophonius*<sup>4</sup>; and above this is the rocky recess called by *Pausanias* ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ, and ANTPON KOIAON, containing the sources of the *Hercyna*. The whole space from the antient city, along the banks of this river, to the residence of the *Oracle*, was covered with temples, *Hiera*, images, and every species of votive decoration. The statues were by the best sculptors of Antient Greece: and when we read that a work of *Praxiteles* was among the number of its ornaments<sup>5</sup>, we are little inclined

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Situation  
of the  
consecrated  
Grove.

Its original  
decorations.

(3) Τὸ δὲ οἶκημα Δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀγαθῆς. *Pausan.* *ibid.* p. 789.

(4) Τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Τροφονίου. *Ibid.*

(5) Πραξιτέλης δὲ ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα (Τροφονίου). *Ibid.*

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IV.

Denuded  
state of the  
antient  
city.

Acropolis.

to doubt the fidelity of the historian, who, speaking of *LEBADÉA*, says, that its decorations were not inferior to those of the most flourishing cities of *Greece*<sup>1</sup>. Yet it is now so completely stripped of all its costly ornaments, that, with the exception of the interesting remains at the sources of the river, our search after antiquities was almost made in vain. We could not obtain a single medal; and the few that we saw, upon the head-dresses of the women and children, were wretched ecclesiastical coins, or the still more barbarous impressions of the *Turkish* mint. We ascended to the *Citadel*, erected upon the summit of the rock above the *Hieron of Trophonus*; and found there the *capital* of a large pillar, of that most antient and rare variety of the *Corinthian* order, described in our account of *Thebes*. It consisted of the hard black marble of the rocks upon which the citadel stands. Within the fortress we noticed a few fragments of antiquity, less worthy of notice than this *capital*; and in a *Mosque* near it, there are some inscriptions; but only one of them is entire, and this has been already published by *Wheler*: it is upon a block of marble over the door of the

(1) Κακόσμηται μὲν δὴ τὰ ἑλλὰ σφίσιν ἢ πόλις ὁμοίως τοῖς ἑλλήνων μάλιστα εὐδαίμοσι. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 39, p. 789. ed. Kuhnii.*

minaret. Another imperfect legend is upon a stone in the same building, also noticed by *Wheler*<sup>2</sup>: they were moreover both published by his companion *Spon*<sup>3</sup>: The name of the city occurs in these inscriptions, variously written,—ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΒΑΔΕΩΝ, and ΛΕΒΑΔΕΙΕΩΝ. From the fortress we observed the bearings of *Chæronéa* and *Orchomenus*.

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CHÆRONÉA bears *north and by east*, and is distant from LEBADÉA one hour and a half.

ORCHOMENUS, *east-north-east*, distant from LEBADÉA two hours.

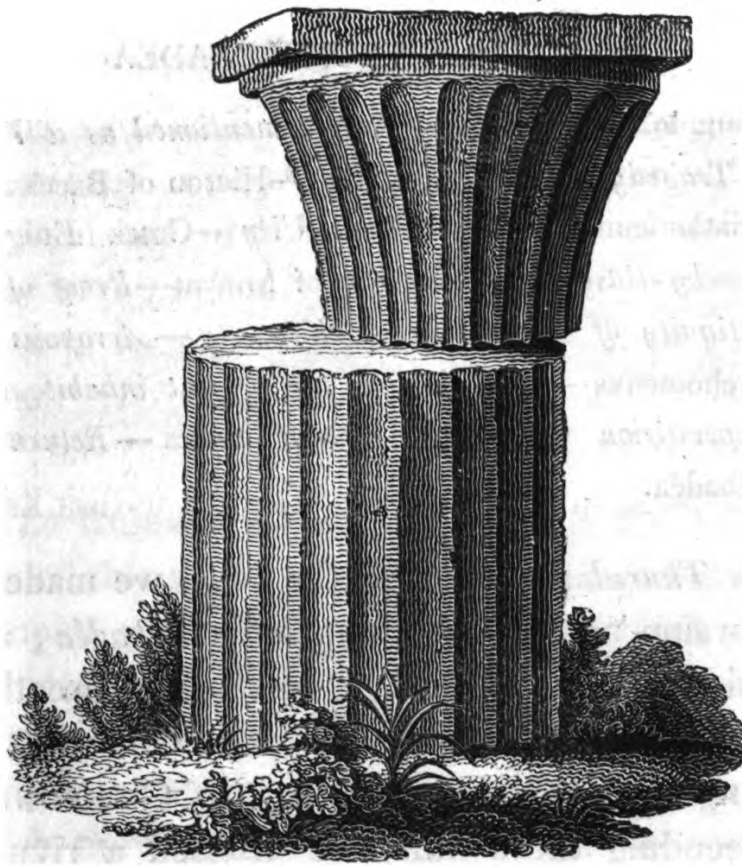
The commerce of LEBADÉA is very considerable. It carries on a thriving trade, in the exportation, even to *London*, of corn and cotton, and of currant-raisins: the last article it sends from *Patras*. Its own port is *Aspropiti*, antiently ANTICYRA. The wine of ORCHOMENUS is also sold here: it is as good as old hock, having a similar flavour, but with less acidity: it is sometimes as limpid and colourless as the clearest

Commerce  
of *Lebadéa*.

(2) See *Journey into Greece*, pp. 327, 328. Lond. 1682.

(3) *Voyage de Grèce, et du Levant*, tome II. pp. 266, 267. à la Haye, 1724.

CHAP. spring water. The honey of LEBADÉA is sent  
IV. to the Grand Signior's *seraglio*; but in our  
opinion it was much inferior to the honey of  
ATHENS: We had brought some of the *Athenian*  
honey with us: they were both placed upon the  
table of the archon, to be compared: that of  
ATHENS was paler, but as clear as crystal; and  
so inspissated, that it might be cut with a knife.



## CHAP. V.

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### EXCURSIONS FROM LEBADÉA, TO CHÆRONÉA AND ORCHOMENUS.

*The Author visits a Village called Capranû—Aspect of PARNASSUS—Ruins of CHÆRONÉA—Inscriptions—Aqueduct—Theatre—Acropolis—Battles of Chæronéa—Tomb of the Thebans—Sceptre of Agamemnon—Antiquities at the Church of Capranû—Marble Cathedra—Five Inscriptions upon one Tablet—Visit to a Village called Romaiko—Remarkable Bas-relief—Visit to Srepû—River MELAS—Tomb of Hesiod—Ruins of ORCHOMENUS—Archaïc Inscriptions—Hieron of the Graces—Inscriptions relating to the Charitesian Games—Observations on the Æolian Digamma—Homoloïa*



Homoloia—Sophocles of Athens mentioned as a Victor in Tragedy—Later Inscriptions—Hieron of Bacchus—Sciathericum of the antient City—Greek Epigram thereby illustrated—Treasury of Minyas—Proof of the antiquity of Domes in Architecture—Acropolis of Orchomenus—Condition of the present inhabitants—Superstition respecting certain stones—Return to Lebadéa.

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ON Thursday, December the tenth, we made an excursion across the plain, from *Lebadéa*; and passing a bridge, took a north-west direction, towards some hills, over which we rode, following the antient paved way to *CHÆRONÉA*. Descending these hills, we crossed a rivulet, and entered the *Plain of Chæronéa*; thus divided from that of *Lebadéa*, but resembling the latter in its beauty and fertility. It extends from east-south-east to west-north-west; being about two miles in breadth, and ten or twelve in length.

Aspect of  
*Parnassus*.

This plain is bounded towards the north-west and west by *PARNASSUS*, which entirely closes it in on that side, and exhibits one of the boldest and most striking barriers in nature, visible the whole way from *Lebadéa*; its sharp ridge alone being covered with snow, but all below appearing in bleak and rugged masses of limestone, of a grey aspect, except the base, which is covered with shrubs and coppice. *PARNASSUS*

universally bears, at present, the name of *Lakúra*: it stands, to all appearance, solitary; as if it suffered no other eminence to dispute with it the smallest portion of that sanctity, which originally extended over every part of the mountain<sup>1</sup>.

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The Ruins of CHÆRONÉA are on the *western* side of this plain: a village called *Capranú* now occupies part of the site of the antient city; distant only two hours, about six miles, from *Lebadéa*. The antiquities we discovered, in and about the village, are decisive as to the city to which they belonged. The first is an inscription respecting the inhabitants of CHÆRONÉA. It was found upon a marble, in the corner of a small chapel at *Capranú*, and proved highly interesting to us at the moment of our arrival among the ruins of the city. It states, that  
“THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF THE CHÆRONÉANS HONOUR THE EMPEROR MACBINUS.”

Visit to  
*Capranú*.

Ruins of  
*Chæronéa*.

Inscrip-  
tions.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ  
ΜΟΝΟΑΛΙΟΝ  
ΣΕΒΗΡΟΝΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΝ  
ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝΗΒΟΥ  
ΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕ(Ω)Ν

(1) Ἰεροσολίμων δ' ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ Παλαιστός. *Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 604.*  
ed. Oron.

CHAP. V. Hard by, upon the ground, we saw another inscription, upon marble, also satisfactory on account of its concurring local testimony. This last sets forth, that “CHAROPEINA, DAUGHTER OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DIDYMUS, A PRIESTESS OF DIANA, IS HONOURED BY THE CHÆRONEANS, FOR HER VIRTUE AND RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE ON THE DEITY.” The legend is as follows :

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ  
 ΜΟΣΧΑΙΡΩΝΕ  
 ΩΝ.ΤΗΝΙΕΡ  
 ΑΝ.ΤΗΣΑΡΤΕΜΙ  
 ΔΟΣ.ΧΑΡΟΠΕΙΝΑΝ  
 ΤΒ.ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ.ΔΙΔΥ  
 ΜΟΥ.ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ  
 ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ  
 ΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΕΡΙΤΗΝ  
 ΘΕΟΝΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ

We noticed the remains of a small *temple*, perhaps of *Diana*, in two ruined buildings, still standing, in the same line with a range of antient tile-work, once covered with marble; also the shafts of columns of highly-polished grey granite, eighteen inches in diameter, lying near to the same spot. Close to the little chapel we saw two capitals of columns; one of the *Corinthian* order, barbarously executed; and

another of the *Ionic*, in better taste, but of small dimensions. PARNASSUS, with its shining snowy summit, appears opposite the door of this chapel; and between both, in the same line, the lofty rock whereon the Acropolis of *Chæronéa* was situate; as appears by the remains' of its walls.

CHAP.  
V.

The next thing that attracted our notice, was a beautiful antient *fountain*, with five mouths, supplied, by means of a *small aqueduct*, from the neighbouring rock, in which the *Coilon* of the *Theatre of Chæronéa* was excavated. In its present state, this *fountain* consists entirely of fragments of the ruined buildings of the city. Here we saw some large pedestals, granite shafts, small *Doric* capitals,—and a mass of exceedingly hard blue marble, exhibiting, in beautiful sculpture, the leaves and other ornaments of the cornice of a temple. There was a cistern at the fountain, with an inscription in honour of DEMETRIUS AUTOBULUS, A PLATONIC PHILOSOPHER, BY FLAVIUS AUTOBULUS, HIS MATERNAL GRANDSON.

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟ  
ΦΟΝ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥ  
ΛΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΠΟΝ

CHAP. V. An inscription found at *Smyrna* in honour of the Platonic philosopher *Theon*, is given by *Spon*, in his *Miscellanea*<sup>1</sup>.

Following the aqueduct towards the *theatre*, we found, upon the right hand, a subterraneous passage, extending towards the *theatre*, and perhaps passing under it. The entrance is like that of a *well*, lined with antient tiles: the whole being closed, and covered with masonry. At the entrance there are two inscriptions, beautifully cut; but a part of one of them alone is legible, belonging to a metrical composition.

..... ΑΝΔΡΕΣΣΙΧΑΡΩΝΔΑ  
ΑΙΧΑΝΟΡΚΑΙΦΙΣΟΔΟΡΩΠ  
ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΕΜΩ

The well at the entrance is about twelve feet in depth. Having descended to the bottom, we found an arched opening, offering a passage towards the w.n.w. but immediately afterwards inclining towards w.s.w. Proceeding along the vaulted passage, to the distance of

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(1) *Eruditæ Antiquitatis Miscell.* Sect. iv. p. 135. *Lugd.* 1685.

ΘΕΩΝΑΠΛΑΤΩΝΙ  
ΚΟΝ . ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ  
ΟΙΕΡΕΤΣ . ΘΕΩΝ  
ΤΟΝ . ΠΑΤΕΡΑ

one hundred and fifty paces, we came to the mountain where the *Coilon* of the *Theatre* has been hewn. The source of the *fountain* is upon the *north-western* side of it; for by striking the ground there, a cavity may be observed. The vaulted roof of this subterraneous passage, once undoubtedly an aqueduct, is formed with antient tiles; and the workmanship at the source of the *fountain* is of the same nature.

CHAP.  
V.

We next visited the THEATRE, perhaps one of the most antient in *Greece*, and one of the most entire now remaining. It faces the N. N. E. towards a village called *Karamsa*, situate on the other side of the plain, at the base of the opposite mountains. The *Coilon* is now in as perfect a state as when it was first formed: it is hollowed in the rock, above the *ruined edifice*, before mentioned, and the *fountain*; to the s. s. w. of the latter. Nothing is wanted in this part of the *Theatre*, but the marble covering for the seats. They are only twelve inches high, and seventeen inches and a half wide: sufficient space is therefore hardly allowed for the feet of the spectators. The magnificent theatre constructed by *Polycletus* in *Epidauria*<sup>2</sup>, contains a space eighteen inches

*Theatre.*

(2) See the former Volume of this work, p. 417.

CHAP. V. wide behind each row of seats, for the feet of the spectators; besides fourteen inches in front, for the stone benches; making a total of two feet eight inches for the width of every seat. The *Proscenium* of, this Theatre, at *Chæronéa*, still remains: it is forty-eight paces in width.

*Acropolis.* The ACROPOLIS is above the *Theatre*: the road leading to it is cut in the side of the rock. Like the *Acro-Corinthus*, it covers the top of a lofty precipice. This precipice is mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>; and yet it is remarkable, that neither this writer, nor *Strabo*<sup>2</sup>, who also notices the city, make any mention of the *Theatre*. “Above the city,” says *Pausanias*<sup>3</sup>, “is a precipice called PETRACHUS.” Here was preserved a small image of *Jupiter*<sup>4</sup>. The very antient walls of this citadel yet remain all around the summit, flanking the edges of the craggy precipice: they are of massive but regular workmanship, and offer an astonishing monument of the perseverance and enterprising labours of the antient inhabitants.

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(1) *Bœotica*, p. 793. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) *Strabonis Geog.* lib. ix. p. 600. ed. *Oxon.*

(3) Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πιτραχὸς καλούμενος. *Paus. Bœot.* c. 41. p. 797.

(4) *Ibid.*

*Chæronéa* was not the original name of this city<sup>5</sup>; it had more antiently been called ARNE: this appellation is given to it by *Homer*<sup>6</sup>. Its plain, celebrated by the poet for its fertility, became very memorable for the battles that were here fought;—for the defeat of the *Athenians* by the *Bœotians*, in the *fifth* century before Christ; for the victory obtained by *Philip* over the allied armies of THEBES and ATHENS in the *fourth*; and for that which *Sylla* obtained over the forces of *Mithradates* in the *first*. At about an hour's distance from the village, a most conspicuous *tomb*, remarkable for its size and elevation, still remains, an everlasting monument of the ensanguined field, resembling the Tomb of the *Athenians* in the Plain of *Marathon*. It is very distinctly mentioned by *Pausanias*: he says it was raised over those *Thebans* who fell in the engagement against *Philip*<sup>7</sup>. This tomb is now called *Mangoola*. When viewed at the *eastern* extremity of the plain by a person going from *Lehadéa* to the village of *Romaike*, in the road to *Orchomenus*, it is seen to the greatest

CHAP.  
V.

Battle of  
*Chæronéa*.

Tomb of  
the *The-*  
*bans*.

(5) Ἐκαλιῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ τούτοις Ἄρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον. *Ibid.* c. 40. p. 795.

(6) Οἳ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον. *Iliad.* B. 507.

(7) Προσίονταν δὲ τῇ πόλει, πολυάνδριον Θεβαίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀγῶνι ἀποθανόντων. *Pausan. Bœot.* c. 40. p. 795.



CHAP. V. advantage, being then backed by *Parnassus*, and in a line with its summit, standing close to its base. A *Pasha* called *Hachi*, passing this way, hoisted upon it the *Turkish* standard;—the only circumstance related concerning it by the present inhabitants.

Sceptre of  
*Agamem-*  
*non.*

CHÆRONÉA was the birth-place of *Plutarch*: its other *memorabilia* were few in number. The famous *sceptre of Agamemnon*, celebrated by *Homer* as that which was made by *Vulcan* for *Jupiter*, had been regularly transmitted, by the hands of *Hermes*, *Pelops*, *Atreus*, and *Thyestes*, to the *Argive* king, and was here preserved in the time of *Pausanias*. The *Chæronéans* paid to it divine honours; holding it in greater veneration than any of their idols<sup>1</sup>. It seems to have been held among them after the manner of a mace in corporation towns; for the same author relates, that they did not keep it in any temple prepared for its reception, but that it was annually brought forth with appropriate ceremonies, being honoured by daily sacrifices; and a sort of mayor's feast seems to have been provided for the occasion; a table covered with all sorts of eatables being then set forth.

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(1) *Pausan. Bœot. c. 40. p. 795.*

In the church of this village we found, at the altar, four beautiful granite columns, each column of one entire piece. The altar itself is an antient pedestal of blue-and-white marble, four feet four inches in length, and four feet wide. Close to this altar, on the left hand, we observed a beautiful capital of a *Corinthian* pillar, measuring two feet six inches square at the top, of that antient style of the *Corinthian* which we lately described in the account of the antiquities of *Thebes*: but this is the most valuable specimen of it we have any where seen; the workmanship being exquisitely fine, and the marble uninjured. In the sanctuary of the same church, upon the right hand of the altar, we also saw the marble THYMELE of the *Chæronéans*; a magnificent *antique chair* finely sculptured, and hewn out of a single block. It was brought, in all probability, from the *Theatre*: and will add another example to those already mentioned<sup>2</sup>, proving the real nature of the *Λογείον*, or *Θυμέλη*, and the frequent recurrence of a *Cathedra* of this kind either within or near to the remains of the *Grecian* theatres: it is also remarkable that the *Greek* peasants upon the spot call it *Θρόνος*. The church itself, as a

CHAP.  
V.

Antiquities  
at the  
Church of  
*Capraná*.

Marble  
Cathedra.

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(2) See the former Volume, p. 400.

CHAP. V. *receptacle of precious relics from the ruins of Chæronæa, has tended to the preservation of some of them, but to the destruction of others; the most valuable antiquities having been used as common building materials. A very hard kind of marble, of a blue-and-white colour, is particularly prevalent among the remains of this city. Within the church we noticed, in the wall, five inscriptions upon one marble pedestal. The writing appeared to have been added at different times, because the characters were not all equally well cut. These inscriptions were at too great a height to be legible from the floor of the church; but by placing a ladder against the wall, the author, with some difficulty, made the following copy of the whole.*

Five In-  
scriptions  
upon one  
Tablet.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΜΜΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΥΝ . . . ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ  
ΟΜΟΛΩΙΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΗ ΔΕΞΙΟ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΑΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΟΘΗΡ . .  
ΣΑΜΜΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΔΟΥΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΙΟΥ . . .  
ΤΑΣΙΔΙΑΣ ΔΟΥΛΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΚΑΙ ΠΤΘΙΝ ΠΑΝΟΥ ΜΕΓΩΝΟΣ . . ΣΥΝΕΥΑΡΕΣΡ . . .  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΔΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΝ ΩΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΟΡΙΠΤΟΝ  
ΝΟΜΑΝΙΚΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΩΣ ΕΡΑΠΙΔΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΩΣ ΕΡΑΠΕΙΝ . . ΗΠ . .  
ΜΙΝ ΑΝΤΑΣ ΔΕΞΙ ΠΑΕΤΒΟΥ ΛΟΥΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΚΟΝΤΑΝ ΗΘΕΝΙ ΜΗΘΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΘΕΣ  
ΣΙΝ ΜΑΜΜΗ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΑΥ . ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΗΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΥΝΕΔΗΘΥΚΑ  
ΤΗΣ ΚΡΟΝΟΝ ΑΝΕΝ ΚΛΗΤΩΣ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΓΕΝ . Α ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ . . . . .  
ΝΗΘΕΝ ΤΑ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΝΨΩΤΗΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΚΟΜΕΝΕΙΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΗ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΚΡΟΝΩΕΣ ΤΩΣ ΑΝΣΟΔΩΡΑ ΚΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΗ . . ΠΑΤΡΟ  
ΔΟΥΛΑ ΔΕΞΙ ΠΠΑΣΤΗΣ ΑΘΑΝΙΟΥ ΚΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΦΗΣΙΓΗ . . ΙΔΙΑΝ ΔΟΥΛΗΝ ΕΥ . .  
ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΝ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΗΔΙΑ ΙΕΡΑΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΕΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΣ  
ΤΟΥΣ ΤΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

[The Letters in this Column well cut.]

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ Α  
 ΛΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΗΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΙΑΓΑΘΟ  
 ΚΛΗΣΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΤΟΥΣ  
 ΙΔΙΟΥΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ ΣΩΣΙΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΕΙΜΩΝΑΙ ΕΡΩΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΑΠΙ  
 ΔΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΕΝ  
 ΚΛΗΤΩΣ ΕΑΤΩΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥ  
 ΝΑΙ ΚΙΜΟΥ ΒΟΥΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑ  
 ΘΕΣΙΝ ΠΙΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ  
 ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

[The Letters in this Column barbarously cut.]

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΗ  
 ΜΙΛΩΝΙ ΠΠΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΔΗΜΑΚΙΧΕΥ  
 ΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΕΑΣ ΙΝΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΔΟΥΛΙ  
 ΚΑΚΟΡΑΣΙΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΣ  
 ΤΑΝΙΕΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΑΠΕΙΜΗΘΕΝΙΜΗΘΕΝ  
 ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΑΣ ΠΕΡΑΜΕΝΑΣΑΣ ΔΕ ΜΙ  
 ΛΩΝΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΛΕΜΑΧΙ ΔΙΕΚΑΙ ΕΡΟΝΕΩΣ  
 ΑΝΣΩΣΙΝΑΝ ΕΙΚΛΗΤΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕ  
 ΣΙΝ ΠΙΟΙΟΥ .Ι. ΛΟΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

[In the two following Inscriptions, the Letters were well cut.]

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΛΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΗΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΗ  
 ΑΛΕΞΩΝ ΠΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΔΟΥΛΗΝ ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΑΝ  
 ΙΕΡΑΝ ΤΩΣ ΑΡΑΠΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΣ ΑΝΕΑΡΤΩΑΝ ΕΝΚΛΗΤΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ  
 ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΝ ΠΙΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΦΙΣΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΒΟΥΚΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΙΚΡΑΤΩΝ ΑΜΙΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
 ΕΥΓΙΤΑΝΙΚΑΡΕΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΟΥ ΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΕΑΣ ΙΝΤΟ  
 ΔΟΥΛΙΚΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΑΣΙΟΝ ΣΩΣΙΧΑΝΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΩΣ ΕΡΑΠΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΙΝΑΝ  
 ΚΡΑΤΩΝΙΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΙΤΑΕΩΣ ΑΝΖΩΣΙΝΑΝ ΕΝΚΛΗΤΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΝ ΠΙΟΙ  
 ΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ

They have been here printed so as to correspond with their appearance upon the marble; for they all relate to the same subject, namely, the dedication of a slave to the God SERAPIS: the translation of one of them will therefore be sufficient; and for this purpose we shall select the *fourth*, because the legend is there perfect;

CHAP. and the letters in the *fourth* and *fifth* were better  
 V. graven, and more legible, than in the *three*  
 preceding inscriptions.

“ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH ALALCOMENIUS  
 (*October*), PHILOXENUS BEING ARCHON, ALEXON, THE SON  
 OF RHODON, DEDICATES HIS OWN SLAVE DIONYSIA, AS  
 SACRED TO THE GOD SERAPIS, HAVING REMAINED BLAME-  
 LESS WITH HIM, ALL HER LIFE. HE MAKING THE DEDICA-  
 TION THROUGH THE COUNCIL, ACCORDING TO THE LAW.”

In the *fifth* and last inscription, the dedication  
 of the slave is made in the month BUCATIUS  
 (*January*<sup>1</sup>), “THE SONS OF CRATON AND EUGITA  
 CONSENTING THERETO.”

In the evening we returned, by the same road,  
 again to *Lebadéa*, and had a fine prospect of the  
 town. About half an hour's distance from it,  
 there is a fountain. The stream which we crossed  
 before, in the morning, by a bridge, is not  
 the *Hercyna*, but one of its branches: this river  
 becomes divided, and distributes itself into

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(1) For the order of the *Bæotian months*, the Reader is referred to Mr. WALPOLE's Notes upon some of the Inscriptions we found afterwards at ORCHOMENUS. The word ΜΕΝΟΣ Mr. *Walpole* thinks should be written ΜΕΙΝΟΣ, the *Bæotians* using EI for H: but we have thought it right to print our copy as it was made from the original, believing it to be written ΜΕΝΟΣ, and ΜΗΝΟΣ, upon the Marble. “In the *Acharnenses* of *Aristophanes* (it is observed by Mr. *Walpole*) the *Bæotian* says Θι'εαθι. See the passage from *Eustathius*, cited by *Brunck*, on v. 867 of that play.”

several small channels, whereby it is rendered very beneficial to the inhabitants, in watering a number of gardens and cotton-grounds.

CHAP.

V.

On *Friday, December the eleventh*, we set out for ORCHOMENUS; proceeding first to the village of *Romaiho*, bearing N. N. E. distant one hour and three quarters from *Lebadéa*. At the church here we saw the most remarkable *bas-relief* which exists in all *Greece*, whether we regard the great antiquity of the workmanship, or the very remarkable nature of the subject represented. It is executed upon a mass of the blue-and-white marble common in the country, and which frequently occurs among the ruins of *Chæronéa*: its length is six feet six inches; its width two feet. The subject represents an aged figure, of the size of life, with a straight beard, in a cloak, leaning with his left arm upon a knotted staff, and offering with his right hand a *locust* to a *greyhound*; who is rising upon his hinder feet, and stretching himself out, to receive it. Whether this figure be intended to represent *Hercules* with the *dog of Hades*, as mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>2</sup>, or the shepherd *Hesiod*, whose *tomb* existed

Visit to a  
Village  
called  
*Romaiho*.

Remarkable  
Bas-relief.

(2) Ἐσταῦθα δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ λίγουσι ἀναβῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλῆα ἄγοντα τοῦ ἄδου τὸν κύνα. *Paus. Bœotic. c. 34. p. 779. ed. Kühnii.*

CHAP. in the neighbourhood, others may determine.

V.

Owing to the age of the person represented, it does not seem probable that any allusion was here made to the superstitions respecting *Actæon* which existed among the *Orchomenians*<sup>1</sup>. PAUSANIAS, by whom they are noticed, also relates that there was a *Temple of Hercules*, containing an image of the Deity<sup>2</sup>, at the distance of *seven stadia* from ORCHOMENUS, near the sources of the *Melas*, a small river which fell into the Lake *Cephissis*. The figure here exhibited has upon his head the old scull-cap now called *Fez* by the *Greeks* and *Albanians*<sup>3</sup>; but this cap, as a part of the antient costume, is of such high antiquity, that we find it worn by *Mercury*, as he is represented upon the oldest silver medals of ÆNOS in *Thrace*. The style of the sculpture is *Græco-Etruscan*, and perhaps it may be considered as one of the earliest specimens of the art: the hands of the figure, and the dog, are well executed, but the rest is rude and angular. We have

(1) Περὶ δὲ Ἀκταίωνος λεγόμενα, κ. τ. λ. Pausan. *Bœotic*. c. 38. p. 787.

(2) Σταδίου δὲ ἀφίστηκεν ἑπτά Ὀρχομενοῦ ναὸς τε Ἡρακλείου, καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐ μίγα. Ἰσταῦθα τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μίλανός εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

(3) The sketch from which an engraving has been made for this work cannot pretend to accuracy; it was almost made from memory: but the original has lately excited considerable curiosity; and as no delineation of it has hitherto been published, it was thought that this might assist a description of it, until some more faithful representation shall appear.

since heard that there is an *inscription* below the feet of the figure, but we were never able to procure a copy of it: this, if faithfully transcribed, so as to exhibit a fac-simile of the characters, might enable us to determine the age of the workmanship; but we have no hesitation in saying, without having seen the *inscription*, that it will be found to belong to that period of the art of sculpture in *Greece*, alluded to by QUINTILIAN, when a resemblance to the style of the *Etruscans* characterized the works of the *Grecian* artists<sup>4</sup>. This is further denoted by the great length of the body and limbs, and a certain simplicity in the manner of the execution, easier to recognise than to describe. There is a cavity in the head of the figure, as if a gem, or a piece of metal, had been originally introduced into that part of the sculpture. The peasants relate that they found this *bas-relief* in the river, near to the spot where it is now placed. It was probably intended to close the entrance to some sepulchre.

CHAP.  
V.

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(4) "Duriora, et Thuscanicis proxima *Calon*, atque *Egesias*, jam minus rigida *Calamis*, molliora adhuc supra dictis *Myron* fecit." *Quintilian. Institut. Orat. lib. xii. c. 10.* See also *Winkelmann, Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, tom. I. p. 315. à Paris, An 2 de la République.*



## CHAP.

## V.

Visit to  
*Screpú.*

River  
*Melas.*

Ruins of  
ORCHOME-  
NUS.

Hence we continued our excursion through vineyards as old as the time of *Homer*<sup>1</sup>, and watery lands, to another village called *Screpú*. Just before our arrival, we crossed a bridge over a river, called *Black Water* by the inhabitants (*Mauronero*). The river MELAS may therefore be here recognised, retaining something of its antient appellation<sup>2</sup>. According to *Strabo*, it flowed between ORCHOMENUS and ASPLEDON<sup>3</sup>. Before passing the bridge, we saw towards our right, at a short distance in the plain, a large *tumulus*. When upon the bridge, this tomb is directly in front of the spectator. Near the bridge are the remains of an antient paved road. That *Screpú* is situate in the midst of the ruins of ORCHOMENUS, will plainly appear by the *inscriptions* we found upon the spot. Indeed, these *inscriptions* had been noticed by *Meletius*; but we had never seen his work; nor would it have rendered us any service; for it might have induced us to forego the very great fatigue it

(1) Vid. *Iliad.* B. 507.

(2) Its sources were distant only *seven stadia* from ORCHOMENUS. Vid. *Pausan.* in *Bœot.* c. 38. p. 787. ed. *Kuhn.*

(3) "Ὁ Μίλας ποταμός. De hoc flumine multa scitu digna." *Plutarchus* in *Sylla*, p. 465. tom. I. edit. *F. Furt.* Vid. *Annot. Casaubon.* in *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.* p. 603. ed. *Ozon.*

was necessary to encounter, in making a faithful transcript from the marbles; whence it will be manifest that his copies of the *Orchomenian inscriptions* are full of inaccuracies. With regard to the *Tumulus* near *Screpú*, as this is *one of two* remarkable *tombs* mentioned by PAUSANIAS<sup>4</sup>, and as his description of the other connects it with the *Treasury of Minyas* (concerning whose situation there can be little doubt to a person upon the spot), perhaps we shall not err if we consider this to be the identical mound heaped over the bones of HESIOD, when the *Orchomenians* removed them from the territory of *Naupactus*<sup>5</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.

Tomb of  
Hesiod.

We were conducted, upon our arrival at *Screpú*, to a Monastery. In the wall of this building we found three inscriptions upon one tablet; and of these, the two first relate to a sum of money which had been paid by the *Lord of the Treasury*<sup>6</sup> to *Eubulus*, in the archonship of *Thynarchus*; and the bonds, which are kept in the hands of some people of *Phocis* and *Chæronéa*, whose names are mentioned, are cancelled<sup>7</sup>. With regard to the *third* inscription, remarkable

Archæic  
Inscriptions.

(4) Vid. *Paus. ibid.* pp. 786, 787.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) “*Ταμίης, præfectus ærarii.*” *Walpole’s MS. Note.*

(7) “*Ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὴν συγγραφήν, sygrapham irritam facere, ἄκυρον ποιεῖν.*” *Budæus. Walpole MS. Note.*

CHAP. V. for the distinction of dialect in which *Orchomenus* is written *Erchomenus*, as also for the recurrence of the *digamma*, the Reader is referred to the Notes subjoined; first, for the observations of Mr. WALPOLE upon the copy of it which the author made upon the spot'; secondly, for those of another learned *Hellenist*, the Rev. P. P. DOBREE, of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, after comparing this copy with the original, now in the *British Museum*: and that its meaning may be more readily apprehended, a mark has been placed at the termination of every word.

First In-  
scription.

ΘΥΝΑΡΧΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΘΕΙ  
ΛΟΥΘΙΩΑΓΧΙΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΙΛΟΤΑΜΙ  
ΑΣΕΥΒΩΛΥΑΡΧΕΔΑΜΩΦΩΚΕΙΙΧΗ  
ΟΣΑΠΕΔΩΚΑΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΟΥΓΓΡΑΦΩ  
ΠΕΔΑΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΩΝΚΗΤΩΝ  
ΚΑΤΟΠΤΑΩΝΑΝΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΑΣ  
ΣΟΥΓΓΡΑΦΩΣΤΑΣΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΣΠΑΡΕΥ  
ΦΡΟΝΑΚΗΦΙΔΙΑΝΚΗΠΑΣΙΚΛΕΙΝ  
ΚΗΤΙΜΟΜΕΙΛΟΝΦΩΚΕΙΑΣΚΗΔΑΜΟ  
ΤΕΛΕΙΝΛΥΣΙΔΑΜΩΚΗΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΝ  
ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΩΧΗΡΩΝΕΙΑΚΑΤΤΟΥΑ  
ΦΙΣΜΑΤΩΔΑΜΩΜΨΥΓΕΤ▷ΙΙΙ

(1) " Upon a silver medal of *Orchomenus*, once in my possession, were the letters EPX. This change of O into E, says a Grammarian in *Eustathius*, is Dorian: *ιστίον δὲ ὅτι τὸ Ἄργιφόντης, καθὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνδριφόντης*

ΘΥΝΑΡΧΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΟΣΑΛΛΑ  
 ΚΟΜΕΝΙΩΦΑΡΝΩΝΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ  
 ΤΑΜΙΑΣΑΓΕΔΩΚΕΕΥΒΩΛΥΑΡΧΕ  
 ΔΑΜΩΦΩΚΕΙΙΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΟΥΓΓΡΑ  
 ΦΩΤΟΚΑΤΑΛΥΠΟΝΚΑΤΤΟΨΑΦΙΣΜΑ  
 ΤΩΔΑΜΩΑΝΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΑΣΣΟΥΓ  
 ΓΡΑΦΩΣΤΑΣΚΙΜΕΝΑΣΠΑΡΣΩΦΙ  
 ΛΟΝΚΗΕΥΦΡΟΝΑΦΩΚΕΙΑΣΚΗΓΑΡ  
 ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΝΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΩΧΗΡΩΝΕΙ  
 ΑΚΗΛΥΣΙΔΑΜΟΝΔΑΜΟΤΕΛΙΟΣΓΕ  
 ΔΑΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΩΝΚΗΤΩΝΚΑΤΟ  
 ΠΤΑΩΝΦΙΠΕ Η Ε ΓΕ Δ Δ Ι Ι Ο Η

CHAP.  
 V.  
 Second In-  
 scription.

ἀνδρεφόντες δωρικά εἰσιν. ad II. β. p. 183. And as the Æolic was used in Bœotia, (Paus. Bœot. Strabo, lib. ix. Salm. de Hellen. 417.) we have in these inscriptions ου for υ, as in σουγγραφή, η for αι, and υ for ω, as in the fragment of another inscription found at Orchomenus, δεδόχθη τυ δαμυ. Μεις (see v. 1.) occurs in Homer, II. τ. 117. where the Scholiast observes that the form is Æolic. The Bœotian, in the Acharnenses, uses Θείβαθι. (See also *Etymol. Mag.* 583. 4.)

“The inscriptions of Orchomenus give the names of some of the Bœotian months, one only of which had been hitherto found on any marble. (See *Muratori*, i. 140.) In the ancient authors no more than seven have been met with; but from these inscriptions we are able to add another, *Theluthius*, which was also in use at *Delphi*. (See *Corsini Fast. Att.* p. 442.) The following list shews the correspondence of some *Bœotian* months with the *Attic*.

| “ Bœotian :                | Attic :       |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Bucatius . . . . .      | Gamelion.     |
| 2. Hermæus . . . . .       | Anthesterion. |
| 3. Prostaterius . . . . .  | Elaphebolion. |
| 4. - - - - -               | - - - - -     |
| 5. - - - - -               | - - - - -     |
| 6. - - - - -               | - - - - -     |
| 7. Hippodromius . . . . .  | Hecatombæon.  |
| 8. Panemus . . . . .       | Metagitnion.  |
| 9. - - - - -               | - - - - -     |
| 10. Alalcomenius . . . . . | Maimacterion. |
| 11. Damatrius . . . . .    | Pyanepsion.   |
| 12. - - - - -              | - - - - -     |

“ Line

- CHAP. V.  
 Third In-  
 scription.
- ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, ΕΝ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΥ, ΘΥΝΑΡΧΩ, ΜΕΙ  
 ΝΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑΚΟΜΕΝΙΩ, ΕΝ, ΔΕ, ΦΕΛΑΤΗ, ΜΕ  
 ΝΟΙΤΑΟ, ΑΡΧΕΛΑΩ, ΜΕΙΝΟΣ, ΠΡΑΤΩ, ΟΜΟ  
 ΛΟΓΑ, ΕΥΒΩΛΥ, ΦΕΛΑΤΗΥ, ΚΗ, ΤΗ, ΠΟΛΙ, ΕΡ  
 5. ΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ, ΕΠΙΔΕΙ, ΚΕΚΟΜΙΣΤΗ, ΕΥΒΩ  
 ΛΟΣ, ΠΑΡ, ΤΑΣ, ΠΟΛΙΟΣ, ΤΟ, ΔΑΝΕΙΟΝ, ΑΠΑΝ,  
 ΚΑΤ, ΤΑΣ, ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ, ΤΑΣ, ΤΕΘΕΙΣΑΣ, ΘΥ  
 ΝΑΡΧΩ, ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, ΜΕΙΝΟΣ, ΘΕΙΛΟΥΘΙΩ,  
 ΚΗ, ΟΥΤ, ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΗ, ΑΥΤΥ, ΕΤΙ, ΟΥΘΕΝ, ΠΑΡ, ΤΑΝ,  
 10. ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΑΛΛ, ΑΠΕΧΙ, ΠΑΝΤΑ, ΠΕΡΙ, ΠΑΝΤΟΣ,  
 ΚΗ, ΑΠΟΔΕΔΟΑΝΘΙ, ΤΗ, ΠΟΛΙ, ΤΥ, ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ,  
 ΤΑΣ, ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ, ΕΙΜΕΝ, ΠΟΤΙ, ΔΕΔΟΜΕ  
 ΝΟΝ, ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, ΕΥΒΩΛΥ, ΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΑΣ, ΦΕΤΙΑ,  
 ΠΕΤΤΑΡΑ, ΒΟΥΕΣΣΙ, ΣΟΥΝ, ΙΠΠΥΣ, ΔΙΑΚΑ  
 15. ΤΙΗΣ, ΦΙΚΑΤΙ, ΠΡΟΒΑΤΥΣ, ΣΟΥΝ, ΗΓΥΣ, ΧΕΙ  
 ΛΙΗΣ, ΑΡΧΙ, ΤΩ, ΧΡΟΝΩ, Ο, ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ, Ο, ΜΕΤΑ,

“Line 4. ΦΕΛΑΤΗΥ, ‘civi Velateæ.’—The τ is used for the ω, as in ΕΥΒΩΛΥ.

— 9. Ούθιν was written by the Æolians for οὐθίν; see Eustat. on Odys. σ. p. 1841.

—11. The latter part of the line, in common Greek, would be τῆ πόλι τοι ἔχοντες for οἱ ἔ. τ for οἱ is to be found in an inscription discovered in Βαοτία, in which we have seen Φυχίας for οἰκίας.

—13. ἰπινομίας, ‘right of pasture.’

—14. From the Æolic word πίσταρα for τίσσαρα, came, according to Menage, the Oscan word petorritum, a four-wheeled carriage. *Juris Civilis Amœnitat.* p. 7.

—16. Here, in the enumeration of cattle, we have the word ΦΙΚΑΤΙ. ΒΕΙΚΑΤΙ, for ἰπποσι. (See Hesych.) In the Heracleian inscriptions, Γείκατι. From this form comes the V in the Latin ‘Viginti.’ ΔΙΑΚΑΤΙΗΣ, ‘two hundred.’

ΘΥΝΑΡΧΟΝ, ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΥΣ, ΑΠΟ  
 ΓΡΑΦΕΣΘΗ, ΔΕ, ΕΥΒΩΛΟΝ, ΚΑΤ, ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ,  
 ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ, ΠΑΡ, ΤΟΝ, ΤΑΜΙΑΝ, ΚΗ, ΤΟΝ, ΝΟΜΩ  
 20. ΝΑΝ, ΤΑ, ΤΕ, ΚΑΥΜΑΤΑ, ΤΩΝ, ΠΡΟΒΑΤΩΝ, ΚΗ,  
 ΤΑΝ, ΗΓΩΝ, ΚΗ, ΤΑΝ, ΒΟΥΩΝ, ΚΗ, ΤΑΝ, ΙΠΠΩΝ, Κ  
 ΚΑΤΙΝΑ, ΑΣΑΜΑ, ΙΩΝΘΙ, ΚΗ, ΤΟ, ΠΛΕΙΘΟΣ, ΜΕ  
 ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΣΘΩ, ΔΕ, ΠΛΙΟΝΑ, ΤΩΝ, ΓΕΓΡΑΜ  
 ΜΕΝΩΝ, ΕΝ, ΤΗ, ΣΟΥΓΧΩΡΕΙΣΙ, Η, ΔΕ, ΚΑ, ΤΙΣ  
 25 . . . . . Η ΤΟ, ΕΝΝΟΜΙΟΝ, ΕΥΒΩΛΟΝ, ΟΦΕΙΛ  
 . . . . . ΛΙΣ, ΤΩΝ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ, ΑΡΓΟΥΡΙΩ,  
 . . . . . ΠΕΤΤΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΕΥΒΩΛΥ, ΚΑΘ, ΕΚΑ  
 . . . . . ΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ, ΚΗ, ΤΟΚΟΝ, ΦΕΡΕΤΩ, ΔΡΑ.  
 . . . . . ΤΑΣ, ΜΝΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣΤΑΣ, ΚΑΤΑ, ΜΕΙΝΑ,  
 30. . . . . ΤΟΝ, ΚΗ, ΕΜΠΡΑΚΤΟΣ, ΕΣΤΟ, ΕΥΒ . . .  
 . . . . . ΤΟΝ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΟΝ

"Line 21. A letter is wanting at the end of this line in the marble;  
 perhaps H."

WALPOLE'S MS. Note.

Upon this Inscription, Mr. Dobree remarks: "I would read,

21. ΚΗ or ΚΗ, Η

22. ΜΕΙ

24. ΕΝ, ΤΗ, ΣΟΥΓΧΩΡΕΙΣΙ, Η, ΔΕ, ΚΑ, ΤΙΣ

25. ΕΜΠΡΑΤΤΗ, ΤΟ, ΕΝΝΟΜΙΟΝ, ΕΥΒΩΛΟΝ, ΟΦΕΙΛ-

26. ΕΤΩ, Α, ΠΟΛΙΣ, ΤΩΝ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ, ΑΡΓΟΥΡΙΩ

27. ΜΝΑΣ, ΠΕΤΤΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΕΥΒΩΛΥ, ΚΑΘ, ΕΚΑΣ-

28. ΤΟΝ, ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ, ΚΗ, ΤΟΚΟΝ, ΦΕΡΕΤΩ, ΔΡΑΧ-

29. ΜΑΣ . . . ΤΑΣ, ΜΝΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣΤΑΣ, ΚΑΤΑ, ΜΕΙΝΑ

30. ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ, ΚΗ, ΕΜΠΡΑΚΤΟΣ, ΕΣΤΩ, ΕΥΒΩΛΥ

31. ΚΑΤ, ΤΩΣ, ΤΩΝ, ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ, ΝΟΜΩΣ.

CHAP. V. In this monastery is the *well* or *fountain* mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>; and there are, besides,

(1) *Bœotica*, c. 38. p. 786. ed. Kühnii.

“ And I understand the whole Inscription thus :

1. Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ Ἐπιτάκτου, μη-
2. νὸς Ἀλαλκομενίου, ἐν δὲ Ἐλατεία Με-
3. νοίτου Ἀρχελάου, μηνὸς πρώτου Ὀμο-
4. λογία Εὐβούλῳ Ἐλατειαίῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει Ὀρ-
5. χομενίων. Ἐπειδὴ κεκόμισται Εὐβου-
6. λος παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν
7. κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας τὰς τεθείσας Ἐπι-
8. τάκτου Ἄρχοντος μηνὸς Θειλουθίου,
9. καὶ οὐκ (ρη.) ὀφείλεται αὐτῷ ἔτι οὐδὲν παρὰ τὴν
10. πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει πάντα περὶ παντός,
11. καὶ ἀποδεδώκασιν τῇ πόλει οἱ ἔχοντες
12. τὰς ὁμολογίας· εἶναι πρὸς δεδομέ-
13. νον χρόνον Εὐβούλῳ ἐπινομίας, ἔτη
14. τέτταρα, βουσί σὺν ἵπποις διηκο-
15. σίαις εἴκοσι, προβάτοις σὺν αἰξὶ χι-
16. λίασι. Ἄρχει τοῦ χρόνου ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ὁ μετὰ
17. Ἐπιτάκτου Ἄρχοντα Ὀρχομενίοις. Ἀπο-
18. γραφῆσθαι δὲ Εὐβουλον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
19. ἕκαστον παρὰ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν νομώ-
20. νην τὰ τε κτήνη τῶν προβάτων καὶ
21. τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων, κἄν
22. τινα ἄσημα ᾖσι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος· μὴ
23. ἀπογραφῆσθω δὲ πλείονα τῶν γεγραμ-
24. μένων ἐν τῇ συγχωρήσει. Ἐὰν δέ τις
25. ἐμπράττῃ τὸ ἐνόμιον Εὐβουλον, ὀφειλ-
26. ἔτω ἢ πόλις τῶν Ὀρχομενίων ἀργυρίου
27. μνᾶς τετταράκοντα Εὐβούλῳ καθ' ἕκα-
28. στον ἐνιαυτὸν· καὶ τόκον φερέτω δραχ-
29. μὰς . . . . τῆς μνᾶς ἐκάστης κατὰ μῆνα
30. ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐμπρακτος ἔστω Εὐβούλῳ
31. κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ὀρχομενίων νόμους.

“ The

two antient wells remaining in the village. Almost every thing belonging to ORCHOMENUS remains as *Pausanias* found it in the *second* century. It was evidently then in ruins, for he

CHAP.  
V.

“ The three Inscriptions relate to the same transaction. Eubulus lends the Orchomenians a sum of money, which is partly repaid in the month *Theuthius*. The old writings in the hands of Euphron, &c. are then cancelled, (see Inscr. 1.) and new ones made out, (see Inscr. 3. 1. 7.) and deposited with Sophilus, &c. (see Inscr. 2.) These again are cancelled in the month *Alalcomenius*, on condition that Eubulus shall have a right of common. The second and third Inscriptions act as counter-vouchers; the one being a public record of Eubulus’s receipt; and the other, of the right granted him.

“ Inscr. 3. 1. 13. I put a comma after *ἱπινομίας*. ‘*Let Eubulus have a right of pasturage for a given time; that is to say, the right of grazing, for four years, 220 head of cattle, including horses, and 1000 sheep, including goats;*’ i.e. a horse to reckon as an ox, and a goat as a sheep.

“ *L. 19.* *Νομώνης* is the contractor who farms the public pasture-land. Thus *τελώνης, ἰργώνης*, (Chandler’s *Marm. Ox. XLIX.*) &c. Eubulus enters his cattle at the offices of the Treasurer and of the Contractor, that their accounts may check each other.

“ *L. 20.* *Καῦμα*, or *ἴγκαυμα*, is a burnt-in mark. See Scaliger on Varro de *L.L.* p. 107. ed. 1619; and the Notes on Hesychius, *vv. κοππαρίας* et *τρυσίππιον*. Eubulus is to register, 1. the marks of his cattle, horses, &c. specifying any that may be unmarked; 2. the number of each sort.

“ *L. 22.* *Ἰωνθε* is for *Ἰωσι* (*ἰωσι*), I being put for E, as in *ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΙΟΝΤΟΣ* and *ΔΟΚΙΕΙ* in the 4th and 7th Orchomenian Inscriptions, and *ΙΩΣΑΣ* (*ΙΩΣΑΣ*) for *οὔσης* in one at Thebes, which Poccoke has given with his characteristic inaccuracy, p. 50. Read,

EIMEN FOI ΓΑΣ ΚΑΙ FOIKIA  
Σ ΕΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΛΙΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΣΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΓΓΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟ  
ΛΕΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΙΡΑΝΑΣ ΙΩΣΑΣ.

“ In



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notices the cause of its destruction<sup>1</sup>. Its most antient name was *MINYEDIA*; and its inhabitants were called *Minyceans* long after the name of the city was changed to *Orchomenus*. They are mentioned, under this appellation, in the verses that were inscribed upon the *Tomb of Hesiod*<sup>2</sup>. A colony from *Orchomenus* founded *Teos*. In the days of its prosperity it was

(1) *Bæot.* c. 38. p. 779. ed. *Kuhn.*

(2) *Ibid.* p. 787.

“ In another, lately found at *Oropus*, and of which I have been favoured with a copy :

4. . . . . ον κη εΣγονως κη ειμεν αυτος γας κη Φυκίας ΕΠΤΙΑ . . . . .

5. . . . . λιαν κη ασφαλειαν κη ασουλιαν κη πολεμω κη ιρανας . . . . .

6. . . . . α γαν κη κατα θαλατταν, &c.

“ In another, on the same slab,

7. κίας ΕΠΤΙΑΣΙΝ κη Φισο . . . . .

8. κη κατα γαν κη κατα θ . . . . .

9. ιωσας, &c.

“ The Reader will easily supply them from each other. The troublesome word ΕΠΙΑΣΙΝ or ΕΠΠΙΑΣΙΝ will shortly be either corrected or explained by a Scholar of the first eminence.

“ *L.* 27, 28. ΕΚΑ [ΣΤΟΝ Ε]ΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ. *Dr.* CLARKE.

“ First Inscr. lines 3, 4. The marble seems rather to have ΧΡΙΟΣ than ΧΗΟΣ. This was pointed out to me by one of the Gentlemen at the Museum. May it not be right, taking it for *χρέος* a debt?

“ In the seventh Orchomenian Inscription, read, lines 6 and 7, *ἴπως ἔχωνθι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ θύοντες Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ*. This is the preamble of a decree; as in one quoted by Demosthenes, c. *Timocr.* p. 446. ed. Paris. (708, Reiske.) *Τιμοκράτης εἶπεν· Ὅπως ἀν τὰ ἰσρὰ θύηταί τις.*”

Communicated by the Rev. P. P. DOBREE, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

distinguished, among all the cities of *Greece*, as one of the most illustrious and renowned<sup>3</sup>; and its opulence was such, as to render it, before the age of *Homer*<sup>4</sup>, the subject of a saying common in the country. *Strabo*, citing the poet's allusion to its riches, extols its wealth and power<sup>5</sup>. The *Graces* were said to have chosen *Orchomenus* for their place of residence, owing to a most antient *Hieron* founded by *Eteocles*, in which they were honoured with a peculiar veneration<sup>6</sup>; and on this account they were called *Eteocléan*, by *Theocritus*<sup>7</sup>. It is rather extraordinary, that in so many examples of allusion to *Orchomenus* as it is easy to adduce from different authors, no instance occurs where any notice has been taken of the *Charitesian Games* that were here celebrated in honour of the *Graces*. The *MINYEDIA*, indeed, are mentioned by the Scholiast upon *Pindar*<sup>8</sup>; and possibly they may have been the

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*Hieron of  
the Graces.*

(3) *Pausan. Bæot.* p. 779.

(4) Οὐδ' ὅς ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, κ. τ. λ. *Iliad.* i. ver. 381.

(5) Φαίνεται δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πλουσία τις γεγονῆα πόλις, καὶ δυναμὴν μέγα. *Strabon. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 601. ed. Oxon.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 601, 602.

(7) Ὡς Ἐτιόκλειος Χάριτες Θεαί, αἱ Μινύσιον

Ὀρχομενὸν φιλοῖσαι, κ. τ. λ. *Theocrit.* Idyll. xvi. ver. 104.

(8) *Pindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. I.* See also *Archæologia*, vol. I. p. 414. Lond. 1751.

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Inscriptions relating to the Charities Games.

same. The CHARITESIA attracted competitors from all parts of *Greece*; as we shall presently shew, by *inscriptions* commemorating victors at those solemnities. It was with much delight and satisfaction that we were admitted to such a *muster-roll*; for within the list we read the name of SOPHOCLES, SON OF SOPHOCLES THE ATHENIAN, who is recorded as having obtained the prize for his talent in TRAGEDY. He was a descendant of the famous *Greek* tragedian of the same name<sup>1</sup>. These *inscriptions* are within the church or chapel belonging to the monastery. There are two of them: they occur upon two long slabs of a dark colour, near the entrance; one being on either side of a sort of buttress facing the aisle. They are of no other utility in the structure than as common building materials, for which any other stones of the same size might be substituted. Our desire to obtain them for the University of *Cambridge* induced us to make an earnest solicitation for the purchase of them, to *Logotheti* the *Archon* of *Lebadéa*, who is the owner of the estate, and whose secretary

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(1) Σοφοκλῆς, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, καὶ λυρικός, ἀπόγονος τοῦ παλαιῦ. He flourished after the seven celebrated Tragedians. *Suidas*, tom. III. p. 350. ed. *Cantab.*

accompanied us during this day's excursion. The *Archon* insisted upon presenting them to us without payment; saying, that he was under great obligations to *Englishmen*, in being protected by their Government; and he promised to send them, with his next cargoes, to *Aspropiti*, where ships were freighted for *British* ports; to be forwarded to the University, for which alone we sought to obtain them:—but they have never arrived. Indeed a rumour prevails, that some more fortunate individual has since removed them, with other views: yet the author will not terminate this part of his narrative, concerning what it is almost his duty to state, without making a last effort, by humbly entreating their possessor, whosoever he may be, to dedicate those valuable relics to the general interests of Literature, either by depositing them in one of the Universities, or in the National Museum.

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The first inscription states, that “IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF MNASINUS, WHEN EUARES THE SON OF PANTON WAS PRESIDENT OF THE CHARITESIAN GAMES, THE FOLLOWING WERE CONQUERORS IN THOSE GAMES.” Their employments, names, and countries, are then subjoined:



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ΜΝΑΣΙΝΩΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΑΓΩΝΟ  
 ΘΕΤΙΟΝΤΟΣΤΩΝΧΑΡΙΤΕΙΣΙΩΝ  
 ΕΥΑΡΙΟΣΤΩΠΑΝΤΩΝΟΣΤΥΔΕ  
 ΕΝΙΚΩΣΑΝΤΑΧΑΡΙΤΕΙΣΙΑ  
 ΣΑΛΠΙΓΚΤΑΣ  
 ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣΦΙΛΙΝΩΘΑΝΕΙΟΣ  
 ΚΑΡΟΥΞ  
 ΕΙΡΩΔΑΣΣΩΚΡΑΤΙΟΣΘΕΙΒΕΙΟΣ  
 ΠΟΕΙΤΑΣ  
 ΜΗΣΤΩΡΜΗΣΤΟΡΟΣΦΩΚΑΙΕΥΣ  
 ΡΑΨΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΚΡΑΤΩΝΚΛΙΩΝΟΣΘΕΙΒΕΙΟΣ  
 ΑΥΛΕΙΤΑΣ  
 ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΙΣΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΑΟΚΟΥΞΙΚΗΝΟΥ  
 ΑΥΛΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΔΑΜΗΝΕΤΟΣΓΛΑΥΚΩΑΡΓΙΟΣ  
 ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΑΣ  
 ΑΓΕΛΟΧΟΣΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΓΕΝΙΟΣΑΙΟΛΕΥΣΑΠΟΜΟΥΡΙΝΑΣ  
 ΚΙΘΑΡΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣΑΜΑΛΩΙΩΑΙΟΛΕΥΣΑΠΟΜΟΥΡΙΝΑΣ  
 ΤΡΑΓΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΠΟΥΘΕΑΟΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ  
 ΚΟΜΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΩΘΕΙΒΕΙΟΣ  
 ΤΑΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑΚΟΜΑΦΥΔΟΣ  
 ΕΥΑΡΧΟΣΕΥΡΟΔΟΤΩΚΟΡΩΝΕΥΣ

The Reader may recollect, that this *inscription* CHAP.  
V. is in *Meletius'* Geography; but a comparison of the present copy with his, will shew that the *Greek* Archbishop has omitted the *digamma*, and thereby deprived it of its archaic character. Some observations made upon it by Mr. *Walpole* are subjoined in a Note<sup>1</sup>. The recurrence of EI, for H, and for AI, as in ΘΕΙΒΕΙΟΣ, ΑΘΑΝΕΙΟΣ; and of A, for H, in this latter word, will not escape the erudite reader. Concerning the *digamma*, occurring not less than six times in this *inscription*, the author owes it to

(1) "Line 9. ποσίτας.—We find ἰπόσις in Montfaucon Diar. Italicum, p. 425. and ἰνύα for ἰνύα in the Æolic Inscription quoted by Caylus, *Recueil d'Ant.* 2.

"— 11. ΠΑΨΑΓΓΔΟΣ.—The *digamma* was placed sometimes in the commencement of a word, whether it began with a *lenis* or *aspirate*, as in *Φαίαν*, *Φάναξ*, *Φανή*, and many others; sometimes in the middle, as in *αΨαγῶ*, in the Delian Inscription; and *Σιγύσσι* in the Sigean, where the *υ* is written instead of it. (See *Chishull ad Sig. Mar. and Lanzi.*) In the Heracleian Tables we have this form, *Εἰξ*, for *ἰξ*, *Εἰδιος*, for *ἴδιος*. The affinity between the *sigma* and *digamma* is shewn in many instances. The Æolians, says Salmasius, (*de Re Hell.* p. 431.) 'partim *Νυμφάων* dicebant, partim *Νυμφάων*.' Hence the Latins wrote *sex* from the Greek *ἰξ*. In parts of Greece, says Priscian, they say *muha* for *musa*. In the Lacedæmonian dialect they pronounced, without any aspiration, *πυα μυα*, for *πᾶσα μούσα*. (See *Lanzi on the Tuscan Language.*)"

WALPOLE'S MS. Note.

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Observations on the  
*Æolian*  
*Digamma.*

the pious memory of his most learned grandfather<sup>1</sup>, to insert here a few remarks published by him upon this subject half a century ago, which have been often borrowed, without any acknowledgment being made of their author.

“The *Saxons* used the *digamma* in the beginning and middle of the words, just as the *Æolian Greeks*<sup>2</sup> used it, who spread as far as the sides of the *Hellespont*, and lived nearest to their *Saxon* ancestors, the *Thracians*. Thus we have

(1) See the Life of *William Clarke*, M.A. Residentiary of *Chichester*, in the *Biographia Britannica*.

(2) Note by the author of the *Extract* above cited, on the words “*Æolian Greeks*.”] “In pronouncing both Greek and Latin, the sound of the *digamma* was familiar and well known. The *Æolians* expressed this sound by a particular character, and so possibly might the *Greeks*: but this does not seem sufficiently evinced; for the *Antients* speak of the *digamma* as peculiar to the *Æolians*. Thus *Terentianus*:

‘Nominum multa inchoata literis vocalibus  
*Æolicus* usus reformat, et *digammon* præficit.’

“The different powers of it were these: It was inserted between two vowels in the middle of words, or before a vowel at the beginning, with the sound of a *V* consonant. Or its more peculiar property was, expressing the sound of the Greek *ov*, or our *W*. The *Romans* had from the beginning the letter *V*, which fully answered the first of these purposes; and therefore, when the Emperor *Claudius* introduced the inverted *digamma* to supply what was wanting in their alphabet, it could only be intended to express this last sound. So *Quintilian* explains it: ‘In his *servus et vulgus* *Æolicum* DIGAMMA desideratur.’

the initial *digamma*<sup>3</sup> in *weather, work, weight, wool, whole* from ὄλος; *worth, worthy*, from ὀρθός; *wise*, CHAP.  
V. from the same root as ἴσημι; *wreck, break*, from ῥήσω: and thus in the middle of words, to prevent the coalition of vowels, as *ρcea-pian, to see; ha-pian, to look on; hy-punz, deceit; pcea-pepe, a scoffer.*”

The next *inscription* is twofold; because it relates not only to the *Charitesia*, but also to the games called ὍΜΟΛΩΙΑ, solemnized in honour *Homoloia.*

desideratur:’ *i. e.* to shew they were pronounced *seruus*, and *wulgus*. But be this as it will; the Saxons certainly borrowed the *form*, as well as the *power* of their *p* from the Æolians; the two transverse strokes, which were divided in the Æolian *digamma* F, being joined together in theirs. By this means they possessed a letter which the Romans wanted, and which all the languages more immediately derived from the Latin, as the French, Spanish, and Italian, have not. This letter, therefore, which has been sometimes objected to, as a mark of barbarism in the Teutonic language, is really a proof of its primitive and high original.”

CLARKE’S *Connexion of Coins*, c. 2. p. 42. Lond. 1767. Note [d.]

(3) Note by the same author, upon the words “initial *digamma*.”] “Upton’s remarks upon Shakespeare, p. 207. Instead of the *digamma*, they sometimes used the *asper*, as ἄλβι-ος, *happy*. ‘Græcorum DIGAMMA, Germani, Saxones, Belgici, et Britanni, partim simplicem U, partim duplicem faciunt; idemque hi durius, illi suavius, alii lenius ut liquidum U, pronuntiant.’ Ariæ Mont. Præfat. in Bibl. Heb. p. 1.”

*Ibid.* c. 2. p. 43. Note [e].



CHAP. of Jupiter 'Ομολώϊος, who was worshipped in  
 V. Bœotia. It differs therefore, in some degree, as  
 to the subject, and also in the writing; but the  
 form is the same, and it also commemorates a  
 list of *Victors*. The age of the writing is mani-  
 festly different; because for EI we have H,  
 ΠΑΥΩΙΔΟΣ, for ΠΑΨΑΨΥΔΟΣ, &c. there being no  
 occurrence of the *digamma*. It is here that we  
 find mention made of SOPHOCLES, son of SOPHO-  
 CLES THE ATHENIAN, who obtained the prize  
 in Tragedy. He is stated by *Suidas*, in a passage  
 before cited, to have been an *Athenian*, a writer  
 of tragedies, and a descendant of SOPHOCLES;  
 and to have flourished after the seven principal  
 tragedians. The names of others, as *Aminias*  
 and *Callistratus*, are also known; and *Zoïlus*,  
 mentioned in the fourth line as a *Paphian bard*,  
 and son of *Zoïlus*, obtained the victory in the  
*Pythia* upon another occasion, as appears from  
 an inscription preserved by *Muratori*<sup>2</sup>. The

SOPHOCLES  
 of Athens  
 mentioned  
 as a Victor  
 in Tragedy.

(1) Thesaurus Veter. Inscript. tom. II. Class ix. p. 648. No. 2.  
*Mediol.* 1740.

“ ΖΩΙΑΟΣ ΖΩΙΑΟΥ  
 ΠΥΘΙΑΝΙΚΗΣΑΣ  
 ΘΕΟΙΣ

Id est: *Zoïlus, Zoïli filius, Pythiorum victor, Diis faventibus.*”

(2) *Ibid.* p. 651.

words which *Muratori* applied to a record of this nature<sup>2</sup> may be cited with reference to this valuable inscription: "AD ILLUSTRANDA CERTAMINA GRÆCORUM MUSICA, THEATRALIA, LITERARIA, EGREGIUM MARMOR." Here we have neither the name of the *Archon*, nor of the person who presided. The *formula* of the opening simply states, that "THE FOLLOWING WERE CONQUERORS OF THE CHARITESIAN GAMES: TRUMPETER, MENIS, SON OF APOLLONIUS OF ANTIOCH UPON THE MEANDER; CRYER, ZOILUS, SON OF ZOILUS OF PAPHOS;" &c. &c.

OIAE

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(2) Thesaurus Vet. Inscip. *ibid.* p. 651.

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ΟΙΔΕΕΝΙΚΩΝΤΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΤΩΝΧΑΡΙ  
ΤΗΣΙΩΝΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΗΣ  
ΜΗΝΙΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ  
ΑΠΟΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ  
ΚΗΡΥΞ  
ΪΩΙΛΟΣΪΩΙΛΟΥΠΑΦΙΟΣ  
ΡΑΨΩΙΔΟΣ  
ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΠΟΗΤΗΣΕΠΩΝ  
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ΚΙΘΑΡΩΙΔΟΣ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΟΣ  
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ΑΜΙΝΙΑΣΔΕΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ  
ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ

ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ

ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΩΝ

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ

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ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΩΝ

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

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ΤΟΝ ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΝΟΜΟΛΩΩΝ

ΠΑΙΔΑΣΥΛΗΤΑΣ

ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΗΛΟΥ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ

ΠΑΙΔΑΣΗΓΕΜΟΝΑΣ

ΣΤΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΥΝΙΚΟΥ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ

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ΑΝΔΡΑΣΗΓΕΜΟΝΑΣ

ΡΟΔΙΠΠΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΠΠΟΥ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ

ΤΡΑΓΩΔΟΣ

ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ

ΚΩΜΩΔΟΣ

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΞΑΚΕΣΤΟΥ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ

ΤΑΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ

ΚΩΜΩΔΙΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

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v.

Both the church and the monastery now occupy the site of the *Hieron of the Graces*, and have been built out of its ruins. This appears not only from these inscribed marbles, but also from the circumstance of the *fountain* in the monastery mentioned by PAUSANIAS<sup>1</sup>, which determines the spot. The *Hieron of Bacchus* seems also to have been connected with that of the *Graces*, from the manner in which they are coupled by the same author<sup>2</sup>, who says of the latter, that it was (ἀρχαιοτάτων) *most antient*. The honours rendered to the *Graces* by the *Orchomenians* are alluded to by *Pindar*<sup>3</sup>; by *Theocritus*<sup>4</sup>, and by *Nonnus*<sup>5</sup>. Both *Casaubon*<sup>6</sup> and *Kuhniius*<sup>7</sup> quote their testimonies. Little could it have been imagined, by either of those learned commentators, that some remains of the sanctuary itself might yet be recognised; and that actual catalogues of the VICTORS AT THE CHARITESIAN GAMES might still be consulted. This circumstance ought to excite an expectation, that other documents, if not more antient, yet perhaps full as interesting, will

(1) *Bæot.* c. 58. p. 786. ed. *Kuhnii.* (2) *Ibid.*

(3) Κοῦραι δ' ἀβρὰ λίστρα Χαρίτιδες Ὀρχομενοῖο.

*Pindar. Olymp. Od. xiv.*(4) *Idyll. xvi. v. 104.* See a former note.

(5) Σοὶ Χάριτας Ζαθέοιο χαρίζομαι Ὀρχομενοῖο.

*Nonnus, Dionys. lib. xli.*(6) *Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 602. ed. Oxon.*(7) *Kuhniius in Pausan. Bæot. c. 58. p. 786. in voce Χαρίτων.*

hereafter be brought to light upon the same spot. We were unable to copy the whole of the *inscriptions* that we found; and perhaps some of them would be considered as destitute of any *archaic* or *palæographic* character. One of them evidently belongs to an ecclesiastical establishment, founded here long after the Christian æra: it is in the wall of the monastery church; and, as a specimen of *calligraphy*, it is highly deserving of notice; being executed upon marble in so elaborate and beautiful a manner, that every letter is sculptured in relief: it may serve, therefore, as a specimen of the style of the age when it was written. Such inscriptions in *relievo* were common at the latter end of the *fourteenth* and the beginning of the *fifteenth* century<sup>8</sup>. It states, that "LEO, THE PROTOSPATHARIUS, AND STEWARD<sup>9</sup> OF THE EMPEROR, BEAUTIFIED THE TEMPLE OF

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Later In-  
scriptions.

(8) The author found an inscription of this kind at *Kaffa* in the *Crimæa*, bearing date A. D. 1400. It is in the *Armenian* language, and the letters are all sculptured in relief. For a further account of it, see "*Greek Marbles*," p. 8. No. VIII. The original Marble is now in the University Library at *Cambridge*.

(9) In recollecting the permutation of letters so common in the lower ages of the *Greek* Empire, and which may be found so early as the third century after *Christ*, we find *επιτοπουκησανον* written in the inscription for *επι των οικιακων*. The person who held this office had under his care the private patrimony of the Emperor. See *Du Cange*, in v. *Οικιακός*.

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V.

THE HOLY PETER THE CHIEF OF THE APOSTLES,  
FOR THE ABSOLUTION AND REMISSION OF HIS  
MANY SINS, WHILE IGNATIUS WAS ŒCUMENICAL  
PATRIARCH<sup>1</sup>. AMEN."

ΕΚΑΛΗΕΡΓΗΣΕΝΤΩΝΝΑΟΝΤΟΥΑ  
ΓΙΟΥΠΕΤΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΩΡΥΦΕΟΥΤΟΝ  
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝΛΕΟΝΩΠΑΝΕΥΦΙ  
ΜΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΗΚΟΣΠΡΟΤΟΣΠΑΘΑΡΗ  
ΟΣΚΑΙΕΠΗΤΩΝΥΚΗΑΚΩΝ . ΥΠΕΡ  
ΛΥΤΡΟΥΚΑΙΑΦΕΣΕΟΣΤΟΝΠΟΛΩΝ  
ΑΥΤΟΥΑΜΑΡΤΗΟΝΕΠΗΙΓΝΑΤΗΟΥ  
ΤΟΥΥΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΚΟΥΠΑΤΡΗΑΡΧΟΥΑΜΗΝ

A similar *inscription* also occurs behind the altar, extending all round that part of the building; but it was more than half concealed by a huge stack of poles, and these we did not attempt to remove. There are others of a remote age, but very imperfect: one upon a cylindrical pedestal within the church, relating to *Orchomenus*, written *Erchomenus*; and one at the door of a house in the yard of the monastery, mentioning the ΧΟΡΑΓΟΙ of the festivals of *Bacchus*, and the *Victors* at the games solemnized in

*Hieron of  
Bacchus.*

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(3) The first *Patriarch* of *Constantinople* who assumed this title was *John the Faster*, *Joannes Νηστευτής*. See *Du Cange*, *Gloss. Gr.* in *ν. Οικουμενικός*.

honour of the God ; thereby affording additional reason for believing, as before stated, that the *Hiera* of the *Graces* and of *Bacchus* were within the same *Peribolus*. We have mentioned an antient *sun-dial* at *Athens*, remaining near the *Theatre of Bacchus*; and here, upon this spot, where the *Orchomenian Dionysia* were observed, we had the satisfaction of seeing the public (*Σκιαθηρικόν*) *time-piece*, or *town-dial*, of the citizens of ORCHOMENUS. It was a large marble tablet, in the wall of the church. The *gnomon* had long disappeared; but every thing else was entire. The (*στοιχεῖα*) *letters of the dial*<sup>2</sup>, for numbering the hours by the earth's motion, were ten in number, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, and they were all sculptured in *relief* upon the surface. The remarkable illustration of a *Greek epigram* in *Athenæus*, which this *dial* affords, has given an additional interest to its discovery. The age of the workmanship is uncertain: but, owing to the manner of carving the letters, like so many *caméos*, and to the existence of the Η among them, it is probably not of remote antiquity. At the same time, the epigram cited

Antient  
*Sciatheri-*  
*con* of the  
City.

*Greek*  
*Epigram*  
thereby  
illustrated.

(2) — σοὶ δὲ μελήσει,

"Ὅταν ἢ δεκάπουν στοιχεῖον λιπαρῶς χωρῆν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

*Aristophanes Concionatricibus.*



CHAP. from *Athenæus*, in a Note, sufficiently proves  
 V. that such *dials*, and so inscribed, existed towards  
 the end of the *second* century : it is also evident  
 that the H must have occurred in the same  
 situation, among the ten letters, when this epi-  
 gram was composed <sup>1</sup>.

After leaving the monastery, now called that  
 of "*the Holy Virgin*," we found close to it,  
 towards the *west*, the ruin of a structure that  
 had been surmounted by a *dome* of a conical  
 form, built with very large stones. The entrance  
 still remains entire, but the upper part of the

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(1) When the author, after his return to *England*, mentioned this  
 circumstance to the late Bishop *Horsley*, and shewed to that learned  
 prelate a sketch of the *dial*, it suggested instantly to the mind of that  
 profound scholar an explanation of the following *Greek* epigram :

Ἐξ ὥρας μόχθους ἰκανώταται, αἱ τὲ μὲν αὐτὰς  
 Γράμμασι διπνύμεναι, ΖΗΘΙ λίγους βροτοῖς.

Mr. *Walpole*, to whom the circumstance was mentioned, introduced  
 an etching of the *dial*, together with the epigram cited by the Bishop  
 from the *Anthologia*, at the end of the *Herculensia*. It is however an  
 illustration that did not escape the erudition of *Kircher*, who quotes  
*Athenæus* for the epigram, in his chapter "*De Horologiis seu Sciathe-  
 ricis Veterum*," and thus explains it :

"Sex horæ laboribus sufficiunt, sequentes negotiis destinantur,

Z H Θ I verò, id est, 7, 8, 9, 10, cœnales vocant.

Ita ut A, B, Γ, id est, 1, 2, 3, laboribus; Δ, Ε, Ζ, id est, 4, 5, 6,  
 negotiis civilibus; Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, denique, id est, 7, 8, 9, 10, cœnali  
 refectioi deputarentur."

*Athanasii Kircheri Œdip. Ægyptiac. tom. II. Pars Altera,*  
 p. 229. Romæ, 1653.

dome has fallen: a single block of marble over this entrance resembles, both as to its size and form, the immense slab covering the portal of the *Tomb of Agamemnon* at MYCENÆ. There can be no doubt that this ruin corresponds with the account given by *Pausanias* of the TREASURY OF MINYAS. Enough yet remains to prove that the covering was a *dome*; and the description given of it by that author<sup>2</sup> will also confirm this observation. Therefore, those Critics who have disputed the existence of *domes* in very antient architecture, maintaining that the *Tomb of Agamemnon*, being constructed by horizontal projections of stone, does not constitute what may properly be considered as a *dome*, will find a stumbling-block in the *Treasury of Minyas*. It is true that this building was considered, even by the Antients themselves, as one of the wonders of the world<sup>3</sup>; equally worthy of admiration with the *Walls of Tiryns*, and the *Pyramids of Egypt*<sup>4</sup>. In a different direction from the monastery,

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*Treasury  
of Minyas.*

Proof of  
the anti-  
quity of  
*domes* in  
architec-  
ture.

(2) Λίθου μὲν εἰργασται, σχῆμα δὲ περιφερὲς ἔστιν αὐτῷ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ἄξυ ἀνηγμένη, τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι. *Paus. Bæot.* c. 33. p. 786. ed. *Kühnii*.

(3) *Ibid.* c. 36. p. 783. and in c. 38, he says, Θεσαυρὸς δὲ ὁ Μινύου θαῦμα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινθεν εὐδαιμόνων ὑστέρων, πεποιήται τρόπον τοιούτου.

(4) *Ibid.* c. 36. p. 783.

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going towards the east, at a short distance, we found a *tumulus*, with several pieces of marble lying near it; and this may be the *Tomb of Minyas* also noticed by *Pausanias*, and remarkably distinguished, in his description of ORCHOMENUS, from the *Treasury* of that monarch<sup>1</sup>, or we should have considered the latter as being his magnificent sepulchre. Near to this tomb, but a little farther on, are the ruins of a *Greek chapel*, built with materials that once served to ornament the sepulchre. Here we found part of an inscription, but in too imperfect a state to afford any information. However, as every fragment belonging to a place of such celebrity will be eagerly collected by the learned reader, we shall insert even this relic. It is part of a decree. In the sixth line is *δέδοχθη τυ δαμυ*, which is the common *Bæotian* form of *δέδοχθαι τῷ δαμῶ*. In the seventh line, *τῶν πολιτᾶων* is evident for *τῶν πολιτῶν*. In the ninth line, *κατασκευάττη* is put for *κατασκευάζει*; the *Bæotians* using *ττ* for *ζ*, as in *φραττω* for *φράζω*; and *η* for *ει*. In the tenth line, *έν τυ ίαρυ* is properly put for *έν τῷ ίεραῶ*.

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(1) It is after giving a description of the *Treasury*, that *Pausanias* adds, *Τάφοι δὲ Μινύου τε καὶ Ἡσιόδου*. cap. 38. p. 786.

1. ΔΑΜΟΤΟΙΔΑΘΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
2. ΙΑΡΕΙΑΔΔΟΝΤΟΣ
3. ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΔΑΘΑ . . ΑΝΘ
4. ΔΩΡΩΔΡΙΟΛΙΣΔΙΜΕΙΛΙΑ
5. ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΔΑΣΑΘΑΝΟΔΩΡΩΕΛ
6. ΞΕΔΕΔΟΧΘΗΤΥΔΑΜΥΟΠΩ . ΕΧΩΡ
7. ΘΙΤΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΑΩΝΤΥΟΥΘΝΙΕΣΕ
8. ΧΥΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΥΟΧΛΑΤΙΧΡΕΙΕΙΣΟΗΓ
9. ΤΙΜΥΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΤΤΗΚΕ .
10. ΕΝΤΥΙΑΡΥΕΙΠΑΡΤΟΛΛΡ . .
11. ΔΟΚΙΕΙΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟ . . . . .

There are some remains of the *Acropolis* of ORCHOMENUS: a part of the *walls* and of the *mural turrets* are still visible. The village of *Screpú* consists, besides the monastery, only of a few *Greek* cottages; but the condition of the peasants is favourable: their bread is good; and their olives afford them a delicious food, whether fresh or salted. It cannot, however, be a healthy place of residence in the summer, because the land is universally swampy, and contains pools of stagnant water. The children wear small stones about their necks, which are found here, and are superstitiously regarded: for their parents would not allow them to be sold, or even taken off to be examined. Of this

Acropolis  
of ORCHOMENUS.

Condition  
of the present  
inhabitants.

Superstition  
respecting  
certain  
stones.

## RETURN TO LEBADEA.

nature, perhaps, were the *stones* mentioned by *Pausanias* as a principal object of veneration among the *Orchomenians*, who believed them to have fallen from heaven<sup>1</sup>: unless, indeed, which some are inclined to believe, substances that had really fallen from the atmosphere were preserved in this city, and worshipped by the inhabitants, as at *Ægos Potamos*. That the old superstitions of *Greece* are by no means altogether eradicated, must be evident to every traveller who visits the country. As we returned in the evening to *LEBADÉA*, the secretary of the *Archon*, considered a man of education among the *Greeks* of that city—speaking of the tops of the mountains, and particularly of *Parnassus*, which he perceived attracted our attention continually towards it—said in *Italian*, “It is there that the old Gods (*antichi Dei*) have resided, ever since they were driven from the plains:”—and observing that we were amused by his observation, he added, with great seriousness, “They did strange things in this country: those old Gods are not fit subjects for laughter.”

(1) Τὰς μὲν δὴ πέτρας σίβουσί τε μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν Ἐπειοκλιῶ φασι αὐτὰς πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. *Pausan. Bæot.* c. 38. p. 786. ed. *Kuhn.*



The author  
 ular M  
 —Castri  
 and natu  
 Fountain  
 very of th  
 Gymnasium  
 of Elias —  
 of the Tem  
 of the wret  
 On the mo  
 left LEBADÉ.  
 tion, across  
 PARNASSUS;



## CHAP. VI.

### LEBADÉA TO DELPHI.

*The author sets out for Delphi—View of Parnassus—Circular Monument—Defile of Schiste—Situation of Crissa—Castri—Present condition of Delphi—its antiquities and natural curiosities—Inscriptions at St. Nicholo—Fountain Castalius—Gorgonian Head—Plants—Discovery of the Corycian Cave—Eastern Gate of the city—Gymnasium—Inscriptions there—Stadium—Monastery of Elias—Caverns—Plan of Delphi—Probable Site of the Temple of Apollo—Other Inscriptions—Cause of the wretched state of Castri—Medals.*

ON the morning of *December the fourteenth*, we left LEBADÉA; and proceeded in a N.W. direction, across an undulating district, towards PARNASSUS; keeping the road to DELPHI, now

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Journey to  
Delphi.

CHAP. VI. } called *Castri*. After journeying three hours, having passed over a ridge of hills, the antient boundary between PHOCIS and BÆOTIA, previous to our descent into a valley reaching quite up to the base of *Parnassus*, we enjoyed a glorious prospect of this mountain<sup>1</sup>. Persons who have beheld *Snowdon* from *Anglesea*, may have some notion of this prospect, as afforded by a more diminutive object; and as it brought to our recollection the sublime Druidical Chorus of *Mason's Charactacus*, we were ready at every instant to exclaim, "Hear, thou king of mountains, hear!" It was at this time almost without a cloud; its upmost ridges being white with snow: below these, appeared a wide expanse of naked and rugged rocks, exhibiting hues of silvery grey, peculiar to *Parnassus*: still lower, towards the base, and in the sheltered recesses of the valley, were trees, dispersed or collected into thickets and tufted groves; presenting altogether such a region of bold and dignified scenery — of varied and broken eminences, of wilderness, and woodland, and pasture, as we have seldom seen. Among the thickets we observed the *Arbutus*, and *Myrtle*, and *Vallonia Oak*, flourishing luxuriantly; and we recognised

View of  
*Parnassus*.

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(1) See the Plate annexed to p. 172 of the Quarto Edition of these Travels; in which the author has vainly endeavoured to represent the appearance of *Parnassus*.

a sort of tree that we had first observed in going up Mount *Gargarus*, in *Troas*; which we had called the *Ivory Wood of Ida*; because, whenever we attempted to cut it, we found it to be so hard and brittle, that it was like making an incision into a piece of ivory. It is at first very heavy; but after it has been kept a short time, it loses both its weight and strength, and breaks like a dried willow. We do not know its botanical name; having lost the specimens that we collected during its fructification.

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After descending into the valley, we saw between thirty and forty eagles collected upon one spot; and we observed, upon our right, two immense rocks towering above the road. The huge masses they exhibit, added to a striking effect produced by their ochreous colour, gave a surprising degree of grandeur to the fore-ground of the magnificent picture that was here presented to the eye. Upon the top of the higher rock is a remarkable ruin, corresponding with the description and situation of the *monuments* (τὰ μνήματα) of *Laïus and his follower*, according to PAUSANIAS'; but

Circular  
Monu-  
ment.

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(2) Καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λαίου δὲ μνήματα, καὶ οἰκίτου τοῦ Ἰσομήνου, ταῦτα ἴσι ἐν μισαιτάτῃ τῆς Φριόδου, καὶ ἐκ' αὐτῶν λίθοι λογάδες σισωριυμίνοι. Pausan. Phocica, c. 5. p. 808. ed. Kuhniî.



CHAP. VI. } perhaps originally a tower of observation and defence, upon the frontier of *Phocis*. It is of a circular form; built, like the walls of *Tiryns*, in the *Cyclopéan* style of structure, with huge stones which the Antients had the art of placing together upon the acclivities of rocks, without any cement, in the most regular manner. We ascended to examine it nearer, and were struck with the enterprise and skill manifested in the workmanship. It agrees, in all its circumstances, with what *Pausanias* has said of the place where *Œdipus* murdered his father; for this happened upon the frontier of *Phocis*, near to a spot where three roads met—the roads leading from *Daulis*, *Lebadéa*, and *DELPHI*; just before entering the *military pass*, or defile of *Parnassus*, called *Schiste*, or the *way cut*<sup>1</sup>. Upon the left hand, in descending, is an *antient fountain*. The building upon the rock, although very near to this fountain, is not visible from it; because the rock only is seen on this side: but the traveller wishing to find it, may be guided by its bearing from the fountain, which is E. N. E.; the road from *Lebadéa* to *Delphi* continuing, as before, *north-west*.

After we had crossed this valley, we began to

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(1) 'Επί ὁδῶν ἀφίξις καλουμένην ΣΧΙΣΤΗΝ. *Pausan. ibid.*

ascend PARNASSUS, by the pass of *Schiste*, having lofty precipices on either side of us; and upon our right, very high among the rocks, we observed several *caverns* as we rode along the defile. The remains of the old pavement of the *Via Sacra* are seen in different parts of this route, and indeed the whole way from *Lebadéa* to *Delphi*. The road, now become stony and very bad, was rendered the more difficult, by offering a continued acclivity, until we arrived at a part of it immediately under the summit of PARNASSUS; which preserves its primitive appellation of *Lycorea*, now pronounced *Lakûrâ*. This mountain is inhabited by an industrious race of men, who cultivate the vales, and even the sloping sides, to a very great height above its base. Where its sides are very steep, they plant vineyards, opposing walls to the torrents from the rains or melting snows, that the hopes of the husbandman may not be washed away. We were now at six hours' distance from *Lebadéa*: and here the road began to descend; the streams from *Parnassus* taking their course in an opposite direction down the other side of the mountain; so that DELPHI was evidently not situate upon the side towards *Bœotia*. This descent continues uninterruptedly for four hours, through the boldest scenery in the world.

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Defile of  
*Schiste*.

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The rocks are tremendous in magnitude and height: they consist of limestone, characterized, as to its colour, by those grey and silvery hues before mentioned, and containing veins and beds of marble. In this part of *Parnassus* there are but few trees, and these only upon the heights; which are covered with pines. Precipices everywhere surround the traveller, excepting where the view extends through valleys and broken cliffs towards DELPHI; giving to all these scenes that deep and powerful solemnity, which formerly impressed with awe the minds of votaries journeying from the most distant parts of *Greece*, towards the sanctuary of the *Pythian* God.

We saw the mouth of a natural cavern, in an inaccessible situation above the road. At the distance of four hours from *Delphi*, we crossed a river, falling from *Parnassus* towards the *Bay of Crissa*. After another hour had elapsed, we left a village called *Arracovia*, pronounced *Rhacovi*, upon our right; the scenery exhibiting everywhere the same degree of grandeur. Afterwards, we arrived at a village still preserving the antient name of *CRISSA*, now pronounced *Crissú*. Never was there any thing more romantic than its appearance, in a grove

Situation  
of *Crissa*.

of olive-trees, distant only one hour from *Delphi*: it is surrounded by lofty eminences; and so abundantly provided with living water, that streams appear falling in all directions, for the supply of its various mills and fountains. The name of this place, added to the testimonies afforded by various fragments of marble and other remains of antiquity upon the spot, enable us to fix the disputed position of *Crissa*; concerning whose situation there are errors, even in the writings of antient authors<sup>1</sup>. An antient scholiast upon *Pindar* pretends, that under this name of *Crissa* was designated the city of *Delphi*; the two places, owing to their vicinity, being confounded together. Other writers, as *Pausanias*, and the author of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, have supposed that *Crissa* was the same place as *Cirrha*; but the erroneous nature of this opinion seems plain, from the observations of *Ptolemy* and of *Pliny*. After reviewing all that has been written for the illustration of this subject, whether by the Antients, or by several modern geographers—as *Casaubon*, *Freret*, *Gédoyn*, and others<sup>2</sup>, it was concluded by *Mentelle*<sup>3</sup>,

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VI.

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(1) There is an appearance, as of a ruined town, in a small plain within the defile, soon after passing *Arracovia*.

(2) *Mémoires de Littérat.* tom. III, et V.

(3) *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. I. p. 547. *Paris*, 1787.

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(whose opinion was also adopted by *D'Anville*,) that *Cirrho* was the port, and *Crissa* the city. It had given its name to a territory near the gulph of that name, called, by *Strabo*, *Εὐδαίμων*, of "*The Happy*;" a distinction to which it was entitled, by its fertility, and by the peculiar beauty of its situation. The possession of great wealth rendered the *Crissæans* arrogant and unjust. They not only levied a tax upon all vessels frequenting their port, but at last demanded contributions, considered as impious, from all those who passed through their territory in pilgrimages to *Delphi*. In consequence of these extortions, the Council of the *Amphictyons* sent to consult the *Oracle*: and it was decreed, that *Crissa* should be destroyed, and its inhabitants reduced to slavery; and that their territory should be left uncultivated, as a district sacred to *Apollo*, to *Diana*, to *Latona*, and to *Minerva*. A war ensued in consequence, which lasted ten years; when, after a long and bloody siege, the town was taken and entirely rased, and all the survivors found within its walls were sold as slaves. *Crissa* is mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>1</sup>, but not by

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(1) "Fons Castalius, amnis Cephissus præfluens Delphos, ortus in Lilæa quondam urbe. Præterea oppidum CRISSA," &c. *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 3. tom. I. pp. 205, 206. L. Bat. 1635.*

*Strabo*: and this circumstance induced *Larcher* to believe that the city was rebuilt within a short time after *Strabo*'s writings appeared<sup>2</sup>.

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Just before our arrival at DELPHI, we had a view of the sea; appearing like a small lake through an opening of the sides of the mountain, being a part of the *Bay of Crissa*. It was beginning to grow dark as we drew nigh to *Castri*, the name of a wretched village, now occupying the site of the sacred city; and the road was almost impassable. At length we saw this truly wonderful place, covering a lofty eminence upon the south side of the mountain, that is to say, upon our right, immediately beneath some high perpendicular precipices, whence a chasm of the rifted rock admits the waters of the CASTALIAN FOUNTAIN to fall from PARNASSUS towards the sea. Such is the general aspect of the place. The village consists of about seventy houses, whose inhabitants are *Greeks*: and wherever *Greek peasants* are found in the villages, instead of *Albanians*, want and wretchedness are generally apparent. We were conducted to pass the night in the poor cottage of the poorest peasant of this

*Castri*.

Present  
condition  
of *Delphi*.

(2) *Mentelle Géog. Anc. tom. I. p. 548. Paris, 1787.*

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poverty-struck village; who, with a wife and many children, living in sickness and in sorrow, greeted our coming with that gladness which the afflicted feel, when they have some one to whom they may relate the story of their woes; even if this be the only consolation they are likely to experience.—The *Tchohodar* was for conjuring up a supper, after his usual manner, *à coup de bâton*: but by this time less persuasion was necessary to convince him that a method of catering more consonant to *British* feelings must be adopted, if he intended to pursue his journey with us any farther; neither were the people of *Castri* disposed to crouch quite so much as usual before every dastardly *Turk* whom they might encounter: they had put to death seven domineering *Moslems* a short time before, and had cast them all together into a hole which they afterwards closed. We had brought with us, bread, honey, rice, and coffee, from *Lebadéa*: *Antonio* filled a pitcher with the excellent wine of *Parnassus*: and making our host and his family sit down with us, we were presently all feasted, and as merry as if the most propitious oracles from the *Pythia* had been vouchsafed to every one of the party.

In the morning we began a very careful

examination of the antiquities and natural curiosities of DELPHI, the most extraordinary place in all Greece, whether with reference to the one or to the other; and we shall detail them with as much minuteness as possible. We had reason to believe, that the remarkable circumstances related of the place and manner in which the *Pythian oracles* were delivered, would lead to the discovery of some mephitic exhalation upon the spot, similar to that of the *Grotta del Cane*, near *Naples*. The *Tripod* stood over a crevice, or narrow mouth of a cave<sup>1</sup>; and the *Pythia*, being seated thereon, was afterwards attacked, by convulsions: she is moreover described as pale and emaciated, and as resisting the officiating priests, who compelled her, although reluctant<sup>2</sup>, to sit upon the *Tripod*, where she was forcibly detained. But our search after this vapour was unsuccessful; in answer to all our inquiries concerning the *Adytum*, the only information we obtained from the inhabitants was, that no place corresponded with our description better than the hole where

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Its Anti-  
quities and  
Natural  
Curiosi-  
ties.

(1) Φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους, οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον ἀναφίεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν. Strabon. Geog. p. 607. ed. Gron.

(2) Vid. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. v.



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they had buried the *seven Turks*: and this was now closed. A very remarkable passage occurs in *Stephanus of Byzantium*, which may possibly still lead to the discovery of the place. He says, there was at *Delphi* an *Adytum*, constructed of *five stones*, the work of *Agamedes* and *Trophonius*<sup>1</sup>. Amidst the *Cyclopéan masonry* of the city, it is therefore possible that the remains of this gigantic structure may yet be found. They will of course be sought for in the *middle* of the city; for the same superstition existed concerning *Delphi* that now belongs to *Jerusalem*; namely, that it stood in the middle of the whole earth: and the *navel*<sup>2</sup> of the earth was shewn in the midst of the *Temple of Apollo*, as it is in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. Near to a fountain, and a church, called that of *St. Nicholo*, we found an inscription upon marble, in honour of the Emperor HADRIAN, stating that "THE COUNCIL OF THE AMPHICTYONS, UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE PRIEST, MESTRIUS PLUTARCH, FROM DELPHI, COMMEMORATE THE EMPEROR."

Inscriptions at  
*St. Nicholo*.

(1) Ἐνθα τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκ πέντε κατασκευάσται λίθων, ἔργον Ἀγαμέδου καὶ Τροφονίου. *Steph. De Urbib.* p. 229. Ed. Gronov. Amst. 1678.

(2) Vid. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 608.* ed. Oxon.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ  
 ΘΕΟΥΤΡΙΑΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΙ  
 ΚΟΥΥΙΟΝΘΕΟΥΝΕΡΒΑ  
 ΥΙΩΝΟΝΤΡΙΑΝΟΝΑΔΡΙ  
 ΑΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΤΟΚΟΙ  
 ΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥ  
 ΟΝΩΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΕΥΟΝ  
 ΤΟΣΑΠΟΔΕΛΦΩΝΜΕΣ  
 ΤΡΙΟΥΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥΙΕΡΕΩΣ *ϛ*

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In the walls of this building were some architectural ornaments, part of a cornice and a triglyph; and in the pavement, a very long inscription, almost obliterated, beginning

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΣΩΣΥΛΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΙΛΑΙΟΥ  
 ΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΤΩΝ, κ. τ. λ.

“It is not easy,” says *Corsini*<sup>3</sup>, “to say what is the place of the month *ILAEUS* in the *Delphic* year.” Upon a pillar in the same church we found another inscription. Here we have mention made of a High-Priestess of the *Achæan* Council, who is honoured by the Council of the *Amphictyons* and *Achæans*.

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(3) *Fast. Attic.* Vol. II. Diss. xiv.

## ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

ΤΙΒΚΛΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΛΚΙ  
 ΤΗΝΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΝΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥ  
 ΤΩΝΑΧΑΙΩΝΤΙΒΚΛΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ  
 ΚΑΙΩΑΛΑΡΧΟΥΔΙΒΙΟΥΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝΑΧΑΙΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙΤΙΒΚΛΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΣΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝ  
 ΑΧΑΙΩΝΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΜΦΙ  
 ΚΤΥΟΝΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΧΑΙΩΝ  
 ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

[ “ THE COUNCIL OF AMPHICTYONS AND ACHÆ-  
 ANS, IN HONOUR OF POLYCRATEA, HIGH-  
 PRIESTESS OF THE ACHÆAN COUNCIL, AND  
 DAUGHTER OF POLYCRATES AND DIOGENEIA.” ]

*Fountain  
 Castalius.*

We then went towards the CASTALIAN FOUNTAIN, which is on the *eastern* side of the village. It is situate beneath a precipice one hundred feet in height, upon the top of which a chasm in the rock separates it into two pointed crags; and these, towering above *Delphi*, and being a part of *Parnassus*, have been sometimes considered and erroneously described as the tops of the mountain, which has therefore been said to have a *double summit*<sup>1</sup>. There is nothing

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(1) BICEPS PARNASSUS. *Wheler* calls it “the double-headed Cleft of *Parnassus*.” These two tops, seen from *Delphi*, conceal all the rest of the mountain. Between them the water falling in great abundance, after rain or snow, hath worn the chasm which separates them. See *Wheler's Journ. into Greece*, p. 314. Lond. 1682.

likely to affect a literary traveller more than the view of this FOUNTAIN CASTALIUS: its being so easily and surely identified with the inspiring source of *Grecian* poetry, and at the same time combining great picturesque beauty with all the circumstances of local interest, added to the illustration afforded by its present appearance of the manner in which it was originally decorated and revered, render it one of the most impressive sights that it is possible to behold. *Pausanias*, entering the city from ΒΑΕΟΤΙΑ, found it upon his *right* hand<sup>2</sup>, exactly as it occurred to us upon our arrival, after following the same road the evening before. It was therefore now upon our *left*, and upon the *eastern* side of the town. The *Gymnasium* mentioned by the same author stood a little farther on, in this direction: the site of it is now occupied by a monastery, called that of *Panaja*, being sacred to the *Virgin*. As we drew nigh to the *Castalian fountain*, we found, lying among the loose stones in the road, one of the original *marble vows* formerly placed by the side of the *Via Sacra*, leading from the *fountain* to the *Temple*, now trampled under foot by every

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(2) Ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας. *Pausaniæ Phocica*, c. 8. p. 817. ed. *Kuhnii*.

casual passenger. It was a representation of the *Gorgonian* head, as it is seen upon the most antient *terra-cottas*, gems, and coins of *Greece*; generally with the features frightfully distorted, and always with the tongue protruded<sup>1</sup>; derived perhaps, originally, from the appearance presented by the shadows seen upon the *Moon's disk*; for when that planet is at the full, a rude resemblance of the human countenance is similarly displayed: and the superstitions respecting the *Γοργείη κεφαλή* being also those of the *Diva triformis*, constituted a part of that worship which was paid to the *Moon*<sup>2</sup>. The present example, as to the form of the stone, exhibits a perfect circle: and when this image appears upon antient coins, however irregular the form of the medal may be, an evident design to circumscribe the whole symbol, including the snakes of the hair, &c. by a circular line, may be observed. This is particularly apparent upon certain medals of *Parium*<sup>3</sup> and *Abydos*<sup>4</sup>; in many of the *pateras* of *Grecian terra-cotta*, were this figure may be noticed as having

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(1) See No. 1. of the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

(2) Vide *Euripid.* in *Phæn.* 465. *Homer. Odys.* λ. 632, &c.

(3) See Tab. xli. No. 16. of *Combe's Descript.* of the *Hunterian Collection.* Lond. 1782.

(4) *Ibid.* Tab. i. No. 11.

been impressed with a mould or die in the bottom of the vessel; and upon those *Gorgonian heads* of gilded earthen-ware which were discovered by the Earl of *Aberdeen*, connected by bronze wires, and forming a chaplet round the skull of a dead person in a sepulchre near *Athens*<sup>5</sup>. That the meaning of this symbol had never been rightly understood by our antiquaries, the author endeavoured to prove by former observations upon the Earl of *Aberdeen's* discovery<sup>6</sup>. The *Gorgonian head* has been believed to denote *lubricity*, but its real signification is *death*; and it is one of the most remarkable circumstances concerning this image, that, long after its original signification (as a "*memento mori*") was lost, it should have found its way, from the oldest temples of the *Pagan* world, into *Christian* churches; where it yet appears, either in their painted windows<sup>7</sup>, or carved roofs; as it also does among heraldic ornaments.

The remains of THE FOUNTAIN CASTALIUS consist of a large square shallow bason, with

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(5) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter, No. 2. taken from an Engraving made by *Evans*, after the original in his Lordship's possession.

(6) See "*Greek Marbles*," Appendix, p. 69. *Camb.* 1809.!

(7) See *Vignette* to this Chapter, No. 5. taken from an image of *Medusa's head*, preserved, in stained glass, in the east window of *Harlton* Church, in *Cambridgeshire*.

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steps to it, cut in a rock of marble; once, no doubt, the *Castalian Bath*; where the *Pythia* used to wash her whole body, and particularly her hair, before she placed herself upon the *Tripod*, in the *Temple of Apollo*. Upon the opposite side is a stone seat, also hewn out of the same rock. This bason is filled with the water of the fountain. Above the bason rises the perpendicular precipice to its cloven summit before mentioned, which is at the height of about an hundred feet. In the face of this precipice are niches scooped in the rock, for the *votive offerings*; one very large receptacle of this kind being upon the right hand, and three smaller exactly in front of a person facing the precipice. Upon the left hand, a large wild fig-tree, sprouting above the water of the fountain upon that side of the bason, spreads its branches over the surface of the rock; which is further ornamented by a most luxuriant garniture of shrubs, ivy, moss, brambles, and pen-sile plants; some of which were now in flower, mingling together their varied hues over the red and grey masses of the marble'. The larger

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(1). We brought from the FOUNTAIN CASTALIUS the *Silene congesta* of *Sibthorpe*; also "the Friar's Cowl," *Arum Arisarum* of *Linnaeus*, and a *non-descript* species of "Gromwell," *Lithospermum* Linn.—*cum nonnullis*

*votive receptacle* upon the right is still an object of reverence among the inhabitants; a *Christian Tabernacle* having succeeded to the *Hieron* of its *Pagan* idol. It is now a chapel dedicated to *St. John*; an antient *basso-relievo*, perhaps a part of the original *vow* for which it was excavated, being substituted for an altar. The other three niches are empty. There is an opening in the rock towards the left of the fountain, where, in certain seasons, the melting snows and torrents from *Parnassus* pour down, through a chasm, in a vehement cataract: and above, within the cleft, a cavern is visible, which *Wheler* most unreasonably judged to be the *Antrum Corycium*, or *Grotto of the Nymphs*: to this it could have no resemblance, owing to its diminutive size and situation. The real CORYCIAN CAVE had not been ascertained by any traveller, until we arrived at *Delphi*: and although we had the satisfaction of obtaining intelligence of that

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Discovery  
of the  
Corycian  
Cave.

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*nonnullis aliis, seu immaturis, seu floribus, foliisque mutilatis, atque Deo illi Delphico solùm cognitis.* We have called this new species of *Lithospermum*, from the very remarkable nature of the place where it was discovered, LITHOSPERMUM PYTHICUM. *Lithospermum foliis undulatis, inferioribus lanceolato-oblongis, superioribus bracteisque cordato-oblongis; hirsutis.* *Planta habitu ferè L. orientalis, seu Archusæ orientalis Linnæi; sed foliis angustioribus, valde-undulatis, floribusque majoribus atque inflatoribus distincta.*

(2) *Journey into Greece*, p. 315.  *Lond.* 1682.



marvellous grotto, we were prevented by the depth of the snow, in the part of *Parnassus* where it is situate, from paying a visit to the spot. The description given of it by the inhabitants of this village of *Castri*, who call it "*Sarand' auli*," the "*forty courts*," corresponded with that of *Pausanias*, who states its distance from *Delphi* as equal to sixty *stadia*<sup>1</sup>: they further added, that it is capacious enough to contain three thousand persons. One of them, who had formerly belonged to a gang of banditti, and made no secret of the fact, told us, that it was a place of rendezvous for the robbers of *Parnassus*, and that he had often resorted thither with his comrades. It lies to the north of *Delphi*, towards the heights of the mountain. Other travellers, availing themselves of our discovery with regard to this cave, have been to visit it: and one of them, by the inscription which he there found, has confirmed every observation concerning it,

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(1) That is to say, seven miles and a half, reckoning the *Stadium* at an *English* furlong. *Pausanias*, however, does not state the distance from *Delphi* to the *Corycian Cave* with precision. He only says, that to one going from *Delphi* to the summits of *Parnassus*, at the distance of sixty *stadia* there is a brazen image; where the descent begins to the *Corycian Cave*. 'Ιόντι δὲ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ σταδίους μὲν ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀπωτέρω Δελφῶν, ἴστιν ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν, καὶ ῥάων εὐζώνω ἀνδρὶ ἡμίονοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἴστιν ἄνοδος τὸ Κορύκιον. *Pausaniæ Phocica*, c. 32. p. 877. ed. Kühnii.

before published by the author of these Travels<sup>2</sup>. The cavern alluded to by *Wheler*, in the cleft above the *Castalian fountain*, was formerly accessible, by means of stairs also cut in the marble rock: but a part only of the steps remain; and it would be difficult now to approach it. The water of the *Castalian fountain* is cool and pleasant to the taste. *Wheler* quaintly describes it<sup>3</sup>, as “fit to quench the thirst of those hot-headed poets, who, in their *bacchanals*, spare neither God nor man; and to whom nothing is so sacred, but they will venture to profane it.” After passing from the *bath*, or bason, below the *votive receptacles*, it falls down southward, in a deep and narrow channel, towards the *Pleistus*, separating Mount *Cirphis* from *Parnassus*<sup>4</sup>; and having joined that river, it runs by the ruins of *Crissa*, into the *Crissæan Bay*. In the first part of its course from the *fountain*, it separates the remains of the GYMNASIUM, where the *Monastery*

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(2) See “Tomb of *Alexander*,” Appendix, No. 4. p. 153. *Camb.* 1805. The Inscription is as follows: it was discovered by Sir *W. Gell*:

ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΣ  
ΑΔΚΙΔΑΜΟΥ  
ΑΜΒΡΥΣΙΟΣ  
ΣΥΜΠΕΡΙΓΟΛΟΙ  
ΓΑΝΙΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

(3) See *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 315. *Lond.* 1682.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 316.

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of *Panaja* now stands, from the village of *Castri*, as it probably did from the old city of *Delphi*: going from the *fountain* to that *monastery*, we noticed the situation of the ANTIENT GATE leading to BŒOTIA. *Wheler* mentions<sup>1</sup>, that in returning from this *monastery*, by the *fountain*, into the village, he “observed a great piece of the rock tumbled down, and almost buried: on one side of it, that lay a little hollow, he saw letters written, in large, but strange characters, so as that he, and his companion *Spon*, could make nothing of them.” We expected, from this description, nothing less, at the least, than the remains of a genuine *Pelagic* inscription; but were grievously disappointed when we found the identical mass alluded to by *Wheler*, with a few indistinct traces of his “large but strange characters.” The stone itself was part of the work before the *Eastern Gate* of the city. There was a wall upon the right hand, formed of rude masses of rock, which was ruined by a lapse from the mountain above; and the piece of rock mentioned by him was thereby impelled from its position: but the characters upon it are evidently common *Greek* letters: we plainly observed A, Y, N, and some others that were visible enough

Eastern  
Gate of  
the City.

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(1) See *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 316. Lond. 1682.

to prove there could have been nothing “*strange*” in the inscription, when he saw it.

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The remains of the GYMNASIUM are principally behind the monastery. The foundations were there sustained by an immense bulwark of hewn stone, projected from the sloping ground, so as to offer a level area upon which the structure stood. The antient city, in a *theatrical* form<sup>2</sup>, covered a series of such terraces rising one above the other; and a similar front-work of hewn stone is still seen in different parts of the immense *Coilon*, or semicircular range, which its buildings exhibited upon this abrupt declivity of *Parnassus*. Within the monastery we found the capitals of pillars, broken friezes, and triglyphs. Upon a *marble Cippus*, beautifully adorned with sculptured foliage, and crowned with the Lotus, we read the words

*Gymna-  
sium.*

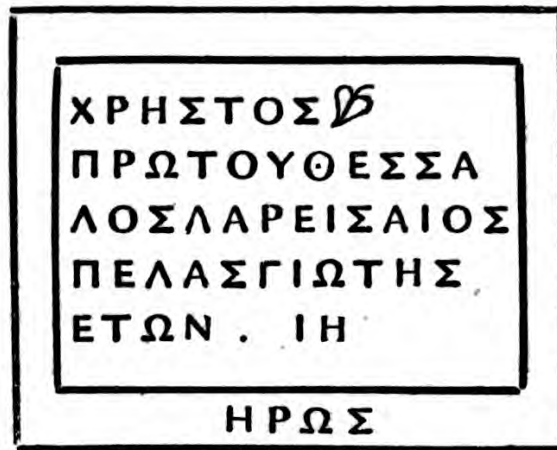
Inscrip-  
tions in the  
*Gymna-  
sium.*

ΑΙΑΚΙΔΑ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

(2) It is very pleasing to a traveller, and perhaps may not be less so to his readers, to find an observation of this kind, (describing the form of a city that has ceased to exist for ages) written upon the spot, anticipated by those who visited *Delphi* eighteen centuries ago: this, in fact, is almost literally the remark made by *Strabo* as to the form of the city: he says, *Τὸ δὲ νῦν οἱ Δελφοὶ, πετρῶδες χωρίον, ΘΕΑΤΡΟΕΙΔΕΣ, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχον τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, σταδίων ἑκατάδικα κύκλον πληροῦσαν.* *Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 606. ed. Oson.*

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And within the sanctuary, behind the altar, we saw the fragments of a *marble Béma*, or *Cathedra*; upon the back of which we found the following inscription, exactly as it is here written, no part of it having been injured or obliterated; affording, perhaps, the only instance known of a *sepulchral* inscription upon a monument of this remarkable form :



It is in honour of a youth of *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, who died at eighteen years of age. As to the words *χρήστος* and *ἥρωσ*, it may be remarked that all the epitaphs upon *Larissæans*, which *Spon* has preserved, contain these words<sup>1</sup>. There were many cities having the name of *Larissa*; consequently the city of which the youth here

(1) Vid. *Spon. Miscell. Antiq.* 331.

commemorated was a native, has the distinction of Πελασγιώτης. It is mentioned by *Strabo*, in his description of *Thessaly*<sup>2</sup>: it had the name of *Larissa Pelasgia*, although its situation was without the *Pelasgiotis*.

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After visiting the remains of the *Gymnasium*, we went to see those of the STADIUM. They are situate upon the highest part of the slope whereon *Castri* is built, above the village, and a little to the west of it, under a precipice formed by some rocks, which also there rise in a perpendicular form. We noticed very considerable foundations of antient buildings, in our way up. This *Stadium* is even more entire than that of *Athens*; for the marble seats yet remain: they consist of the same substance as the cliffs around *Delphi*; and at the curved or upper extremity of the *Stadium*, they are hewn in the natural rock. The area being clear from rubbish, and in a very perfect state, we were enabled to ascertain its length with accuracy; and this we found to be equal to two hundred and twenty paces. We stepped it

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(2) Τῆς δ' ἐξῆς παραλίης ἐν μεσογαίᾳ ἴσθιν ἡ ΚΡΕΜΑΣΤΗ ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑ εἴκοσι σταδίους αὐτῆς διέχουσα· ἢ δ' αὐτὴ μὲν ΠΙΕΛΑΣΓΙΑ λεγομένη, καὶ ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑ. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 630. ed. Oxon.*

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twice, in order to ascertain this point: and admitting that our paces were about equal to the same number of yards, this will exceed the length of the antient metre which bore the name of the *Olympic Stadium*; for that, making the eighth part of a *Roman* mile, was little more than two hundred and one yards<sup>1</sup>.

Monastery  
of *Elias*.

From a part of the mountain to which the lower extremity of the *Stadium* is joined, we enjoyed a fine prospect of *Salona*, the antient AMPHISSA, situate upon the side of a hill; also of the Bay of CRISSA, and a town called *Galaxy* towards the *west*; the Gulph of CORINTH; and the mountains of ACHAIA. Hence we descended to the *Monastery of Elias*; and found in the church belonging to it two architraves of *Parian* marble, of very great magnitude. Judging from the impossibility of conveying such masses to the spot by any means which the present inhabitants possess, and also by the immense founda-

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(1) The *Olympic Stadium* exactly equalled  $201\frac{44}{160}$  *English* yards. Mr. *Vernon*, measuring with great care the length of the *Stadium* at ATHENS, found it equal to 630 *English* feet. (See *Wheler's Journ. into Greece*, p. 375. Lond. 1682.) *Wheler* says its breadth equalled 26 or 27 geometrical paces; which, allowing 5 feet *English* for each geometrical pace, makes its breadth equal to  $43\frac{1}{2}$  or 45 yards.—From this it appears that the *Delphic Stadium* was of the same dimensions, or nearly so, as the *Stadium Panathenaicum*, at ATHENS.

tions of a building here, it is plain that this monastery was erected upon the site of one of the principal temples of DELPHI. A square stone at the door had an inscription on all sides of it; but in such a mutilated state, that nothing could be made of it. Upon one side, some letters, finely cut, and of small size, appeared in the following manner:

.....ΑΘ.....  
 ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΑΝΤΙΓΕ.....  
 ΤΩΝΚΗΤΩΑΛΟΥΤΟΥ..  
 ΣΩΣΩΝΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟ.....ΛΠΕ  
 ΟΝΟΜΑΣΩΣΩΣΕΠΕΛΕΥΘ  
 ΤΑΝΤ.ΜΑΝΑΠΕΧΟ..ΑΣΑΝ  
 ΤΑΤΟΝΤΑΣΖΩΑΣΧΡΟΝΟΝ  
 ΕΙΔΕΜΗΠΟΙΗΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΜΕΧΕΤ  
 ΚΑΘΕΛΗΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕΦΑΠΤΟΙΤΟΣ  
 ΒΑΙΟΝΠΑΡΕΧΕΤΩΤΩΘΕΩΤΑΝΥ  
 ΛΕΩΝΣΩΣΟΝΗΠΕ...ΘΕΡΙΑΑ  
 ΤΑΣΑΣΑΙ.....Χ.....ΑΣ

The reader is left to use his own conjectures as to this imperfect legend: we are unwilling to omit any thing so likely to excite curiosity as an inscription, however mutilated, relating to this remarkable place. There were traces of another, upon a mass of *Parian* marble; but the letters were so much effaced, that it was impossible to copy any of them.



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Caverns.

Leaving the *Monastery of Elias*, we found a recess hewn in the rock, either for a *sepulchre*, or for an *oracular cave*. The walls of the temple noticed at the monastery extend near to it. Within this recess there are arched cavities upon the right and left; and there is one in the front, lined with painted stucco, having two smaller cavities over it; and above the whole, a *bull's head*, very finely sculptured in the stone. Hard by, there is an *alcove*, or *grotto*, of a semicircular form, also hewn in the rock, with a seat all round the interior, finely cut out of the solid stone. When seated within this grotto, the view extends across the whole *Coilon* of the antient city of *Delphi* (before described as having a theatrical form, owing to the natural shape of this declivity of *Parnassus*), towards the *Castalian Spring*, and the *Gymnasium* in the entrance from *BÆOTIA*; looking down at the same time over the numerous terraces, rising one above another, whereon the city was built. Indeed, to have a faithful conception of what *Delphi* was, it is only necessary to imagine an antient theatre, with terraces of stone in the place of seats, rising one above the other, of sufficient width to admit of temples and other public buildings upon those semicircular terraces; the *Stadium* being the uppermost struc-

Plain of  
*Delphi*.

ture of the whole series; and the *Castalian Spring*, and the *Gymnasium*, at the right extremity of the *Coilon*. The front-work of these terraces, being perfectly even and perpendicular, is everywhere artificial: it exhibits a *Cyclopéan masonry*, adapted to the natural acclivity of the rock. This masonry remains in many places entire; but as it does not now continue throughout the whole extent of the semicircle, a hasty observer might conclude, that the detached parts were so many separate foundations of the different temples of the city. There is enough remaining to enable a skilful architect to form an accurate plan of *Delphi*; but it should be fitted to a model of *Parnassus*; for in the harmonious adjustment, here conspicuous, of the works of God and man, every stately edifice and every majestic pile raised by human labour was made to form a part of the awful features of the mountain. From whatever quarter DELPHI was approached, a certain solemn impression of supernatural agency must have been excited; diffusing its influence over every object; so that the sanctity of the whole district became a saying throughout *Greece*, and “ALL PARNASSUS WAS ACCOUNTED HOLY’.”

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(1) Vide *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 604. ed. Oron.*

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Probable  
Site of the  
Temple of  
Apollo.

Other In-  
scriptions.

Passing from the alcove to the village, we saw upon the left, about half way up the acclivity towards the *Stadium*, the front-work of one of the terraces before mentioned; and, afterwards, very great remains of the same kind occurred close to the path. During our careful inquiry after inscriptions among the inhabitants, we were conducted into the court of a house situate in the centre of the antient city, where we found several architectural remains with inscriptions, in a mutilated state; the last of which repaid us for all our trouble, as the legend seemed to imply that we were upon the site of the TEMPLE of APOLLO. The first, however, consisted only of the words "CALLISTRATUS, SON OF CALLISTRATUS," and a part of the word DELPHI.

.....ΩΝ . . . .  
ΩΣΕΝΕΠΙΜΕ . . .  
ΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΔΕΛ

Within a stable belonging to the same house there was a slab of marble, partly buried. The part above ground measured six feet two inches, by two feet six inches. It was inscribed in the

most beautiful manner, with a series of decrees in columns, added at different times, and in different languages; the characters of one inscription differing in size from those of another. But the stone being inverted, the characters appeared all topsy-turvy; and it was so much damaged, that when we found what the fatigue would be of making an exact copy of the whole, we had not the courage to attempt it. Some of these inscriptions were in *Greek*; others in *Latin*: and the latter were of great length. The *Greek* began thus—

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}

ΕΠΙΘΑΛΑΣΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΛΦΩΝ

We can collect nothing from this fragment, except that it relates to something the property of the people of *Delphi* (*εἶναι Δελφῶν*). A *Latin* inscription, occupying all the middle column upon the marble, appeared as follows:

C . AVIDIONIGRINOLEGAVGPROTR                                          INVS  
DECRETAEXTABELLISRECITATA : Ό Ἰ . IDVS OCTOBRA . . VSANSCVM OPTIMVS PRINCEPS SEI  
EROMNEMONVMQUA CONSECR . . . RECIONESA . . LLO . . TINOEXAVCTORITATE  
DETERMINASVERVNTSEQVENDA . . SSERRAES . . PSISSET . . TIAMNDELPHISINI . . ERE .  
ESTNEQVEVENIRETINDVBIAS . . NTERANTICYRENSESQVOQVEETDELPHOSOVI B . . DEL . .  
ABOPTIMOPRINCIPLEEASESENTENTIASSTARIOPO . . . . .

Towards the middle of the sixth line, it was too much injured to make out the letters. It contains part of a decree issued under one of the

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*Roman Emperors*; and seems to refer to a dispute between the people of *Anticyra* and *Delphi*. The allusion to the people of *Anticyra* will not be read without interest, considering that the city was destroyed in the war with *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*; but it might have been rebuilt, as it probably was, in the time of *Hadrian*. The antiquities of *Anticyra* are described by *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>. It was famous for its *Hellebore*. We found the same plant upon *Mount Helicon*. A more antient name of *Anticyra* was *Cyparissus*: it was so denominated by *Homer*<sup>2</sup>. Below this house we found what we conceived to be the remains of the TEMPLE OF APOLLO, from the number and nature of the inscriptions. Some of them were in a wood-house; but so covered, that we could not copy them. Upon three or four we read the names of ARCHONS, and upon one the word ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ. But the last, and by far the most important, in its evident allusion to *the Temple*, mentions a family who had consigned their son to the care of the priests. This being discovered upon the spot, will be considered as more interesting than any thing else which we found at DELPHI. It states, that

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(1) *Pausaniæ Phocica*, cap. 36. p. 891. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) Τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ὄνομα εἶναι Κυπάρισσον εἴη πόλις φασί. *Ibid.*

“ THE FATHER AND MOTHER OF AMARIUS NEPOS ÆGIALINUM, WHO HAD BEEN HONOURED BY THE SENATE OF CORINTH WITH REWARDS DUE TO HIM AS SENATOR AND OVERSEER OF THE FORUM, PUT THEIR SON UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE PYTHIAN APOLLO.”

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ΑΜΑΡΙΟΝΝΕΠΩΤΑΙΓΙΑΛΕΙΝΟΝΤΕ  
ΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝΑΠΟΤΗΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ  
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΑΙΣΚΑΙ  
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΚΑΙΣ. ΑΜΑΡΙΟΣΝΕΠΩΣ  
ΠΑΤΗΡΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΙΓΙΑΛΗ  
ΔΕΛΦΗΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΥΙΟΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ  
ΠΥΘΙΩΙ

In consequence of some dispute between the agents of *Ali Pasha* and the inhabitants of *Castri*, the *Pasha* has laid the village under contribution, to pay him the sum of thirty purses; equal to fifteen thousand piastres. This they are unable to do; and of course every thing they had has been taken from them; which may serve to explain the present ruined state of the place. In its present condition, there is not in all *Lapland* a more wretched village than *Castri*. The other villages upon *Parnassus*, especially *Arracovia*, are comparatively wealthy;

Cause of  
the wretch-  
ed state of  
*Castri*.

CHAP. VI. the soil being extremely fertile, and the natural industry of the inhabitants, many of whom are *Albanians*, being very great. The wine produced over all the south side of the mountain is excellent; and there is not a resident *Turk* to be found.

*Medals.*

Upon our return to the house where we had lodged, we examined a few medals which our host had collected among the inhabitants, during our absence; and we obtained one, in silver, of very great rarity. It was a small medal of *Æta* in *THESSALY*, in excellent preservation, and the die remarkably fine. In front it exhibits the head of the *Nemeæan Lion*, champing the arrow of *Hercules* between his jaws; and upon the obverse side, the naked figure of the hero, in the moment of his *apotheosis* upon *Mount Æta*, his head radiated, and holding his knotted club between his hands, with the legend *OITAIΩN*; thus written from right to left, *ΝΩΙΑΤΙΟ*. This exceedingly rare medal is not known to exist in any other collection than that of the *Abbé Neumann*, at present forming a part of the Imperial cabinet at *Vienna*; where, however, there is no example of it in such perfect preservation. It may be considered as one of

the finest specimens of the *Grecian art*<sup>1</sup>. *Virgil*, who was not less an *antiquary* than a *poet*, borrowed much of his finest imagery from the gems and coins of *Greece*; and in the magnificent description given by *Ovid* of the *apotheosis of Hercules*<sup>2</sup>, he seems to have had in contemplation this medal of *ÆTA*.

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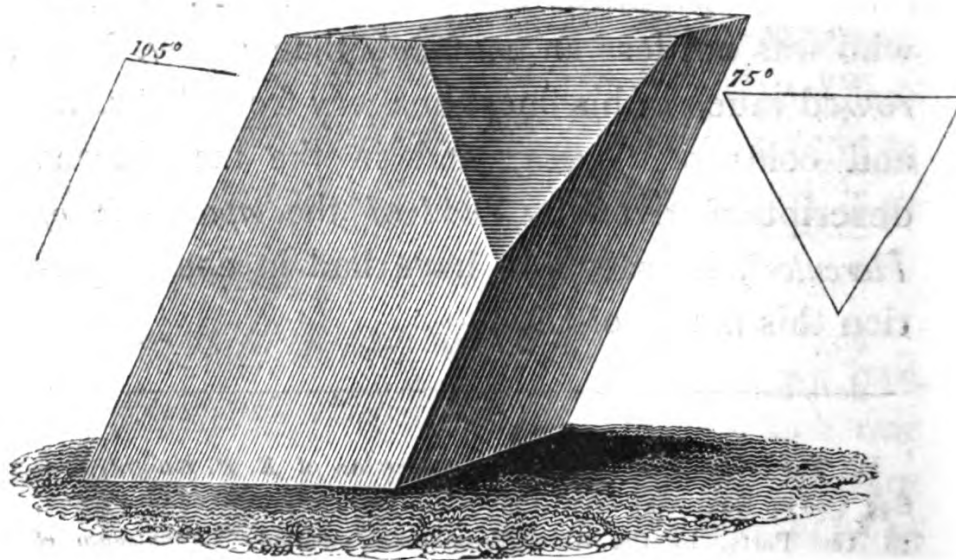
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(1) The original is now in the possession of *R. P. Knight*, Esq. See also an Engraving of this Medal in a work published at *Vienna*, in two Parts, by the Abbé *Neumann*; entitled "*Populorum et Regum Numi Veteres inediti.*" *Pars Prima*, Tab. V. No. 7. *Vindobonæ*, 1779. The Second Part appeared in 1783. Speaking of this silver medal of *Æta*, the author says, "*Hæc atque alia diversa Musei Pelleriniani, utraque ærea, Æteorum solæ sunt monetæ, quæ ad nostra tempora in apricum protulit ætas. Iis tertiam nunc addo, spectato metallo unicam, artificio, cujus veneres nec verbis, nec scalpro digne exprimas, nitore atque elegantid insignem.*" Ibid. p. 160.

(2) "Utque novus serpens, positâ cum pelle senectâ,  
Luxuriare solet, squamâque nitere recenti:  
Sic, ubi mortales Tirynthius exuit artus,  
Parte sui meliore viget; majorque videri  
Cœpit, et augustâ fieri gravitate verendus."

*Ovidii Metamorph.* lib. ix. 266.





*Primary Form of Carbonated Lime developed by the Fracture of Limestone, upon the Summit of Parnassus.*

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### DELPHI, TO THE SUMMIT OF PARNASSUS, AND TITHOREA.

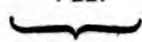
*Arracovia—Vineyards of Parnassus—Prospect—Condition of the inhabitants—Alteration of temperature—Traditions—Journey to the summit—Kallidia—Disappearance of the vegetation—Crater of Parnassus—Nature of the Peak—State of the thermometer upon the heights—Objects visible from the top of the mountain—Bearings by the compass—Adventure with the horses—Geological features—Singular effect of spontaneous decomposition in Limestone—Inference deduced from such phænomena—Plants of Parnassus—Lugari, or*

*Lycorea—Monastery of the Virgin—Caloyers—their devotional exercises—Ignorance of those priests—Journey to Velitza—CACHALES torrent—Discovery of the Ruins of Tithorea—its relative position with regard to Delphi—Produce of Velitza—Simplicity of the Natives—their miserable condition—Antiquity of Tithorea—Other Memorabilia—Egyptian custom of embalming birds illustrated—Inscription relating to Tithorea—its date ascertained—Other Inscriptions.*

**A**FTER we had taken some refreshment, we set out for *Arracovia*, distant three hours from *Delphi*, intending to pass the night there; as it is much higher upon *Parnassus*, and a better place for procuring guides to the summit of the mountain, than the miserable village we had quitted. At about half an hour's distance from *Delphi*, we found the remains of an antient square building, nobly constructed with large masses of stone, put together without any cement. As we continued along this route, we observed niches cut in the rocks above the road, on our left hand. One place, in particular, near to *Delphi*, exhibited several works of this kind; among others, the appearance of a large door hewn in the solid stone, which had been subsequently severed by the effect of an earthquake. It is close to the road, and well worth

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*Arracovia.*  
Vineyards  
of *Parnassus.*

notice; because hereabouts might have been one of the outworks of the city, or an arch covering the *Via Sacra*. We now entered the rich lands of *Arracovia*, full of the neatest vineyards, cultivated in the highest order, and seeming to extend over the mountain without any limitation, so as to cover all its sides and acclivities; and actually rising into parts of it so steep and elevated, that they would not have been tenable but for the industry of the inhabitants; who have built walls to protect them from torrents, and buoyed up the soil by means of terraces, to prevent its being washed away. The finest vineyards upon the banks of the *Rhine* are not managed with greater skill and labour than those of *Arracovia*, upon the south side of *Parnassus*. The land is most carefully weeded; and it is kept so clean and free from rubbish, that the stones are collected and placed in heaps; a little hollow space being left around each vine, to collect the moisture. The plants are all of them old stocks, from which they suffer only one scion to sprout for the year, and this is afterwards pruned again. The wine from these vineyards is excellent. The view throughout this journey, of all the Plain of *Salona*, and of the Bay, backed by the mountainous district of *Achaia* in

Prospect.

*Peloponnesus*, cannot be described; for it would be idle to repeat continually the words *grand*, and *magnificent*, as applied to the sublimest appearances in nature, without being able thereby to suggest the slightest conception of the real scene<sup>1</sup>.

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The village of *Arracovia* is rich in comparison with *Castri*. It contains two hundred and fifty houses, inhabited by *Albanians* and by *Greeks*, "without a Turk" among them. This expression, "without a Turk," is throughout *Greece* a saying of exultation; and it is never uttered but with an expression of triumph and of gladness. Yet some have pretended that there is a mild-

Condition  
of the in-  
habitants.

---

(1) This has been felt by all who have attempted to describe fine prospects without the pencil. "As far as language can describe, Mr. Gray pushed its powers," observes the Editor of his *Memoirs*. "Rejecting every general unmeaning and hyperbolical phrase, he selected the plainest, simplest, and most direct terms: yet, notwithstanding his judicious care in the use of these, I MUST OWN I FEEL THEM DEFECTIVE. (See *Mason's Note to Gray's Letter to Wharton; Mathias's Edit. vol. I. p. 469. Lond. 1814.*) Perhaps Gray never succeeded more happily, than when, laying aside description, he simply said, of a view in Westmoreland, "I saw in my glass a picture, that if I could transmit to you, and fix it in all the softness of its living colours, would fairly sell for a thousand pounds." (*Ibid.* p. 455.) The most faithful descriptive language may present, it is true, a picture to the mind; but then it is not the identical picture. "The imagination," says *Mason*, "receives clear and distinct images, but not true and exact images." (*Ibid.*)

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ness in the administration of the *Turkish* government, which would be ill supplied by the substitution of any other *European* dynasty in its place; that the people are not taxed beyond what they are well able to bear; and that they possess the means of redress against tyranny and oppression. Leaving to all such writers the very difficult task of proving what they have thus affirmed, and judging solely by our own experience, we can only say, that GREECE, divested of its *Moslem* governors, would be a land, whose inhabitants might “eat bread without scarceness, nor lack any thing in it;” unless indeed, and this is not improbable, it should fall under the dominion of *Russia*; when it would become “a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness.” *Arracoviâ* is situate at such an elevation upon the mountain, that a change of temperature was sensibly felt by our whole party; and after sun-set it became very cold. We passed the night in a small hut, writing letters to our friends in *England*. PARNASSUS affording sensations at our fingers’ ends to which we had long been strangers, we found it expedient to maintain a considerable fire in the centre of our little dwelling; which, filling the room with smoke, brought tears of acknowledgment down our cheeks, for the seasonable warmth it afforded,

Alteration  
of temperature.

although so near to the seat of *Apollo*. When we had finished our letters, as it was our usual practice, we entered into conversation with the inhabitants collected to gaze at the strangers who were their guests; and we were much amused by the traditions they still entertained. The people of *Delphi* had told us that there were only *five Muses*, and that the opinion as to there being *nine* in number was a heresy. Such disputes about the number of the *Muses* existed in antient times, and the *Arracovian Greeks* reduced their number to *three*. The only thing that surprised us was, that any notion of the kind should yet remain upon the spot; although all the fountains of *Parnassus*, of *Helicon*, and of *Pindus*, were once sacred to them. We have before proved, in what we related of *Platæa*, that the memory of *Antient Greece* is not quite obliterated among its modern inhabitants; and some additional facts were gathered here, tending to confirm this observation.

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Traditions.

On *Wednesday* morning, *December the sixteenth*, at nine o'clock, we set out, with four guides, for the SUMMIT OF PARNASSUS; returning a short distance, by the road to *Delphi*, and then turning up the mountain towards the right, but with our faces towards *Delphi*, until we had climbed

Journey  
to the  
Summit.

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the first precipices. After an hour's ascent, we had a fine view of one of the principal mountains of the *Morea*, now called *Tricǎlǎ*; the Bay of *Crissa* looking like a lake, bounded by the opposite mountains of *Peloponnesus*. Upon a former occasion, from the *Theatre* at *Sicyon*, we had seen the heights we were now climbing, and here we were enabled to survey all that region of *Achaia*, and the more distant summits. After having surmounted the first precipices, we found a large crater, with a village in it, called *Kallidia*, or *Callithea*, the summer residence of the *Arracovians*; who cultivate the plain at the bottom of this crater, and, during the hottest part of the year, come hither to collect its harvest. Thence turning from the former line of our ascent, we proceeded in an opposite direction; and after two hours' progress, looked down, from a great height, upon *Arracovia*. At twelve, having estimated the thermometer, we found that the mercury had fallen to 44° of *Fahrenheit*. Presently we came to another plain, with a *well* in it, full of clear water. Here we halted, and regaled ourselves with bread and wine. It now began to be cold; the road being, as before, steep, but admitting the horses to follow us the whole way. At this place, also, vegetation began to disappear. Expressing a

*Kallidia.*

Disappearance of the  
Vegetation.

wish to see a bulbous plant, extolled by the natives for its restorative virtues (which they eat, root and all, in vinegar), one of the guides was forced to descend in search of it. Another plant, because it contains a fluid of a milky colour, they give to women whose breasts fail to yield milk'. Thence climbing the mountain on its *north-eastern* side, we found it bleak, and destitute of herbage: higher up, we passed through snow, lying in patches. At length we reached a small plain, upon the top of the mountain, and also in the bottom of a crater, containing a pretty large pool of water, frozen over. In this respect the summit of this mountain resembles that of the *Kader-Idris* in *Wales*. The sides of the crater, rising in ridges around this plain, are the most elevated points of PARNASSUS. We climbed the highest of them, which was upon our left hand; but with great difficulty, as the sides were a glacier, covered with hard and slippery ice; and our fingers, in spite of our exertions, were benumbed. At last, however, we reached the upmost peak, and, having gained a footing upon its top, stood

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Crater of  
*Parnassus*.

Nature of  
the Peak.

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(1) The same custom is mentioned by *Wheeler*, (*Journ. into Greece*, p. 416. Lond. 1682.) He says that the *Greek* name for the plant is *Galacorta*; and he calls it *Scorzonera Cretica*.



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in pure æther; for although there were clouds below, we had not one above us. It was now two o'clock P.M. If the wind had blown from the north, we could not have remained an instant in this icy region, being little prepared to encounter such a sudden change of temperature<sup>1</sup>. Even with a soft breeze from the west, we had no sooner exposed our thermometer, than the mercury fell two degrees below the freezing point, and we had not seen it so low since we left the north of *Russia*.

State of  
the Ther-  
mometer.

Having been for years engaged in visiting the tops of mountains, the author must still confess that he never saw any thing to compare with the view which he beheld from the SUMMIT OF PARNASSUS. He possessed no other means at the time of ascertaining its elevation, than by attending to the objects visible in the horizon; and he determined their relative position by the compass. It is impossible therefore to state what the height of PARNASSUS may be; but he

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(1) *Humbolt*, upon the *Peak of Teneriffe*, speaks of the piercing temperature to which he was exposed, when the *mercury* had not fallen to the freezing point. "It was eight in the morning," says he, "and we were frozen with the cold, though the thermometer kept a little above the freezing point."

*Humbolt's "Personal Narrative,"* vol. I. p. 168. Lond. 1814.

believes it to be one of the highest mountains in *Europe*. The *Gulph of Corinth* had long looked like an ordinary lake; and it was now reduced to a pond. Towards the *north*, beyond all the plains of *THESSALY*, appeared *Olympus*, with its many tops, clad in shining snow, and expanding its vast breadth distinctly to the view. The other mountains of *Greece*, like the surface of the ocean in a rolling calm, rose in vast heaps, according to their different altitudes; but the eye ranged over every one of them. *HELICON* was one of these; and it is certainly inferior in height to *PARNASSUS*. A mountain before mentioned, called *Tricǎlǎ*, in the *Morea*, made a great figure in that mountainous territory: it was covered with snow, even the lower ridges not being destitute. Our guides said that this mountain was near to *Patras*. We looked down upon *Achaia*, *Argolis*, *Elis*, and *Arcadia*, as upon a model. Almost every part of the horizon was clear, excepting the *east*, *north-east*, and the *north-west*; our view being obstructed towards the *Ægean* and *Mount Athos*, as well as towards *Epirus*, by our being above the clouds; which concealed every object towards those points of the compass, although the day proved remarkably favourable for our undertaking in other respects. The frost was however so piercing,

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Objects visible from the top of the mountain.

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VII.Bearings  
by the  
Compass.

that we were in haste to conclude our observations. We found the bearings of the principal objects, by the compass, to be as follow:

|                                                                   |                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| ACRO-CORINTHUS . . . . .                                          | due south.      |
| MOUNT HELICON . . . . .                                           | s. e. and by s. |
| MOUNT HYMETTUS . . . . .                                          | s. e.           |
| NEGROPONT . . . . .                                               | s. e. and by e. |
| MOUNT OLYMPUS . . . . .                                           | n. and by e.    |
| TRICALÁ, in the Morea . . . . .                                   | s. w. and by s. |
| GALAXY . . . . .                                                  | w. s. w.        |
| PORT OF CRISSA, or <i>Salona Quay</i> ; between w. & w. and by s. |                 |

Adventure  
with the  
Horses.

To our great astonishment, as we were preparing to descend from this place, we saw the peasants who had the care of our horses arrive with the poor animals, quite up to the pool of frozen water upon the summit. We do not remember an instance where this is practicable upon any other mountain equally lofty. Horses have been conducted near to the summit of some mountains; as *St. Gothard*, and *St. Bernard*, in the *Alps*; but not quite to the top, especially where there is a glacier. Upon inferior mountains, indeed, as upon *Skiddaw* in *Cumberland*, persons have rode, and with ease, to the highest point. We had fearful work, afterwards, in conducting them down the icy declivities; being under the cruel necessity of turning them adrift in certain parts of the descent, and then leaving

them to slide, either upon their sides, or upon their backs, until they were intercepted by rocks, or by huge masses of rough stones, lying loose at the bottom of each glacier.

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The summit, and all the higher part of PARNASSUS, are of limestone, containing veins of marble, and great quantity of a blue *lumachella*, wherein are imbedded very large *entrochi*. The surprising appearance of such shells at this enormous elevation is very remarkable. We found them upon the highest peak, and over all the mountain. Similar phænomena have since been noticed upon the summit of *Mount Libanus*<sup>1</sup>. But all the limestone of *Parnassus* is not thus characterized. In places where the melting snow had disclosed the naked surface of the rock, we observed the most remarkable effect of *weathering* that, as far as our knowledge extends, has ever been noticed. A spontaneous decomposition of the stone had taken place, in consequence of the attacks of air and moisture during a series of ages; and this had occasioned rifts and fissures

Geological  
features.

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(1) By the most enterprising traveller that ever undertook to explore unknown regions—BURKHARDT.

CHAP. VII. to a considerable depth. Among these, we found a specimen of homogeneous *limestone*, which had separated from its parent mass by spontaneous decomposition; and thus, being exposed to accidental fracture, exhibited the primary form of a regularly crystallized carbonate; being a rhomboid, whose obtuse angle precisely equals that of *Iceland spar*. An incipient transition may also be noticed, in the same specimen, towards a secondary form, in the neat truncation of one of the solid angles of the rhomb<sup>1</sup>. This first suggested to the author a fact since confirmed by subsequent observations, that, in all homogeneous minerals, such is the tendency towards crystallization, that the inclination of surfaces disclosed by fracture will frequently point out the degree of inclination of the lateral planes belonging to the primary crystal; and thereby determine the nature of the stone, and of its chemical constituents. Mineralogists, greatly his superiors in the science, had before proved that this is true with regard to the fragments of substances that have resulted from a regular process of

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(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

*crystallization*<sup>2</sup>; but the observation had not been extended to bodies considered as *amorphous*. Nothing is more common, however, than the primary angle of crystallized *silica*, among the fragments of *common quartz*, when found in the form of *sand* or *gravel*; of the primary angle of *carbonate of lime*, in the fracture of a *shell*; or, upon a much grander scale, in the fissures of beds of *chalk*, as in the cliffs upon the south coast of Britain; also of the primary angle of *corundum* in the fracture of *emery*; together with many other examples that might be adduced, all of which would be rather out of place here. The author, indeed, apologizes for the little he has been tempted to introduce upon the subject, owing to his predilection for a favourite branch of Natural History; and believing, as he does, that if more attention were given to the circumstance, it would not only be serviceable to the science in general, but to the purposes of commerce, as connected with the sale of precious minerals, and with mining speculations.

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(2) Witness the surprising discovery of *Hauy*, and his theory of crystallization thereon founded. Also the observations of our own *Wollaston*, Secretary of the Royal Society, and his valuable invention of a *reflecting goniometer*, as applied to the inclination of surfaces disclosed by fracture, where crystallization has taken place.

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VII.

Plants of  
*Parnassus*.

We have described all the higher region of *Parnassus* as “bleak, and destitute of herbage;” but it is necessary to state, that this expression must be received with some limitation. A few rare plants may be noticed here and there, even to its very peak: and where this is the case, those *Alpine* herbs are often characterized by woolly leaves; as if Nature had provided their foliage with an investment suited to the rigours of their situation. We found the *Alpine Daphne*, sprouting through the snow and ice, quite up to the summit: also a beautiful species of *Cineraria*; and a new species of *Cherleria*, whose short half-shrubby stems, divided outwards into innumerable branchlets, terminated in little stars of leaves; these were so closely matted together as to resemble little cushions lying upon the ground. We also collected, upon this mountain, specimens of a *Pine*, belonging to the same section of the genus *Pinus* with the *Balm of Gilead* and *Silver Fir*<sup>1</sup>; but most resembling the latter species; and differing only in having the leaves pointed, without any notch at the end, and narrower than we have ever seen in that species. We were

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(1) *Pinus Balsamea*, and *Pinus Picea*.

however unfortunate in not finding either the cones or the blossoms; and must therefore reluctantly leave the pine-groves of *Parnassus* still enveloped in obscurity. The other plants found here are mentioned in a note<sup>2</sup>.

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(2) It is perhaps better to enumerate all of them, and to include the *new species* in the list.

1. The Alpine Daphne—*Daphne Alpina*.
2. *Potentilla speciosa*, of Willdenow.
3. The Rock Bellflower—*Campanula rupestris*, Sibthorpe.
4. *Pinus Balsamed.*
5. *Pinus Picea*.
6. Myrtle Spurge—*Euphorbia myrsinites*, Linn.
7. Thorny Thistle of Theophrastus—*Dryopis spinosa*, Linn.
8. A very beautiful species of *Cineraria*, with oval-oblong slightly-toothed leaves, with a thin white cottony web on their upper surface, and very soft and cottony beneath: the flowers in large terminal panicles, upon cottony footstalks. The species to which it seems to be the nearest allied is the *Cineraria aurantiaca*; from which, however, it appears to be very distinct: but as the blossoms were in a decaying state when we gathered them, we leave the *species* for future illustration.

9. We were more successful with a species of *Cherleria*, which is quite new. We have called it *CHERLERIA STELLATA*.

*CHERLERIA caulibus crassis suffrutescens, pedunculis hispidis.*—*Caules crassi, flexuosi, pollices plerumque tres seu quatuor longi, deorsum rugosi, nudique; supernè squamosi, ramosissimi. Ramuli densissimè conglobati, foliosi. Folia confertissima, rigida, patentia, inferiora lineari-subulata, subtùs sex-sulcata, suprà sub plana, margine asperà; superiora ovato-triangularia, sub carinata, glabra. Pedunculi calyce vix longiores hispidi. Calycis foliolis striati; acuti. Filamenta alternè breviora. Antheræ sub-ovatae biloculares. Styli capillares longi. Capsula calyce inclusa, trivalvis, ovato-triangulè, apice truncato.*



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VII.



*Lugari, or  
Lycorea.*

Monastery  
of the *Vir-*  
*gin.*

We now began to descend the *north-west* side of the mountain, having ascended by the side facing the *south-east*. Soon after leaving the summit, our guides pointed to one of the lower ridges of *Parnassus*, which commanded our passage down, and to which they gave the name of *Lugari*, or *Lycari*; perhaps the *LYCOREA* of *Pausanias*. The peasants in the plains of *BÆOTIA* call the whole mountain by the name of *Lakŭrā*; but those who reside upon *PARNASSUS* still retain among them its antient name; calling the heights, by a general appellation, *Parnassŭ*, and one of the ridges, in particular, *Lugari*. In our way down, our course afterwards bore towards the *east*. Rugged and steep as was the descent, our only difficulty related to the horses; being alarmed for their safety when the persons appointed to conduct them turned them adrift, as they often did, leaving them to roll, or to slide upon their backs, down the most fearful declivities. At seven o'clock P.M. in a woody region of the mountain, we arrived at a *monastery*, called that of the *Virgin of Jerusalem*, beautifully embowered in the midst of pine-groves, overlooking the mountains of the *LOCRI* and the *DRYOPES*, and the extensive plains which are watered by the *Cephissus*. It stands about three fourths of the

journey down; but we spent nearly as much time in descending to the spot from the summit as in going up from *Arracovia*. We left that village at half after nine in the forenoon, and reached the top of *Parnassus* at two P.M. At three P.M. we began to descend, and did not arrive at the monastery before seven; so that we had now employed ten hours in the whole undertaking. We were shewn, by some of the monks, into a large empty room, without an article of furniture, but containing a spacious hearth and a chimney, where we kindled a fire; and heaping a large quantity of wood, we passed the night very comfortably, although stretched upon the bare floor. This monastery contains fifty priests, who expressed more astonishment at our coming, and seemed more curious and inquisitive, than any we had before seen in GREECE: but their state of ignorance did not differ from that of the other wild tenants of their lofty wilderness; and their simplicity was such as to excite the laughter even of our guides, at every remark they made. They are called *Caloyers*; a name probably known in *Greece* long before the introduction of Christianity; being simply derived either from *καλὸς ἱερεὺς*, the "good priest," or from *καλογέροι*, signifying "good old fathers." Their

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*Caloyers.*

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VII.

Devotional  
Exercises  
of the Ca-  
loyers.

order is that of *St. Basil*: there is, in fact, no other order among the *Greeks*: they profess chastity and obedience. Their way of living is very austere, for they wholly abstain from flesh. Most of their time is taken up in barbarous devotional ceremonies; either in a recitation, against time, of the *Psalter*, or in bowing and kissing the ground; nor is it possible to conceive that a *Cree Indian*, capering before his idol in the wilds of *North America*, exhibits a more abject debasement of human intellect, than one of these *Caloyers* in the exercise of his *μετάνοιαι*, or *bowings*; three hundred of which he is obliged to perform every twenty-four hours<sup>1</sup>. The one half of those *bowings* they perform in the first two hours of the night; and the other half at midnight, before they arise to matins, which are to begin four hours before day, and to end with the dawning of the morning. In summer time, the day breaks upon them, and the sun rises, before their devotions are ended; so that they have scarcely the time and the liberty of convenient and natural repose<sup>2</sup>. These devotions are evidently *Heathen* ceremonies; and the services are also almost *Heathen*. A traveller

(1) See *Ricaut's State of the Greek Church*, pp. 204, 205. *Lond.* 1679.

(2) *Ibid.*

might have found the same mummerly practised two thousand years ago. Judging indeed from these vigils, wherein all their devotion appears to consist, the religion of Christ seems to be as foreign to those who call themselves its ministers, as if it had never existed; for, with the exception of now and then a hymn, sung in honour of the Virgin, or upon the festival of some Saint, nothing connected with the history of Christianity, or its worship, seems to have been introduced. Being curious to know whether such a thing as a Bible, or even a copy of any one of the Gospels, in their own language, existed among them, we asked permission to examine the books of their church; but they had none; nor were any of them able to read: neither had they any library or manuscripts belonging to the monastery. Yet when we spoke of the *χειρόγραφα* found in the monastery at *Patmos*, they seemed perfectly to understand us, and said that there were many such in the *Monastery of St. Luke*. This indeed is confirmed by what *Wheler* has said of that monastery, who mentions its manuscripts, and he himself purchased an *Evangelistary* during his visit to the place<sup>3</sup>. It was written, he says,

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VII.

Ignorance  
of those  
Priests.

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(3) *Journey into Greece*, p. 323. *Lond.* 1682.

CHAP. in capital letters. He saw also a fair copy of  
 VII. the Works of *St. Chrysostom*, a manuscript of  
 the twelfth century; and others written upon  
 vellum. •

Journey to  
*Velitza.*

The next day, *December the seventeenth*, proved rainy. We left the *Monastery of the Virgin*, and set out in a N.W. direction for *Velitza*; keeping to the left, along the side of the mountain, and descending during the space of half an hour. We had heard at *Lebadéa* of great ruins at *Velitza*; and it had been our intention, on the preceding day, if our time should permit, to descend thither from the *summit of Parnassus*; instead of proceeding by the way of the *monastery* where we passed the night. In this manner we should have followed the footsteps of *Pausanias*: and it was his description of the journey over *Parnassus*, from *Delphi*, which excited a suspicion in our minds that the ruins at *Velitza* were of no other city than TITHOREA, whose situation had not been ascertained at the time of our journey; and in this conjecture we were right. The archon of *Lebadéa* called them the *ruins of Thebes*; owing to a confused tradition of the destruction of a city of PHOCIS of this name still extant among the natives. There is a *Palæo-castro* at about an hour's distance

from *Velitza*, which is called *Thiva*, or *Thebes*. It is situate where the *Cachales* falls into the *Cephissus*. The former river they still call *Cachâ Rami*, and *Cachâle*; saying, that the name signifies *Evil Torrent*; “an appellation,” they affirm, “bestowed upon it because it destroyed (*Thiva*) *Thebes*.” Of the city thus called *Thebes*, whatever its real name may have been, no other vestige remains than a few stones, or traces of walls, in the soil near the bed of the CEPHISSUS. Not so of TITHOREA, whose discovery gave us the highest satisfaction, and whose remains are very considerable. They are situate on the N.E. side of PARNASSUS, close to the foot of the mountain. In our journey thither from the monastery, at the distance of about two miles and a half from the latter, we passed a ruined village, called *Neocorio*. Somewhat farther on, we saw, upon our left, a *tumulus* constructed of stones. As the rain continued, our road became very bad. About an hour and a half after leaving the *monastery*, we arrived at another village, with a fountain built of large stones, called *St. Mary’s*. Continuing along the base of *Parnassus*, we came to two very large pits: upon the edge of each was a *tumulus* of earth; and beyond we observed the foundation of a square structure, built of very considerable

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*Cachales*  
Torrent.

Discovery  
of the  
Ruins of  
*Tithorea*.

masses of stone. The place is now called "*the Giant's Leap*." It is distant about one hour from *Velitza*. Presently we came to another *tumulus*, upon which a *Turkish* sepulchre had been constructed. Afterwards we attempted to cross the bed of the torrent *Cachales*; but were obliged to make a circuitous route, owing to the great height of its banks, which resembled precipices. After passing it, we saw some sepulchres, hewn in the rock, close to our road; the tombs of its antient inhabitants, here and there disclosed, near to their city. Then we arrived at the walls of TITHOREA, extending in a surprising manner up the prodigious precipice of *Parnassus*, which rises behind the village of *Velitza*. Their remains are visible to a considerable height, upon the rocks, and even one of the mural turrets. In this precipice, above the ruins of the city, there is a *cavern*, concerning which we were told some marvellous stories by the peasants; but as the weather was unfavourable, and the approach difficult, we did not ascend to examine it. The water of the *Cachales* was at this time rushing in a furious torrent down the steep of *Parnassus*: it appeared of a milky colour, owing to the white calcareous matter with which it was impregnated.

*Delphi*, and TITHOREA, on different sides of the mountain, were the halting-places of those passing over *Parnassus*<sup>1</sup>, at the distance of eighty *stadia* from each other<sup>2</sup>; being situate as the towns of *Aoste* in *Piedmont*, and *Martinach* in the *Vallais*, are with regard to Mount *St. Bernard* in the ALPS. The distance was somewhat greater to those who travelled by the carriage road<sup>3</sup>. The guides who accompanied us from *Arracovia*, on the *Delphic* side, to the summit of *Parnassus*, had proposed to descend during the same day to *Velitza*; but from the length of time we spent in our passage, we had only been able to reach the Monastery of the *Virgin of Jerusalem*. The whole district on PARNASSUS towards the south was *Delphic*; and *Pausanias* relates, that all the country on the northern side was called *Tithorea*. “As to the name of the city,” says he<sup>4</sup>, “I know that *Herodotus*, in that part of his history in which he gives an account of the irruption of the

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Its relative  
position  
with re-  
gard to  
*Delphi*.

(1) ἴσταντι ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΥ. *Pausan.* lib. x. c. 32. p. 878. Ed. *Kuhn*.

(2) *Ibid*.

(3) Τὴν δὲ οὐ πάντα ὀρεινὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀχύμασιν ἐπιτήδειον, πλείονων ἔστι ἐλέγμετο εἶναι σταδίων. *Pausan.* *ibid.* p. 878.

(4) *Vid.* *Pausan.* *ibid.* *Lips.* 1696; et p. 672. ed. *Xylandri.* *Hanov.* 1613.



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*Persians into Greece*, differs from what is asserted in the oracles of *Bacis*: for *Bacis* calls this people *Tithorenses*; but *Herodotus* says, that when the barbarians invaded this country, the inhabitants fled to the summit of *Parnassus*: and he calls the city, NEON; and the summit of *Parnassus*, TITHOREA<sup>1</sup>. It appears, therefore, that all the country was at first called TITHOREA; but that in process of time, when the inhabitants collected themselves into one city, that which was once called NEON came to be denominated TITHOREA." The *olives* of this city were always, as they now are, few in number, but excellent in quality; and they were so highly celebrated, that they were conveyed as presents to the *Roman Emperors*<sup>2</sup>. They still maintain their antient reputation, being now sent as an acceptable offering to the *Pashas* and other grandees of *Turkey*. The village of *Velitza* contains about eighty houses.

Produce  
of *Velitza*.

(1) The passage in *Herodotus* (*lib. viii. c. 32.*) respecting the city *Neon* and *Tithorea* has been the subject of frequent dispute. The alteration of *νεμίνη* into *κσιμίνη*, which suggested itself to *Dr. Parr*, is confirmed by *Stephens*, *Valla*, and *Valckenaer*; and the emendation of *ἐπ' ἀντήν*, for *ἐπ' ἰωύτην*, proposed by *Wesseling*, renders the whole sentence clear and satisfactory. For further observations upon this subject, see "*The Tomb of Alexander*," Appendix, No. 4. p. 159. *Cambridge*, 1805.

(2) *Pausanias*, *lib. x. c. 32. p. 881.* ed. *Kuhnii*.

The chief produce of the land is wine, cotton, and corn. The wine is excellent. The village belongs to *Logothesi*, archon of *Lebadéa*: his brother resides here to collect his rents, who paid us a visit upon our arrival. The people of *Velitza* expressed great joy at seeing us; being simple and superstitious enough to believe that the fall of rain was owing to the coming of strangers. They had not seen rain before, they said, for an entire twelvemonth. During the melting of the snow upon *Parnassus*, there is, however, such a supply of water, that the *Cachales* is hardly fordable on horseback, although its bed is very wide. Here we heard again the absurd story of the destruction of *Thiva* (*Thebes*) by means of this torrent; meaning by *Thiva* the *Palæo-Castro*, at a short distance in the plain;—a story altogether destitute of probability. But a people who could believe that a visit paid to their village by a couple of travellers caused the rain to fall upon their land, are capable of giving faith to any thing. They are at present in a most wretched condition, owing to the extortions of *Ali Pasha*, or of those who have plundered in his name. In the short space of six months, they had paid to his tax-gatherers, as they told us, eighty purses; a sum equivalent to forty

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Simplicity  
of the Na-  
tives :

Their mi-  
serable  
condition.

thousand piastres. Poverty is very apparent in their dwellings; but the cottages of *Phocis* are generally as much inferior to those of *Bœotia*, as the latter are to those of *Attica*. Nor can it be otherwise, where the wretched inhabitants are so oppressed by their lords. The whole of the earnings of the peasant is here taken from him; he is scarcely allowed any means of subsistence. Add to this the frequent calamities of sickness and fire; and “plague, pestilence, and famine” will be found to have done their work. This village had been twice burned within one year, by banditti, who come generally from *Epirus*, or from the *Straits of Thermopylæ*, or from *Joannina*, or from *Zeitún*, or from the neighbourhood of *Joannina* and *Zeitún*. As one source of consolation, in the midst of so much misery, the inhabitants told us “they had no *Turks* resident among them.” Such is the forlorn condition of the present inhabitants of TITHOREA! It was widely different in former times; although it began to decline soon after the Christian æra. *Pausanias* relates, that the *Tithoreans* began to experience an adverse fortune one generation before his time<sup>1</sup>. The vestiges of the *Theatre*

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(1) *Pausanias*, lib. x. c. 32. p. 879. ed. *Kuhnii*.

were however then visible, and the *Peribolus* of the *antient Forum*<sup>2</sup>. We did not find the *Theatre*; which must be attributed entirely to our want of proper observation; because this, of all other things, is the most likely to remain. But we found, what we should least have expected to see remaining, namely, the *FORUM* mentioned by *Pausanias*. It is a square structure, built in the *Cyclopéan* style, with large masses of stone; but laid together with great evenness and regularity, although without any cement; the work being not so antient as the architecture of *Argos*, of *Tiryms*, or of *Mycenæ*. The walls of the city were executed in the same manner; and they were fortified with *mural turrets*, as at *Plataea*. The other *memorabilia* of *TITHOREA*, in the time of *Pausanias*<sup>3</sup>, were a *Grove*, consecrated to *Minerva*, containing her *Temple* (*ναός*) and *statue*; also a *monument* (*μνῆμα*) to the memory of *Antiope* and *Phocus*. At the distance of eighty *stadia* from *TITHOREA* was the *Temple of Esculapius*<sup>4</sup>; and at the distance of *forty stadia* from this *temple* there was a *Peribolus*, containing an *Adytum*, sacred

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Antiqui-  
ties of  
TITHOREA.

Other Me-  
morabilia.

(2) *Pausan.* *ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

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to *Isis*<sup>1</sup>. The *Tithoreans* held a *vernal* and an *autumnal solemnity* in honour of this Goddess: and so purely *Egyptian* were the sacrifices then offered, that the custom of swathing the victims in folds of linen<sup>2</sup> (after the same manner in which the *Ibis*, and the bodies and parts of bodies of other animals, were deposited, in *terra-cotta* vessels, in the subterraneous cavities beneath the *Pyramids of Saccára*) was considered as a necessary operation. From the account given by *Pausanias* of the ceremonies that were practised during the celebration of these *Egyptian solemnities* at TITHOREA, we may collect sufficient information for the illustration of that strange custom in *Egypt*; a subject hitherto involved in the utmost obscurity<sup>3</sup>. Here we find that certain birds called *Meleagrides*<sup>4</sup>, together with other animals, were sacrificed to *Isis*<sup>5</sup>, WRAPPED UP IN LINEN BANDAGES, AFTER THE EGYPTIAN

(1) *Pausanias*, lib. x. c. 32. p. 880.

(2) Καθιλιζασι δὲ δεισὶ σφᾶς τὰ ἱερῆα λίνου Τελαμῶσιν ἢ βύσσου. Ibid.

(3) See Vol. V. of these Travels, Chap. V. p. 229. Octavo Edition. ("Repository of embalmed birds.")

(4) The *birds* so called were *Guinea-fowls*, whose feathers and eggs are of a different colour; but the *Meleagrides* were the sisters of *Meleager*, supposed to have been thus metamorphosed.

(5) Vid. *Pausan.* ibid. p. 880.

MANNER OF SWATHING THE VICTIMS. After making this curious observation, it is further remarked, by the same author, that the *Egyptians* celebrate their festival of *Isis* when the *Nile* begins to rise<sup>6</sup>: and hence it may be inferred (as the *Tithorean solemnity* was an imitation of the *Egyptian festival*, even in such minute parts of the ceremony as *the swathing of the victims*, also described as being *buried*<sup>7</sup> near to the *sacred Adytum of Isis*<sup>8</sup>) that the *burial* of the *swathed animals* in the earthen pots at *Saccára* took place in the same manner, and at the celebration of the same festival.

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In the sanctuary belonging to the church of *Velitza*, we found an *inscription* which confirmed our conjecture with regard to the original name of the city whose ruins we had so fortunately discovered. It commemorates a tribute of honour rendered to *NERVA*, with an enumeration of his titles, by the citizens of *TITHOREA* and the family of the *FLAVII*, whose names are specified:

Inscription  
relating to  
TITHOREA.

(6) *Pausan.* *ibid.* p. 331.

(7) *Καὶ κατορύσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα.* *Ibid.* p. 380.

(8) *Ἄδυτον ἰσὸν Ἰσιδος.* *Ibid.*

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΝΕΡΒΑΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ  
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΧΗΣ  
 ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΥΠΑΤΟΝΤΟΔ  
 ΠΑΤΕΡΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΗΠΟΛΙΣ  
 ΤΙΘΟΡΕΩΝΚΑΙΤΦΛΑΒΙΟΣΣΩ  
 ΚΛΑΡΟΣΚΑΙΤΦΛΑΒΙΟΣΑΠΑΣ\*\*  
 ΚΑΙΛΦΛΑΒΙΟΣΠΩΛΛΙΑΝΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ

Having before published this inscription, together with a critical illustration of it, for which the author was indebted to the profound erudition and to the kindness of *Dr. PARR*, he must refer the reader to the work in which it appeared<sup>1</sup>; adding for the present only, that the date of it may be accurately ascertained. *NERVA* is here mentioned as being Consul for the *fourth* time: and he died at the end of January, A. D. 98. in a little less than a month after he had been declared, for the *fourth* time, Consul<sup>2</sup>. We noticed some other *inscriptions*

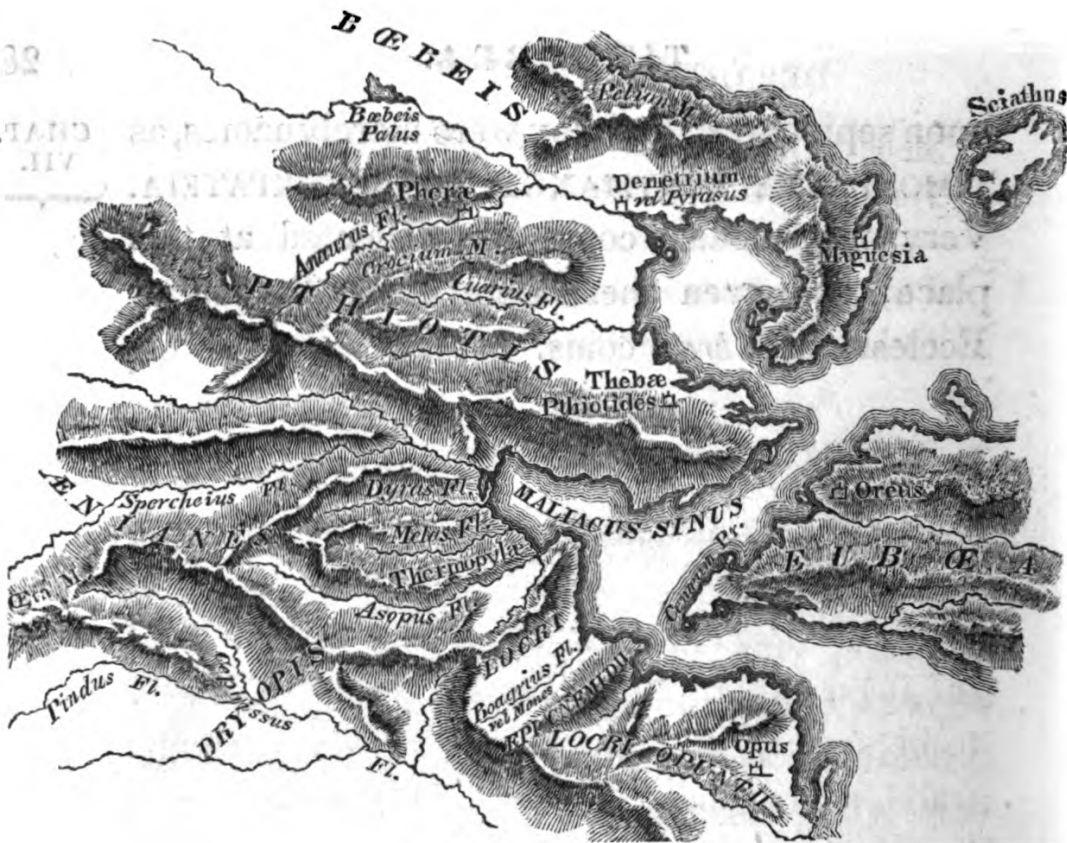
(1) See "*Tomb of Alexander*," Appendix, No. 4. p. 155. *Camb.* 1805.

(2) When this *inscription* was before published, the letters at the end of the third line were printed, from the author's copy, ΤΟΔ. "It was probably," observed *Dr. PARR*, "written ΤΟΔ;" although in numerals the line be sometimes omitted. *Sir WILLIAM GELL* has since visited ΤΙΤΗΟΡΕΑ, and found the writing to correspond with *Dr. PARR*'s learned conjecture. It is written ΤΟΔ.—*Sir William Gell* found also this *inscription* upon a sepulchre within the church :

ΑΡΧΕΒΟΤΑΑ  
 ΕΤΝΙΧΙΔΑΣ

upon sepulchres; but they were merely names, as  
TIMOKPATΗΣ, ΕΥΘΥΜΑΧΟΣ, and ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ. CHAP.  
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Very few medals could be collected at this  
place; and even these were either Roman or  
Ecclesiastical *brass* coins.





## CHAP. VIII.

### FROM TITHOREA, TO THE STRAITS OF THERMOPYLÆ, AND TO PHARSALUS.

*Palæo-Castro* — Ledon — Elatæa — *Observations by the magnetic needle* — Amphiclæa — *Via Militaris* — Cephissus — *Bearings from Mount Ceta* — Callidromos — Trachiniæ of Sophocles — *Cenæan Promontory* — *Appearance of the Sinus Maliacus* — Bodonitza — *Topography of the Epicnemidian Locris* — Thronium — *Polyandrium of the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ* — *Situation of the Spartan advanced guard* — *Great northern wall* — *Platanus Orientalis* — *Of the Pylæ and Thermæ* — *Fetid gaseous exhalation* — *alluded to by Sophocles* — *Nature of the Pass of Thermopylæ* — *Path over Mount*

Mount Ceta—Heracléa and River Asopus—Plain of Trachinia—Turkish *Dervéne*—Zeitûn—Albanese Women—Bearings from the Heights—Plain of Dowclu—Plain of Crocius—Alos—Plain of Pharsalia—Pharsa—Turkish Khan—Tahtar Couriers.

AFTER leaving *Velitza*, we again crossed the *Cachales*, and descended into the plain towards *Turco-Chorio*, where *Wheler* separated from his companion *Spon*<sup>1</sup>. In our way, we visited the *Palæo-Castro*, so often mentioned to us under the name of THEBES (*Thiva*). There is nothing to be seen upon the spot, but the traces of some walls, almost indiscernible; every other vestige having been long ago erased, to make way for the plough. It is situate on the s. s. w. side of the CEPHISSUS, at an hour's distance from *Turco-Chorio*, which is here in view, standing a

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VIII.

*Palæo-  
Castro.*

(1) *Wheler's* reflections, after this separation, were highly characteristic of his upright and amiable mind:—

“Thursday the ninth of March (1675-6), being thus separated from my companion, I left *Turco-Chorio*, bending my course eastwards, to go to *Thalanda*. The first thing that diverted me, in that solitary condition, was, that I soon found myself on a long streight way, fortified with a deep ditch on each side, leading to certain hills, which I saw a good way off before me. This I took as a good *omen*, portending success to my undertakings; it seeming to admonish me that I should not fail to be guarded by God's good providence, so long as I travelled in *the streight way of virtue and true piety*, to my heavenly country, *which is on high.*”—*Journey into Greece*, p. 463. Lond. 1682.

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little elevated, towards the *east*, upon the other side of this river. The distance to *Tithorea* is nearly the same; and the tradition of the *Tithoreans*, that this was *Thebes*, and that it was destroyed by an inundation from their torrent *Cachales*, is silly enough; as the inundation, if it ever proved destructive of a city here, must have proceeded from the *CEPHISSUS*. This river, flowing to *Screpú* (*ORCHOMENUS*), is here denominated, by the natives, *Sindaliú*. Possibly the ruins here may have been those of *LEDON*, a city abandoned in the time of *Pausanias*<sup>1</sup>; who says, that the people to whom it belonged did not reside among the ruins of their city, but near to them. It has been usual to suppose that *Turco-Chorio* stands upon the site of *ELATÉA*<sup>2</sup>; to which there seems to be no objection, as it stood in the plain watered by the *Cephissus*, and was near to *AMPHICLEA*, where *Dadi* now stands. The gentle rise of the plain, from the river towards the walls of the city, is moreover distinctly mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>3</sup>, and it is a characteristical feature of the

*Ledon.*

*Elatéa.*

(1) Lib. x. c. 33, p. 881. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(2) See *D'Anville*, "Antient Geography," vol. I. p. 212. *London*, 1794, &c.

(3) Καὶ αὖθις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνάσσης ἢ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ Ἐλαρείων ἄσσιω.  
*Pausaniæ Phocica*, cap. 34. p. 885. ed. *Kuhnii*.

topography of *Turco-Chorio*. *Elatæa* was, next to *Delphi*, the largest city in all *Phocis*. There was another town of this name in *Thessaly*, near to *Gonnus*<sup>4</sup>. It stood within the defile leading to the *Valley of Tempe*. Every degree of certainty with regard to the position of the two cities, ELATÉA and LEDON, must be afforded by others, better provided with facts for ascertaining their real situation; particularly with *inscriptions* found upon the spot. Here the mercury in our thermometer indicated, at noon, 52° of *Fahrenheit*. As the spacious and open plain of *Palæo-Castro* offered a favourable point of observation for determining the situation of many principal objects, and especially of TITHOREA, whose relative position respecting those objects it is necessary to ascertain, we noted their bearings by a small pocket compass. Its distance from *Tithorea* and from *Turco-Chorio* has been already given.

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TITHOREA—*south-west* and by *south*; situate at the feet of precipices, and upon the *south-south-east* side of a chasm of PAR-NASSUS, whence rushes the torrent *Cachales*. Upon the other side of this

Observations by the Magnetic Needle.

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(4) According to *Livy*.

chasm, there is a way up to the summit of the mountain; being in all probability the road from *Delphi*, as mentioned by *Pausanias*. The highest peak of PARNASSUS towers into the clouds above the *chasm* close to which *Tithorea* is placed; and exactly in a line with it; so as to appear immediately over it.

*Turco-Chorio*, formerly ELATÉA, due east, upon the other side of the *Cephissus*, in full view.

THE RIVER CEPHISSUS—flowing from north-west to south-east.

THE CACHALES—falling into the *Cephissus*, from south-south-east towards north-north-west.

HIGHEST PEAK OF PARNASSUS—south-west and by south.

MOUNT ŒTA—north-north-east.

Road over MOUNT ŒTA, to the STRAITS OF THERMOPYLÆ, north-west and by west.

The wall of the *Palæo-Castro* extends from west-north-west to east-south-east; that is to say, from the *left* to the *right* of a person who is standing with his back towards *Tithorea* and PARNASSUS.

From the *Palæo-Castro* we turned towards

the *north-west* and by *north*, passing the *Cachales* by a bridge, and leaving a small village called *Vourna*, of course written *Búrna*, on our right hand. Here PARNASSUS projects into the plain; so that we crossed over this foot of the mountain, and, descending, passed a river called *Karasspotami*, or *Madam's River*, by a bridge. Soon afterwards we entered the town of *Dadi*. Here we found ruins almost as much worth notice as those of *Tithorea*. Upon a hill beyond the town, where there now stands a small church, antient walls may be observed, similar in their architecture to what we have already described at the latter place. They extend all around the hill; and one of the *mural turrets* is yet standing. We know not the antient city to which these ruins belonged. It must have been a place of great consideration; probably it was the AMPHICÆA of *Herodotus*<sup>1</sup>, called AMPHICLÉA by *Pausanias*. It was denominated OPHITÉA by the *Amphictyons*, when a decree was passed for the destruction of the towns of PHOCIS<sup>2</sup>. Its inhabitants referred this last appellation,

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VIII.*Amphicléa.*

(1) Καὶ Ἀμφικαίων, κ. τ. λ. *Herodoti Hist. lib. viii. cap. 33. p. 469. ed. Gronov. L. Bat. 1716.* — See also *Stephanus de Urbibus*, p. 78. *Amst. 1678.*

(2) *Pausan. lib. x. c. 33. p. 884. ed. Kuhn.*

signifying the *City of the Serpent*, to one of those popular tales that were common in Greece. They related, that a wealthy citizen, wishing to conceal his infant heir from the fury of his enemies, hid him within a *vase*<sup>1</sup>; where a wolf, attempting to devour the child, was repulsed by a serpent which had coiled itself around the vessel, and guarded the infant. The father coming in search of his child, and perceiving the serpent, hastily threw his dart at it, and killed both the serpent and his son. Overwhelmed with affliction for his loss, which was aggravated upon hearing from some shepherds of the serpent's guardianship of the infant, he caused their two bodies to be consumed upon one pile, and consigned their ashes to the same sepulchre<sup>2</sup>;—and from that time the city was called ΟΦΗΤΕΑ. It was near to the *Cephissus*<sup>3</sup>, and to MOUNT ŒTA: corresponding therefore, as to its situation, with the position of *Dadi*, pronounced *Thathi*. There was at AMPHICLÉA a *Temple of Bacchus*, wherein persons afflicted with sickness were received, to pass the night,

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(1) Ἐς ἀγγεῖον. *Pausan.* lib. x. c. 33. p. 884. ed. *Kuhn.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Παρὰ τὴν Κηφιστὸν ποταμὸν. *Herodoti Hist.* lib. viii. c. 33. ed. *Gronov.*

as in the *Temples of Æsculapius*; and where the God communicated to the patients, in a dream, the remedies proper for their respective maladies. *Dadi* is now a very considerable town, for this part of *Greece*. It is built, like *Delphi*, in the form of a theatre; upon a series of terraces rising one above the other, facing the plain traversed by the *Cephissus*, towards the north, or north-east. It contains seven hundred houses, and some good shops; but the people are not so industrious, nor are their houses so cleanly, as those of *ATTICA*. We did not remain with them more than an hour; but continued our journey towards *Bodonitza*, situate in the passage of *MOUNT CETA*, above the descent to the *Straits of Thermopylæ*. Upon leaving the town, appear the ruins we have mentioned, upon an eminence towards the left.

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We now rode along an antient *military way*, and by an aqueduct and an antient fountain, as we descended by a gradual declivity from *Dadi* into the Plain of *Elatéa*. Upon our right hand, near to the road, there was a *Tumulus* of earth. Entering the plain, we passed the *Cephissus*, by a bridge of five arches, hand-

*Via Militaris.*

*Cephissus.*

(4) *Pausan.* *ibid.* loco supradicto.



somely, if not well constructed; and then continued by the side of the river for a short distance, having it upon our right hand. The plain through which this river flows is rich land<sup>1</sup>. Soon afterwards we quitted its banks, and, crossing the plain, began to ascend a part of MOUNT CETA<sup>2</sup>, which bounds the Plain of *Elatéa* upon its northern side, opposite to PARNASSUS. Here we saw the foundations of ruined walls upon our *left*; and, as we continued to ascend, a ruin upon our *right*; denominated, by the people of the country, *the Church of St. John*. Higher up, we rode by a ruined village, and a mosque built of its materials: the place is called *Mergenary*. Thence, encountering a

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(1) It was always celebrated as the best land in all PHOCIS. τῆ δὲ διακτεριμίνωι ἀρίστη τῆς Φωκίδος ἔστιν ἡ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισόν. (Pausan. lib. x. c. 33. p. 883.) Homer extols it in this passage:

Οἱ τ' ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον Ἴναιον.

(2) The name of CETA was more particularly applied to that part of it which rises immediately over the *Straits of Thermopylæ*; but the descriptions given by *Livy* and by *Strabo* of the mountain are so perspicuous, that there can be no difficulty in identifying it with these heights above *Bodonitza*, towards the *south-west*; for they are a continuation of the same mountainous barrier, separating PHOCIS from the territories of the LOCRI. The passage of *Strabo* is too long for insertion here. It begins, Τὸ δ' ἄρος διακίβηται ἀπὸ Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, &c. &c. (Vid. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 620. ed. Oxon.*) *Livy's* description is yet more minute. Vid. *Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 15. tom. III. p. 266. ed. Crevier. Paris, 1738.*

very bad road, and a narrow pass; as we ascended higher up the mountain, our situation being very elevated, we again observed the bearings of the principal objects; and noted them in the following order:

*Bearings from the Summit of MOUNT CETA.*

- MOUNT PARNES, in ATTICA, now *Noziā*, s. e.
- MOUNT HYMETTUS . . . . . s. e. and by e.
- The COURSE OF THE CEPHISSUS, from w. n. w. to e. s. e.
- Highest point of PARNASSUS . . . s. and by w.
- The whole range of PARNASSUS, extending from n. w. to s. e.
- Dadi*, upon the base of PARNASSUS . . . s. s. w.
- MOUNT HELICON . . . . . s. s. e.
- MOUNT CITHÆRON . . . . . s. e. and by s.
- TITHOREA, upon PARNASSUS . . . s. and by e.
- The COURSE OF THE CACHALES, in its progress to join the *Cephissus*, flowing from *Tithorea* . . from s. and by e. to n. and by w.
- Bodonitza*, looking down on the other side of the mountain, n. e. and by n.
- A very high Mountain, perhaps the top of MOUNT ATHOS, visible across the GULPH OF MALIA . n. n. e.

We were now upon the summit of all this part of CETA: and as the descent begins here to the *Straits of Thermopylæ*, this is perhaps that eminence of the mountain which bore the appellation of CALLIDROMOS, possibly from the astonishing beauty and grandeur of the prospect, visible along this part of the *Via Militaris*. Some have

*Callidromos.*

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considered the heights impending immediately over the site of the hot springs at *Thermopylæ* as the *Callidromos*; not considering that *Cato* occupied the summit of that name with a part of the *Roman* army, and that it was in the most eastern part of the chain of *Æta*<sup>1</sup>. As soon as we began to descend, we were beyond measure surprised with the immensity and magnificence of the scene that opened all at once upon us. It comprehended the whole of the GULPH OF MALIA, looking like a lake in the vast depth below, commanded by the towers of *Bodonitza*, which appeared enthroned upon a conical and lofty hill among the craggy summits that were heaped close under our view, also overlooking all the plain between *Mount Æta* and the sea. Every part of this fine prospect has been ennobled by the genius of *Sophocles*, who adapted his tragedy of the *Trachiniæ* entirely to the scenery here. He has even enumerated the particular *trees* found upon this summit of *Æta*, and makes *Hercules* select them for his *funeral*

*Trachiniæ*  
of SOPHO-  
CLES.

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(1) "Extremos ad orientem montes *Ætam* vocant: quorum quod altissimum est, *Callidromon* appellatur; in cujus valle," &c. (*Livii Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 15. tom. III. p. 266. ed. Crevier.*) where there was a valley traversed by the *Military Way*, a description inapplicable to that part of *Æta* which is above the *Therma*.

*pile*;—the *oak*, the *wild-olive*, and the *pine-tree*<sup>2</sup>. He also alludes to a species of *bird*, which now inhabits these groves<sup>3</sup>. We were therefore viewing the very objects which inspired the poet with the design of his play<sup>4</sup>. Upon the right, the *Cenæan Promontory*<sup>5</sup> of EUBÆA projected into the middle of this fine picture<sup>6</sup>, where *Hercules* set up those altars upon which he sacrificed to *Cenæan Jupiter*<sup>7</sup>. Towards the left, extended, in many a wavy line and sinuous projection, the summits and the shores of THESSALY. The sun was setting: and as deeper shadows began to curtain the many tints which enlivened the distant objects, we had the further gratification of seeing the full moon rise in all her splendour, to give new

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Cenæan  
Promon-  
tory.

(2) Vid. ver. 1195. vol. I. p. 272. ed. Brunck.

(3) Ibid. ver. 105.

(4) The fine passage of Milton, "*As the wakeful bird sings darkling,*" may therefore be said to have originated here; for it is evidently taken from the *διὰ τιν' ἄθλιον ὄρνιν* of SOPHOCLES.

(5) Καθ' ἃ καὶ τὸ Κήναιον ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀντίκειται, ἄκρα βλέπουσα πρὸς ἰσπεραν καὶ τὸν Μαλίαια κόλπον, πορθμῶ διειρηγομένη σχεδὸν εἴκοσι σταδίων. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 617. ed. Oxon.*

(6) See the Plate facing page 232, Vol. IV. of the Quarto Edition of these Travels.

(7) Ἀκτὴ τις ἔστ' Εὐβοίης, ἐνθ' ὀρίζεται  
βωμῶς, σελιῆ τ' ἔγκαρπα Κηναίῳ Διῷ.

*Sophoclis Trachiniæ*, ver. 237. vol. I. p. 234. ed. Brunck.

ἜΩ Κηναία κρηπίς βωμῶν

ἱερῶν, κ. τ. λ.

Ibid. ver. 993. vol. I. p. 264.

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Appear-  
ance of the  
*Sinus Ma-*  
*liacus.*

beauties to this indescribable scene. We remained for some time fixed to the spot, gazing with fresh wonder, at every instant. It possessed more than any effect of transparent painting can possibly represent, because the hues and the lights and the shadows varied at every moment. At last the sea appeared of a rich blue colour, somewhat darker than the sky, which was also blue. The higher mountains of *Thessaly* had the most vivid dyes: upon some of their tops the parting rays of the sun left streaks of an intense colour, and of a dazzling brightness. Presently, all the surface of the gulph shone with the reflected beams of the moon, as if it had been a flood of liquid silver. As soon as this appearance ensued, the lateral features of the mountains began to fade, and to disappear, as their distance from the eye increased; their outline being still preserved, so that the more remote exhibited only masses like waves in the horizon, covered by one uniform pale tint, unvaried by any difference of colour or of shadow. Nearer to the view, the tints were of a deeper cast; investing the sides and declivities of the chasm through which our descent lay, and the towers of *Bodonitza*, with bolder and darker shadows: but even here, in the fore-ground, and over all

the precipices, and broken rocks, which appeared on either side crowned with thick-set forests of oak and pine trees, some parts might be observed less severe; but these transitions were of a grey cast; harmonizing with the shadows among which they appeared.

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Hence we descended to *Bodonitza*; and not being permitted to enter the fortress, we passed the night in the village which is below the walls. As we entered, we observed part of an antient paved-way and an aqueduct; but there were no other antiquities about the spot; neither marbles nor inscriptions; nor could we procure a single medal. The poor inhabitants were unaccustomed to the sight of coffee; an article of a traveller's fare almost essential to his existence in *Turkey*, and common enough in all the great towns. Their wine was also bad: so that we fared but ill in this part of our journey. The next morning (*Dec. 19.*) we examined the outside of the citadel; but all the influence of our *Tchohodar* could not procure us admission to the interior. We saw plainly that it had ever been an important bulwark in guarding this passage. There are remains of antient walls below the hill upon which it stands, as of a town below the

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Topogra-  
phy of the  
*Epicnemio-*  
*dian Lo-*  
*cris.*

*Thronium.*

*Acropolis*; resembling the works already described at *Tithorea* and *Dadi*. Some have supposed that *Bodonitza* was *Opus*: but this cannot be true, because *Opus*, capital of a southern district of *Locris* bearing its name, could not therefore belong to the *Locri Epicnemidii*. Its situation in the midst of a defile of MOUNT CETA, leading to *Thermopylæ*, and not upon the coast, although at no great distance from it, is so remarkable, that in the description given by antient writers of the cities of the LOCRI, something applicable to its characteristic position and appearance might be expected. We have already proved that it could not have been *Opus*; but there is great probability that it was THRONIUM; and the appearance of the citadel will add strength to this opinion. First it should be observed, that *Thronium* is mentioned by *Ptolemy* as having a *mediterranean* situation; and *Strabo* makes the same observation concerning it<sup>1</sup>. But it was not far from the coast; because *Polybius*, after speaking of the conference held with *Philip* in LOCRI, upon the

(1) Μετὰ δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίοις ἀπὸ Κνημίδος λιμῆν, ὑπὲρ οὗ κεῖται τὸ Θρόνιον ἐν σταδίοις τοῖς ἴσοις κατὰ τὴν μισόγειαν εἰθ' ἢ βοάγγριος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν, ὃ παραρρῖων τὸ Θρόνιον, Μάνην δ' ἐπονομάζουσιν αὐτόν· ἔστι δὲ χιμαῦρος, κ. τ. λ. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. pp. 617, 618. ed. Usque.*

coast, near to the town of *Nicæa*, adds, that it was adjourned until the day following, when it was determined that it should be renewed upon the shore towards *Thronium*<sup>2</sup>. This city was also by a river called *Boagrius*, near to its embouchure. *Strabo* calls this river *a torrent*<sup>3</sup>. *Homer* gives the same description of its situation<sup>4</sup>. The river which flows from *Bodonitza* into the gulph, is now called *Alimána*. This could not have been the position of *Nicæa*; for this city stood by the sea-shore<sup>5</sup>. *Scarphe*, although its situation were elevated<sup>6</sup>, was only a village between *Thronium* and THERMOPYLÆ<sup>7</sup>. *Heraclæa*, more antiently *Trachis*, was in the *Trachinian Plain*<sup>8</sup>, upon the northern side of the

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(2) Τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος, ταξάμινι συμπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Θρόνιον αἰγιαλὸν, τότε μὲν ἐχωρίσθησαν. *Polybius*, lib. xvii. cap. 9. tom. IV. p. 21. ed. *Schweighæus*. Lips. 1790.

(3) *Strabo* calls it *χρῖμαρρος*. It was dry in certain seasons of the year. Vid. *Strabon*. Geog. lib. ix. loco cit.

(4) — Θρόνιον τι, Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέθρα. *Homeri Iliad*. β. 553.

(5) Νικαία μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Λοκρῶν. *Strabon*. Geog. lib. ix. p. 621. ed. *Oxon*.

(6) Ἡ δὲ Σκάρφη κεῖται ἐφ' ὕψους. *Ibid*. p. 618.

(7) Vid. *Livium*, Hist. lib. xxxiii. c. 3. tom. III. p. 99. ed. *Crev*. Paris, 1738.

(8) Ἐν Τραχινίαις. (*Thucydides*, lib. iii. c. 92.) Forty stadia from *Thermopylæ*, and twenty from the sea.





*defile*. Other towns of the *Locri* might be mentioned, whose situation was even more remote; and towards the south, some of them belonging even to the *fétid* inhabitants<sup>1</sup> of *Locris*, the *Locri Ozolæ* upon the *Gulph of Corinth*. The reason why so little notice has been taken of *Bodonitza*, is, that travellers visiting *Turco-Chorio*, and thence proceeding towards the north, have gone by *Mola* along the coast; although the antient paved causeway leading to *Thermopylæ* from *Elatæa* follow this defile of *Mount Œta*. If we have recourse to *Latin* authors for our information respecting *Bodonitza*, and among these to *Livy*, in the hope that a place so remarkable has not escaped the notice of an historian, who has written an elaborate description of all the country in the neighbourhood of *Thermopylæ*; we shall be far from arriving at any thing decisive. With regard to *Mount Œta*, we are told by him<sup>2</sup>, that the range of mountains

(1) Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ταφίαστος λόφος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Νέσσου μνημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Κενταύρων ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς σησιδόνος φασὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῆ ῥίζῃ τοῦ λόφου προσχέμενον δυσῶδες, καὶ θρόμβους ἔχον ὕδωρ εἶναι. Διὰ δὲ τούτου καὶ ὈΖΟΛΑΣ καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἔθνος. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 619. ed. Oxon.*

(2) "Id jugum, sicut Apennini dorso Italia dividitur, ita mediam Græciam dirimit. . . . . Extremos ad orientem montes ŒTAM vocant: quorum quod altissimum est, *Callidromon* appellatur; in cujus valle ad Maliacum sinum vergente iter est non latius quàm sexaginta passus. Hæc una militaris via est," &c. *Livio, Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 15. tom. III. p. 266. ed. Crevier.*

bearing this appellation was so extensive, that it ran through all *Greece*; dividing it into two parts, as the *Apennines* divide *Italy*: only that portion of it being properly called *ŒTA*, which is heaped up into ridges towards the *east*. The highest part of all was called *Callidromos*; accessible, however, to an army,—because *Cato* drove the *Ætoli*ans, having vanquished them, from this summit<sup>3</sup>: and there was a valley lying at its foot, only sixty paces wide, through which a road led to the GULPH OF MALIA; answering to that valley wherein *Bodonitza* is situate. There are four towns belonging to this neighbourhood of whose situation we are altogether ignorant; *Cnemis*, *Alpenus*, *Tichius*, and *Rhoduntia*: two of them (the *first* and *last*) being described by *Strabo* as by nature fortified<sup>4</sup>; and *Livy*, relating an attack made upon the *two last* towns, speaks of the difficulty to which *Flaccus* was exposed, in his attempts to storm their citadels<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps, after all that has been urged, it will be plain that *Bodonitza* was

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(3) Vid. *Liv.* *ibid.* c. 18, tom. III. p. 270.

(4) Vide *Strab.* *ibid.* pp. 617, 621.

(5) “Flacco non eadem fortuna ad *Tichiunta* et *Rhoduntiam*, nequicquam subire ad ea castella conato, fuerat.” *Livio*, *ibid.*

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**THRONIUM.** At the same time, something should be said of *Cnemis*; for the mountain of this name, whence the *Locri Epicnemidii* received their peculiar appellation, was contiguous to *Mount Eta*, and to the *Gulph of Malia*; and the characteristic description given of the town of *Cnemis* in two words (*χωρίον ἐρυμνόν*) by *Strabo* may be considered as applicable to the situation of the present citadel; but the position of *Bodonitza*, respecting the *XEIMAPPOS* flowing by it to the gulph, added to the correspondence of its appearance with the evident etymology of **THRONIUM**, and the difficulty of assigning to the latter any other situation, afford strong presumption for believing that it stood here. It must however be confessed, that this is not the spot where *Thronium* is placed, according to the observations of *Melétius*, in his *Geography*<sup>1</sup>. He would infer, from an *inscription* found at a place called *Palæo-castro*, that the site of **THRONIUM** was elsewhere. The references we have already made to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* decidedly prove that it was not upon the shore; but the latter mentions a *port*, distant twenty *stadia* from

(1) Θρόνιον, τοῦ ὁποιοῦ ὁ τόπος καλεῖται κρινῶς Παλαιόκαστρο εἰς τὰ Μάρμαρα.  
*Melétius* says he saw there this inscription:

ΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΑΔΑΜΩΙΘΡΟΝΙΕΩΝ.

*Cnemis*, above which, at an equal distance of twenty stadia (κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν), THRONIUM was situate; and there may have been the inscription to which *Melétius* alludes<sup>2</sup>.

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We now set out upon the most interesting part of all our travels, — an expedition to the STRAITS OF THERMOPYLÆ: and we began the day's journey with increased satisfaction, because we had already observed, that, in quitting the usual track of travellers by the coast, we were actually following the antient *military way*, mentioned by *Livy*, as it was prepared and paved by the States of GREECE for the passage of their armies; and, consequently, that we were now treading in the footsteps of those *Spartans* who with *Leonidas* guarded this defile at the invasion of *Xerxes*. The remains of the old paved road will long continue; because it is the common practice of passengers to avoid this pavement; preferring an easier path, by the side of it. Although the whole of this road be a descent from *Bodonitza*, we nevertheless continued to proceed at a considerable height

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(2) Vid. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. pp. 617, 618. ed. Oron.* See also for *Thronium*, what *Pausanias* says in his *Eliacs*, cap. 22. p. 435. ed. *Kuhnii.*

above the level of the marshy plain of *Mola* and the sea. The hills around us were covered with trees; and we found some rare plants growing beneath them, both among the rocks, and over the rest of this narrow valley<sup>1</sup>. We

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(1) The following *Note* contains the Plants we collected in the *Defile of Thermopylæ*:

- Common Phillyrea—*Phillyrea media*, Linn.
- Scarlet Oak—*Quercus coccifera*, Linn.
- Rough Bindweed—*Smilax aspera*, Linn.
- Common Rue—*Ruta graveolens*, Linn.
- Ground Germander—*Teucrium Chamædrys*, Linn.
- Common Chick-Pea—*Cicer arietinum*, Linn.
- Grass-leaved Iris—*Iris graminea*, Linn.
- Common Olive—*Olea Europæa*, Linn.
- Heath-leaved St. John's Wort, supposed to be the *Kópis* of Dioscorides—*Hypericum Coris*, Linn.

Some of these plants were gathered at the *Hot Springs* in the narrowest part of the *Pass*, close to the *Via Militaris*.

Here we also found a very aromatic little shrub, branching almost from the ground, the younger branches quadrangular, and rough, with short hairs pointing downwards; the leaves linear, very blunt, a little channelled above, closely pierced on both sides with little concave dots, and ciliated with a few strong bristles at the edges, and disposed close to each other in four rows on the small branches, the large ones being always leafless: as the leaves grow older, many of their ciliæ fall off, and they appear nearly naked. The inflorescence is terminal in a kind of spike an inch and a half long, and composed of about five whorls of flowers, the uppermost of which are so close as to touch each other, but the undermost gradually a little more distant: the bracts are lanceolate and ciliated at the edges, and extend beyond the whorls, but fall off soon after the season of flowering: the calyx is bilabiate, and a little compressed, with two prominent ciliated edges, and sparkles with numerous little fiery-coloured dots; the mouth bilabiate, ciliated, and thickly set with long white hairs; the upper lip divided to the base, into two very narrow segments; the upper lip tridentate; the seeds

four,

had journeyed in this manner for about an hour, when, having passed several *stadia* of the antient pavement, we suddenly found ourselves in a small plain surrounded by mountains, just before the descent to the narrowest part of the *Straits* falls off abruptly, by a steep and uninterrupted declivity. Here we observed, close to the *antient way*, upon our right, an antient TUMULUS, upon which the broken remains of a massive pedestal, as a foundation for some monument, were yet conspicuous. In its present state, it is sufficiently entire to prove that the form of this pedestal was square, and that it covered the top of a conical mound of earth;

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four, naked in the bottom of the calyx, but one of them only appears to come to maturity, which is of an inversely ovate form. Unfortunately, all the flowers had fallen, before we saw it. It will however appear, from the above description, that the plant (with the exception of the corolla, which is yet unknown) hath the essential character both of THYMUS and THYMBRA; and even when the blossom is discovered, unless it shall prove different from that of either of the above *genera*, must still remain *ambiguous*. As the compressed sharp edges of the calyx, however, are certainly a more decided character than the hairs at the mouth, which we have observed in plants of this order, otherwise very different both in character and habit; and as the habit of our plant approaches considerably to that of THYMBRA; that the knowledge of it may not entirely be lost, suffice it at present to describe it as a dubious species of that *Genus*, by the name of THYMBRA? AMBIGUA.—THYMBRA? *floribus verticillatis spicatis, spicis elongatis; foliis quadrifariam imbricatis, linearibus, ciliatis, utrinque punctatis obtusissimis; bracteis lanceolatis flores excedentibus.*

which is the shape common not only to antient sepulchres in general, but in particular to those of GREECE; as appears in the examples already adduced of the *Tomb of the Athenians* in the Plain of MARATHON, and the *Tomb of the Thebans* in the Plain of CHÆRONÉA. It consisted of large square blocks of a red marble *breccia*, some of which remained as they were originally placed: others, dislocated and broken, were lying by, with a considerable fragment of one of the wrought corners of the pedestal. The surface of this red marble *breccia* was entirely encrusted with a brown lichen; and the stone itself, by weathering, was so far decomposed upon its surface, that it resembled common grey limestone; thereby proving the great length of time it has thus remained exposed to the action of the atmosphere<sup>1</sup>. It is hardly necessary to allege any additional facts to shew to whom this *tomb* belonged. Being the only one that occurs in the whole of this *defile*; and corresponding precisely, as to its situation by the side of the *military way*, with the accounts given of it by

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(1) It is however susceptible of a very high polish; and then it appears of a brownish red, spotted and streaked with white. We have preserved specimens of the stone.

antient authors, there can be no doubt that this was the place of burial alluded to by *Herodotus*<sup>2</sup>, where those heroes were interred who fell in the action of THERMOPYLÆ; and that the *Tumulus* itself is the POLYANDRIUM mentioned by *Strabo*, whereon were placed the five STELÆ; one of which contained that *thrilling* Epitaph<sup>3</sup>, still speaking to the hearts of all who love their country.

CHAP.  
VIII.

*Polyan-*  
*drium of*  
*the Greeks*  
*who fell at*  
THERMO-  
PYLÆ.

ΩΖΕΝΑΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΟΝΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣΟΤΙΤΗΙΔΕ  
ΚΕΙΜΕΘΑΤΟΙΣΚΕΙΝΩΝΗΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΙΝΟΜΙΜΟΙΣ

It may be thus rendered into *English* metre, without altering the sense of the original:—

TO LACEDÆMON'S SONS, O STRANGER, TELL,  
THAT HERE, OBEDIENT TO THEIR LAWS, WE FELL!

The same appellation of POLYANDRIUM, as applied to a sepulchre, occurs in *Pausanias*, with

(2) Θαφθῆσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτη τῆσπερ ἔπεισον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασσι, κ. τ. λ. *Herodoti Polymnia*, lib. vii. cap. 228. p. 455. ed. Gronovii. *L. Bat.* 1715.

(3) This epitaph is here given from *Strabo*, (lib. ix. p. 622. ed. *Oxon.*) It was composed by *Simonides of Ceos*. It occurs, with some variation, in *Herodotus*, (*ibid.*) The words there are :

Ἦξι' ἄγγυλον Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτι τῆδε  
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.



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VIII.

reference to the *Tomb of the Thebans* near CHÆRONÉA<sup>1</sup>: and the only difference between the two is, that the *Chæronéan tumulus* is larger than this: they are both alike in shape. We have not thought it right, in relating our discovery of this *tomb*, to introduce any remarks that were made afterwards; but the reader, wishing to have its history yet further ascertained, will find additional testimony concerning it in the account which follows. The description of its exact situation, with regard to the scene of those events which have consecrated to perpetual memory the narrow passage of *Thermopylæ*, will serve to strengthen the opinion here maintained with regard to the *tomb* itself; for it is placed upon the top of the very eminence, within the *defile*, to which all the *Greeks* retired, excepting only the *Thebans*: “AND THERE,” says *Herodotus*<sup>2</sup>, “IS THE TUMULUS, AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE DEFILE, WHERE NOW STANDS THE STONE LION TO LEONIDAS.” They retired to this spot, answering also to the situation of their camp; for this was within *the wall* that closed the passage; there being a little

Situation  
of the  
Spartan  
advanced  
guard.

(1) Προσιόντων δὲ τῆ πόλει, ΠΟΛΤΑΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ ἔστι, κ. τ. λ. *Pausan. Bæot. c. 40. p. 795. ed. Kuhni.*

(2) Ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς οὗτος ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἔκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λίων ἑστῆκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. cap. 225. p. 455. ed. Gronovii.*

plain here, extending along the valley towards *Bodonitza*: and there is no other place “*within the wall*,” where their camp could have been situate, as will presently appear. In the description of the position held by the *Greeks* at THERMOPYLÆ, *Leonidas* is represented as not being within sight of the *Persian* army<sup>3</sup>; which would have been the case if he had been anywhere further advanced towards the north. When the *Spartans* composed the advanced guard, during the day upon which a person was sent by *Xerxes* to reconnoitre, they had descended from their camp, and were seen at the entry of the defile, *without the wall*<sup>4</sup>, a little removed from the south-east side of the small bridge where the *Turkish dervéne* now is, upon the outside of the old wall:—for these Straits are still guarded as a frontier pass; and they are as much *the Gates*<sup>5</sup> of GREECE as they were when *Xerxes* invaded the country; neither is there any reason to doubt, that, with respect to

(3) Vid. *Herodot. Polymn.* c. 208. p. 449.

(4) *Ibid.* loco cit.

(5) Τὴν μὲν οὖν πέρασον, Πύλας καλοῦσι, καὶ στανὰ, καὶ Θερμοπύλας· ἴσσι γὰρ καὶ Θερμὰ πλησίον ὕδατα τιμώμενα ὡς Ἡρακλείου ἱερά. (*Strab. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 621. ed. *Oxon.*) *Livy* mentions this *Pass* nearly in the same manner: “Ideo PYLÆ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsis faucibus sunt, THERMOPYLÆ locus appellatur.” *Livy Hist. lib.* xxxvi. c. 15. p. 266. tom. III. ed. *Crevier.*

so narrow a passage, any remarkable circumstance related formerly should be irreconcilable with its present appearance. Indeed, some of the most trivial facts, casually dropped by historians, guide us to particular parts of the *defile* where the events took place. For example, it is mentioned by *Herodotus*, that the *Spartan* soldiers, upon the occasion alluded to, were found “*combing their hair*’.” Whoever has seen the inhabitants of the country thus occupied, must have observed that this operation of cleansing the hair is also accompanied by ablution, and that it takes place, of course, by the side of some *fountain*. The mere circumstance of being stationed near to a *fountain*, often suggests to the persons so situate the propriety of this duty. Observing therefore the little change that has taken place in *Greece*, in any of the customs among its inhabitants, relating to their way of life, it might be expected that a *fountain* still exists, denoting the spot where the *Spartans* were seen upon this occasion. Whether the probability be admitted or not, the sequel will shew that this is really the truth.

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(1) Τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμης κτενιζομένους. *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. c. 203*  
p. 449. ed. Gronov.

Hence the descent becomes rapid towards the narrowest part of the Straits; and the *military way* leading through thick woods which cover the declivity, is in many places broken up by torrents, as it is described by *Strabo*. In about three quarters of an hour from the POLYANDRIUM, we arrived at the WALL mentioned by *Herodotus*<sup>2</sup>. The remains of it are still very considerable; insomuch that it has been traced the whole way from the *Gulph of Malia* to the *Gulph of Corinth*, a distance of twenty-four leagues; extending along the mountainous chain of ÆTA from sea to sea, and forming a barrier towards the *north* of GREECE, which excludes the whole of *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*. In this respect it resembles the wall of *Antoninus*, in the *north* of BRITAIN. It may be supposed that we did not follow it beyond the immediate vicinity of the *Straits of Thermopylæ*, where it begins; but this fact, as to its great length, was communicated to us by our guides; and it was afterwards confirmed by the positive assurance of our Consul at *Zeitún*. It is built with large and rudely-shaped stones, which have been put together with cement; and in many places the work is now almost concealed by the woods and thickets that have grown over it.

Great  
Northern  
Wall.

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(2) *Herodot. ibid.*

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Immediately after passing this *wall*, upon the outside of it, and upon the left hand, is seen the *fountain* before alluded to; precisely in the situation that must have been occupied by the *Spartans*, when reconnoitred by command of *Xerxes*.

*Platanus  
Orientalis.*

It is shaded by an enormous Plane-tree (*Platanus Orientalis*) of unknown antiquity, self-sown in its origin, and one of many that may have flourished upon the spot ever since the *Lacedæmonian* soldiers were seen at this *fountain*, combing their hair, and amusing themselves with gymnastic exercises<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, if the stories related by antient authors of the great age of the *Oriental Plane-tree*, in certain instances, were to be admitted as true, the present example might only be considered as an immediate offspring of some venerable plant found here upon that occasion; for the *battle of Thermopylæ* was fought only four hundred and eighty-one years before the Christian æra<sup>2</sup>, and *Pausanias* tells of a plane-tree in *Arcadia* supposed to have been planted by *Menelaus*; so that the age of the tree, when he saw it, must have been thirteen hundred years. It is well known that the seeds of the *Platanus Orientalis* remain

(1) *Herodoti Polymnia*, c. 208.

(2) Vid. *Chronicon ex Marmor. Arundel.* Lt. 66, 67.

upon the tree, in little balls, until the spring; as they do not ripen early in the autumn. We found many of the seed-vessels in a mature state, hanging from the branches: and being desirous of bearing away a living memorial from a spot so celebrated, we gathered many of them<sup>s</sup>. Thence, leaving the *fountain*, we entered the extensive bog, or fen, through which a narrow paved causeway offers the only approach to all the southern parts of GREECE. This causeway has, upon either side of it, a deep and impassable morass; and it is further bounded by the sea towards the *east*, and the precipices of *Mount Ceta* towards the *west*. Here is situate the *Turkish dervêne*, or barrier, upon a

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(3) The seeds of this tree were afterwards sown by the author in a garden belonging to the Fellows of *Jesus College, Cambridge*, where they sprang up; and there is one tree now standing in that garden, which has been thus raised. It is in a flourishing state; but its height at present does not exceed eleven feet, and its girth is only seven inches in circumference. The *Oriental Plane-tree* is not a plant of very quick growth; but in warm latitudes, especially if it be near to water, it attains a most astonishing size. *Ælian* relates the adoration that was paid by *Xerxes* to a tree of this sort in PHRYGIA. The marvellous *Plane-tree* of the Island of *Cos* has been described in a former Part of these Travels. *Pliny* mentions a *Plane-tree* in LYCIA that had mouldered away into an immense cave, eighty feet in circumference. The Governor of the province, with eighteen others, dined commodiously upon benches of *pumice* placed around it. *Caligula* had a tree of the same kind, at his villa: the hollow of it held fifteen persons at dinner, with all their attendants.

CHAP.  
VIII.Of the  
*Pylæ* and  
*Thermæ*.

small narrow stone bridge, which marks the most important point of the whole passage; because it is still occupied by sentinels, as in antient times; and is therefore, even now, considered as the ΠΥΛΑΙ of the southern provinces. The *Thermæ*, or *hot springs*, whence this defile received the appellation of THERMOPYLÆ, are at a short distance from this bridge, a little farther on, towards the *north*<sup>1</sup>: the old paved causeway leads to those springs, immediately after passing the bridge. They issue principally from two mouths at the foot of the limestone precipices of ÆTA, upon the left of the causeway, which here passes close under the mountain, and on this part of it scarcely admits two horsemen abreast of each other; the morass upon the right, between the causeway and the sea, being so dangerous, that we were near being buried with our horses, by our imprudence in venturing a few paces into it from the paved road. These springs, formerly sacred to *Hercules*<sup>2</sup>, are still called THERMÆ. They are half way between *Bodonitza* and *Zeitún*. We

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(1) "In ipsis faucibus." *Livius*.

(2) All *hot springs* and *warm baths* were sacred to *Hercules*; but those of the *Pass of Thermopylæ* were especially consecrated to him; and all the surrounding country was rendered illustrious by his history. This appears particularly from the *Trachinæ* of SOPHOCLES; references to which have been already made.

dismounted, to examine their temperature: and, as it was now noon, we first estimated the temperature of the external air; it equalled 51° of *Fahrenheit*. The temperature of the water, within the mouth of the springs, amounted to 111°; being 31° lower than the temperature of the hot springs at *Lydia Hamam* near *Alexandria Troas*; which are nearly at the same height from the level of the sea<sup>3</sup>. Yet the water appeared very hot when we placed our hands in it; and smoke ascended from it continually. The water is impregnated with *carbonic acid, lime, muriate of soda, and sulphur*. It is very transparent, but it deposits a calcareous incrustation upon the substances in its neighbourhood. The ground about the springs yields a hollow sound, like that within the crater of the *Solfatara* near *Naples*. In some places, near to the springs, we observed cracks and fissures filled with stagnant water, through which a gaseous fluid was rising in large bubbles to the surface. The fetid smell of this gas

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(3) See a former Part of these Travels, Vol. III. Chap. VI. pp. 189, 90. Octavo Edit. Dr. *Holland* says, he “found the temperature to be pretty uniformly 103°, or 104°, of *Fahrenheit*;” which is even less than our statement: but perhaps Dr. *H.* did not place his thermometer quite so far within the mouth of these springs; for this would cause a difference equal to seven or eight degrees of *Fahrenheit*.—See *Travels, &c.* by *Henry Holland, M. D.* p. 382. Lond. 1815.



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VIII.

Fetid  
gaseous  
exhalation:  
alluded to  
by SOPHO-  
CLES.

powerfully bespeaks its nature; for it is sulphuretted hydrogen. Having before alluded to the accuracy with which SOPHOCLES adapted the scenery of the *Trachiniæ* to real appearances around the *Sinus Maliacus*, it may be worthy of remark, that even this trivial circumstance, of the gaseous ebullition through crevices of the earth at *Thermopylæ*, did not escape his observation. He makes a curious use of it, in the scene between *Dejanira* and the *Chorus*; when he causes the former to relate, that some of the wool stained with the blood of the Centaur *Nessus*, falling upon the *Trachinian Plain*, in a place where the sun's rays were the most fierce, there boiled up from the earth' *frothy bubbles*. The audience who were present during its representation, and who were well acquainted with all that was worthy of observation in the *Plain of Trachinia*, must have regarded with a high degree of satisfaction the appropriation of its physical phænomena to an interesting story; because it was interweaving facts, whereof many of them had been witnesses, with the machinery of a fable, which, as a popular superstition, was of course listened to by them

(1)

— 'Εξ δὲ γῆς, ὄσων

προῦκιστ', ἀναζέουσι θερμωδῶς ἀφροί.

*Sophocles Trachiniæ*, ver. 701. vol. 1. p. 252. ed. *Brunck*.

with all the attention due to the most solemn truths. And, at this distance of time, a new interest is given to the most beautiful productions of the *Grecian* drama, when we know that the Poet, in his descriptions, did not merely delineate an ideal picture, but that he adapted the mythological tales of his country to the actual features of its geography, and to its existing characteristic phænomena. We have before shewn that the antiquities of *Mycenæ* were made subservient to his plan of the *Electra*; and perhaps it will hereafter appear, as GREECE becomes better known, that the observations we have now made, respecting the *Trachiniæ*, may be extended to all the other productions of his Muse.

CHAP.  
VIII.

The nature of this *narrow pass* at THERMOPYLÆ has been sufficiently explained: it is owing entirely to the marshy plain which lies at the foot of a precipitous part of *Mount Cæta*, between the base of the mountain and the sea. This marsh never having been drained, is, for the most part, one entire bog; and there is no possibility of obtaining a passage by land along the shore, from *south* to *north*, or rather from *south-east* to *north-west*, excepting over the *paved causeway* here described. The most critical part of the *Pass* is at the *hot springs*, or at the *bridge*

Nature of  
the Pass of  
THERMO-  
PYLÆ.

CHAP.  
VIII.



Path over  
Mount  
Æta.

where the *Turkish dervéne* is placed. At the former, the traveller has the mountain close to him on one side, and a deep bog on the other. A handful of brave troops might therefore intercept the passage of the mightiest army that the *Persian* or any other *Eastern* empire ever mustered: and this we find they did; until a *path* was pointed out for the troops of *Xerxes*, which conducted his soldiers, by a circuitous route over the mountain, to the rear of the *Grecian* camp. The same *path* was also pointed out to us<sup>1</sup>: it is beyond the *hot springs*, towards the *north*; and it is still used by the inhabitants of the country, in their journeys to *Salona*, the antient *Amphissa*. After following this *path* to a certain distance, another road branches from it towards the *south-east*, according to the route pursued by the *Persians* upon that occasion.

The *defile*, or *strait*, continues to a certain distance beyond the *hot springs*; and then the road bears off, all at once, across the plain towards *Zeitún*. It is still paved in many places;

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(1) "The *Persians*, says *Procopius*, found only one path over the mountains: now there are many; and large enough to admit a cart or chariot;—ἀμαξιστῶν σχιδόν τι οὐσῶν. (*De Œdip. lib. iv.*)" *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

and it thereby marks exactly the line of march observed by *Leonidas* and the *Greeks*, in their daring attack upon the *Persian* camp, in the night before their defeat, when they ventured out of the *defile*. But we found it impossible to ascertain precisely where *Heraclæa* stood, distinctly as it is mentioned by *Livy*<sup>2</sup>, or to mark the course of the *Asopus* river. Several streams may irrigate this plain; which, at the time of our passing, were all combined into one flood, by the inundation of the *Sperchîus* towards its mouth. This last is the main river, and indeed the only one to be noticed: it comes from a plain which extends round *Mount Ceta* towards the *west*. It was upon our left as we passed from the *hot springs* to go to *Zeitûn*; and it joins the marshy plain of THERMOPYLÆ towards the *Sinus Maliacus*. We looked back towards the whole of this defile with regret; marvelling, at the same time, that we should quit with reluctance a place, which, without the interest thrown over it by antient history, would be one of the most disagreeable upon earth. Unwholesome air, mephitic exhalations bursting

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(2) "Sita est *Heraclæa* in radicibus CETÆ MONTIS: ipsa in campo, arcem imminentem loco alto et undique præcipiti habet." *Livii Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. tom. III. p. 273. Crevier.*

through the rifted and rotten surface of a corrupted soil, as if all the land around were diseased; a filthy and fetid quagmire; "a heaven fat with fogs;" stagnant, but reeking pools; hot and sulphureous springs; in short, such a scene of morbid nature, as suggested to the fertile imagination of antient Poets their ideas of a land poisoned by the "*blood of Nessus*," and which calls to mind their descriptions of *Tartarus*, can only become delightful from the most powerful circumstances of association that ever were produced by causes diametrically opposite;—an association combining, in the mere mention of the place, all that is great, and good, and honourable; all that has been embalmed as most dear in the minds of a grateful posterity. In the overwhelming recollection of the sacrifice that was here offered, every other consideration is forgotten; the *Pass of Thermopylæ* becomes consecrated; it is made a source of the best feelings of the human heart; and it "shall be had in everlasting remembrance<sup>1</sup>."

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(1) "There Honour comes, a pilgrim gray,  
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;  
And Freedom shall a while repair,  
To dwell a weeping hermit there."

Hence we passed over the swampy *Plain of Trachinia*, in the midst of the worst air of all *Greece*, overgrown with tall reeds, and inhabited by buffaloes; animals, almost amphibious, delighting in stagnant pools and watery plains, and always seeming to thrive the best where the human race thrives the worst. The marshes of *Terracina* in *Italy* are full of them; and the lands of *Lower Egypt*, inundated by the *Nile*. We crossed the river *Sperchius*, by means of a stone bridge: it was at this time overflowing its banks, flooding all the land near to it; and rolling, like the *Nile*, in many a muddy vortex. Upon the stone bridge the *Turks* established a *dervéne*, as a barrier, upon this side of the defile; which may be considered as the *Gate* of *Phthiotis* and **THESSALY**. It is held by *Albanians*, who collect a tribute from passengers for the privilege of passing. Soon after crossing this bridge, the ground gradually rises, towards the *north*, from the flooded and marshy land. We saw a large *tumulus* in the plain; and immediately afterwards arrived at the town of *Zeitún*, distant three hours' journey from the *hot springs* of **THERMOPYLÆ**.

CHAP.  
VIII.Plain of  
*Trachinia*.*Turkish*  
*Dervéne*.*Zeitún*.

*Zeitún* may be described as a miniature mode of **ATHENS**. The town had suffered grievously

CHAP.  
VIII.

by fire three months before. It has been believed that *Zeitún* was the antient LAMIA; and we were of this opinion: but *Meletius*, the archbishop of *Joannina*, entertained different sentiments. We found his work upon Geography in the Consul's house, and it was the first time that we had seen it. The name of this place has been written *Zeituni* and *Zitúni*, but its inhabitants write it *Zeitún*. One argument which may be urged against this position of *Lamia* is, that there are no antiquities upon the spot. We could find nothing as a trace of the former existence of any Grecian city. The town is governed by a *Waiwode*, a *Disdar*, and a *Cadi*; but all these together, with several *Bey*s who reside here, are under the dominion of *Ali Pasha*, and they tremble at the sound of his name. There are from eight hundred to a thousand houses in *Zeitún*, and about a thousand shops. The inhabitants are *Turks* and *Greeks*. Their commerce is altogether ruined: it consisted in the exportation of silk, cotton, and corn. We could not avoid remarking a very great resemblance between the *Albanian women* of *Zeitún*, and those of *India* whom we had seen with our army in *Egypt*: they resemble that *Indo-European* tribe called *Gipsies* in England, whose characteristic physiognomy has

*Albanese*  
Women.

a degree of permanence that no change of climate seems to affect.

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VIII.

On Sunday, *December the twentieth*, we left *Zeitún*, about half after eight A.M.; and began to ascend the mountains of THESSALY; leaving towards our left the mountain OTHRYS, now called *Kata V Othry*. The weather was delightful, but the mountains very generally covered with snow. As we left *Zeitún*, we saw, near to the town, a tomb constructed in the old *Cyclopéan* style: it was what is called a *Cromlech* in *Wales*, consisting of two uprights, with a large slab laid across: near to it there was a cistern, probably a *Soros*. There is a paved road, or antient *military way*, over this mountain. The rocks of the mountains have here an ochreous appearance. After riding to the top of a very steep and high mountainous ridge, north of the town, we halted to make observations by the magnetic needle.



*Bearings noted upon the Summit of a Mountain north  
of ZEITUN.*

STRAITS OF THERMOPYLÆ . . . . s. s. e.  
MOUNT PARNASSUS, indistinctly seen . . s. and by e.  
COURSE OF THE SPERCHIUS down the valley between  
the mountainous chain of CETA and that of OTHRYS,  
from . . . . . N. W. to S. E.

This river is here called *Carpeniche*.

MOUNT OTHRYS, high, steep, and snowy . . s. w.  
High Mountain of *Salona* (AMPHISSA) appearing be-  
tween CETA and OTHRYS . . . . s. and by w.  
MOUNT CETA . . . . . s. and by e.  
An exceeding high sugar-loaf Mountain, with a flat top,  
covered with snow, and lying towards the right,  
beyond *Mount Othrys* . . . . w. and by n.

This mountain stands in the same line of direction as the  
Plain of the *Sperchius*, and the course of that river;  
that is to say, N. W. and S. E. and at the end of the  
visible part of the plain, as if it terminated there.  
The peasants who were our guides, told us that the  
*Sperchius* and many other streams flow from that  
mountain. It is called *Veluchia*, or *Velûkia*, by the  
natives; and they say it stands in *Agrâfa*. On its  
top there is a plain; and in winter, they say, a lake.  
It should also be observed, that OTHRYS is still called  
*Kata V'Othry*; and it is not situate as laid down in  
maps, to the north of the river *Sperchius*, but, as  
before stated, to the south-west.

Thence descending towards the north, at the  
distance of three hours and a half from *Zeitun*,

we passed a *Turkish dervéne*, and again paid tribute. Afterwards we crossed a very extensive plain of good and rich land, but entirely uncultivated, and covered over with brushwood and with dwarf oaks. At the distance of an hour and a half from the *dervéne*, we saw upon our left, in a cultivated spot, the remains of some antient buildings, and two *tumuli*; one on either side of the old *military way*. The prospect in other respects was that of a bleak and desolated region. This plain is called *Dowclu*. At its extremity, we passed a river by a bridge. We saw, towards our left, a large lake among some mountains: our guides called it *Limne Dowclu*. Here we observed that the faithful little dog, which had accompanied us in all our travels, was missing: and he was become so great a favourite with all our party, owing to his odd appearance and uncommon sagacity, that even the *Tchohodar* vowed he would not proceed without him;—a singular instance, in a *Türk*, of attachment to a dog. The consequence was, that one half of the party measured back their steps all the way to the *dervéne*, while the rest waited at the bridge with the baggage. At the *dervéne* they heard the cries of the little animal; who had posted himself upon the top of a very lofty hill,

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Plain of  
*Dowclu*.

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that he might survey the country, and, if possible, discover our route; and was uttering his distress most lamentably, in consequence of the approach of some one, who was also heard calling to him. As soon as he saw Mr. *Cripps*, he ran to him as if shot from a gun; and leaping upon his horse, remained seated behind his saddle until he arrived once more at the bridge. By this time, evening was coming on; and we were overtaken by a *Tahtar* Courier from *Tripolizza* in the *Morea*; who pretended that he had been only one day upon his journey, and that he expected to arrive at *Constantinople* in six days. This appeared to us to be impossible. Afterwards, our journey was continued through woods; and we often observed the remains of a paved road. The guides frustrated our plan of seeing **THAUMACIA**, now called *Thaumaco*, by going a shorter road to **PHARSALIA**, and leaving it upon our *left*; thereby shortening the distance at least three hours. **THAUMACIA** contains the remains of antient walls, and it ought to be visited. It is situate upon the top of a hill. We were surprised, soon afterwards, to find that the plain over which we had been travelling was very highly elevated: after ascending a gentle slope, upon leaving the woods, there was suddenly exposed

to our view one of the most extensive prospects in all Greece. To the north-east we surveyed the immense Plain of *Crocius*; and, looking down, beheld summits of many mountains far below us. The antient paved-way, by which we descended, bore off in that direction. We asked the guides whither the other road conducted; and they said, to *Valos*; shewing that the antient name of *ALOS* is still preserved;—for throughout *Thessaly* they have a practice of prefixing a  $\beta$  before the original name, which is pronounced *V*; as  $\beta$ ' *Othry*, for *OTHRY*S; and  $\beta$ ' *Alos*, for *ALOS*<sup>1</sup>. Our descent hence continued along the old road, which was much broken up, and in some parts entire; but whether entire or broken, we were compelled to ride upon it, as there was no other. Another immense prospect

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VIII.Plain of  
*Crocius*.

ALOS.

(1) The people of *Thessaly* entertain a tradition that the first ship (alluding to the *Argo*) sailed from this place; by which it is evident they mean *Volo*, the antient *PAGASÆ*, situate at the mouth of the river *Onchestus*, in the *Sinus Pelasgicus*. The *Argo*, however, was launched at *Apheta*. *ALOS* was upon the river *Amphrysus*, in *PHTHIOTIS*, at the northern termination of *Mount Othrys*, distant *sixtystadiu* from *ITONE*. See *Stephanus de Urbib. &c.* p. 66. Ed. *Gronovii*, *Amst.* 1678. Its situation is more fully pointed out by *Strabo*, as cited by *Gronovius* in Note (26) of the same edition. 'Ο δὲ Φθιώτιδος Ἄλος ὑπὸ τῇ πύρατι κίτται τῆς ὀθρυος ὄρους πρὸς ἄρκτον κινεῖται τῇ Φθιώτιδι, κ. τ. λ. (*Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.* p. 627. Ed. *Oxon.*) But *Strabo* afterwards adds, that *Alos* was placed by *Artemidorus* upon the sea-shore: Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν Ἄλον ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ εἶθησιν, κ. τ. λ. The geography of *THESSALY* remains now, as it ever was, in a state of great uncertainty.

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Plain of  
*Pharsalia.*

now presented itself; and at almost an equal depth below us, to that before mentioned. It was the PLAIN OF PHARSALIA, so renowned for the great battle between the armies of *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when twenty-four thousand soldiers of *Pompey's* army were made prisoners of war. It was fought on the twelfth of *May*, forty-eight years B. C. The pleasure of beholding this magnificent prospect was greatly diminished by our want of knowledge of other objects. The eye roamed over distant summits, as if it surveyed a world of mountains: but our guides were so ignorant, that they could not tell us one of their names; and we might have attempted in vain to form conjectures of them by the wretched maps which exist of all this country. Soon afterwards it became dark; and the rest of our journey this day proved so fatiguing, that it was with much ado we could sit upon our horses to reach the end of it. A long, laborious, and difficult descent was to be got over. After many an anxious inquiry of our guides concerning the distance yet remaining to our place of rest, about two hours after darkness began, the illuminated minarets of PHARSALUS<sup>1</sup>, now called

*Pharsa.*

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(1) ΦΑΡΣΑΛΟΣ, πάλιν Θεσσαλίας, κ. τ. λ. *Stephanus De Urbibus*, p. 691. ed. Gronovii.

*Pharsa*, comforted us with the assurance that the *khan* was near.

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The Reader would perhaps smile if he knew what sort of comfort the *khan* itself afforded, when we arrived. All these places are alike in *Turkey*. There is not a dog-kennel in *England* where a traveller might not lodge more commodiously than in one of these *khans*; and the *caravanserais* are yet worse than the *khans*. A dirty square room, the floor covered with dust, and full of rat-holes, without even a vestige of furniture, is all he finds as the place for his repose. If he arrive without provisions, there is not the smallest chance of his getting any thing to eat, or even straw for his bed. In such an apartment we passed the night;—unable even to kindle a fire; for they brought us green wood, and we were almost suffocated with smoke;—not to mention the quantity of vermin with which such places always abound, and the chance of plague-infection from their filthy walls. This subject is merely touched upon, that persons who have not visited *Turkey* may know what they ought to expect, before they undertake a journey thither. Yet, even to all this, weariness, and watchfulness, and shivering cold, and other privations, will at last fully reconcile

*Turkish*  
Khan.

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travellers, and make them long for such a housing. In these places there is no separation of company;—masters and servants, cattle-drivers and guides, and every casual passenger of the road, make their bed together. We had been scarcely long enough, in our sorry chamber at *Pharsalus*, to sweep away some of the dirt upon its floor, when other *Tahtar* Couriers arrived; travelling as the former one (who passed us upon the road with despatches), night and day. It was curious to see how these men take what they call their *Caïf* (refreshment) at one of these *khans*. The horse is left standing in the court; while for the space of about ten minutes, or during the interval of changing horses, the *Tahtar* squats,—for it cannot be called sitting,—with his back against the wall, supporting himself upon the soles of his feet, and inhaling rapidly the fumes of his pipe upon his lungs; sending it back in curling volumes through his nostrils. Then, if he can procure about as much muddy coffee as would fill the bowl of a table-spoon, he utters his *Alhamdulillah* (*God be praised!*) and continues his expedition with renovated energy. The surprising journeys undertaken by these men on horseback, and the rapidity with which they are performed, are such as, if related,

*Tahtar*  
Couriers.

would exceed belief. In fact, there are no couriers in the world who are capable of sustaining similar fatigue for an equal length of time; not even the *Russian Feldlégers*, in their *Pavoskies*. The *Tahtars* are sent as couriers to all parts of the empire: and it is for this reason that the dress they wear is considered the safest disguise any *Christian* traveller can assume, who is compelled to journey alone through the *Turkish* provinces.





*Silver Medals of the Locri Opuntii.*

## CHAP. IX.

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### PHARSALIA, TO THE VALLEY OF TEMPE.

*Appearance of the Country after passing Thermopylæ—  
 Boundaries and names of Thessaly—Pharsalus and  
 Palæpharsalus—Population of Pharsa—Field of the Bat-  
 tle of Pharsalia—Appearance of the Plain—Pelasgiotis  
 —Numerous Sepulchres—Antique Cars—Larissa—Evil  
 disposition of its inhabitants—Population—Commerce  
 —Penëus River—Larissa Cremaste—Road to Tempe—  
 Tumuli—Military Way—Nesonis Palus—View of  
 Olympus—Entrance of the Valley—Gonnus—Origin of  
 the Defile—Ampelâkia—Natural locality of the Verde-  
 antico Marble—consequence of the discovery—Atrakia  
 —Marmor Atracium—Village of Ampelâkia—Manu-  
 factory—Effect of the English Cotton-mills—Manner  
 of making the thread—Process of dyeing the wool—  
 Bearing*

*Bearing of the Defile—Antient fortification—Roman Inscription—its date ascertained—use made of it—Former notions of Tempe—Descriptions given of it by antient authors—Pococke and Busching—Value of Livy's Observations—Pliny and Ælian.*

AFTER leaving the old boundaries of *Græcia Propria*, the traveller, in the wider fields of *THESSALY*, finds an altered region, and an altered people. The difference is perceivable from the instant that he has passed the heights behind *Zeitún*. *THESSALY* was the *Yorkshire* of Antient Greece, as to its country and its inhabitants. A vulgar adage in *England*, maintaining that “*if a halter be cast upon the grave of a Yorkshireman, he will rise and steal a horse;*” and the saying, “*Do not put Yorkshire upon us,*” as deprecating fraud; express the aphorisms antiently in use respecting the *Thessalians*, who were notorious for their knavish disposition; inso-much that base money was called *Thessalian coin*, and a cheating action *Thessalian treachery*. Do not these facts tend to establish former observations concerning the effect produced by different regions upon the minds of the natives<sup>1</sup>?—for *Thessaly* has not forfeited its archaic

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Appearance of the country, after passing *Thermopylæ*.

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(1) See Chap. II. of this Volume, p. 60.

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Boundaries  
and names  
of Thes-  
saly.

character; and with regard to the shrewd peasantry of *Yorkshire*, however we may be disposed to make the exception, and to dispute the application of an illiberal pleasantry, we shall not be able to banish it from the language of common conversation. The boundaries however of *Thessaly* have varied as often as the appellation it has received<sup>1</sup>. Its most antient denomination was *Pelasgia*; wherefore *Homer* always calls it *Pelasgicon Argos*. He does not once mention it under the name of *Thessaly*. It has also borne the various names of *Pyrrhæa*, *Æmonia*, *Pandora*, *Nesonis*, and lastly *Thessaly*. It is divided by *Strabo*<sup>2</sup> into the four districts of *Phthiotis*, *Estiæotis*, *Thessaliotis*, and *Pelasgiotis*; all of which *Ptolemy*<sup>3</sup> ascribes to *Macedonia*.

*Pharsalus*. We found but few antiquities remaining of the antient PHARSALUS. Like other towns and villages of THESSALY, *Pharsa* is so entirely under *Turkish* domination, and has been so long in the hands of *Moslems*, that if they have not destroyed the relics of its former state, they have always hidden them from a traveller's view.

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(1) Vid. *Stephan. de Urbib. p. 305. Not. 46. edit. Gronovii. Amst. 1678.*

(2) Vid. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.*

(3) *Ptolemæi Geog. lib. iii. cap. 13.*

The name alone remains to shew what it once was. *South-west* of the town, indeed, there is a hill surrounded with *antient walls*, formed of large masses of a coarse kind of marble. There is also the lower part of a *Gate*. And upon a lofty rock above the town, towards the *south*, are other ruins of greater magnitude; shewing a considerable portion of the walls of the *Acropolis*, and remains of its *Propylæa*. This place, as it is usual, is called *Palæo-castro*. *Livy* mentions a *PALÆPHARSALUS*<sup>4</sup>; and *Strabo* notices the *new* and the *old city*<sup>5</sup>. The modern town is situate at the foot of a mountain commanding a very extensive view towards the *north* of the *Plain of Pharsalia*, extending *east* and *west*. In the court of the *khan*, and in other parts of the town, we saw some steps made of enormous blocks of stone. *Pharsa* contains two thousand houses; but, for its inhabitants, a far greater proportion of *Turks* than of *Greeks*. There are four mosques; and the cisterns, within the courts and inclosures of these sanctuaries, and of the houses, perhaps contain inscriptions; but

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Palæ-  
pharsalus.

Population  
of Pharsa.

(4) "Castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palæpharsalum habebat." Vid. *Liv. Hist. Epitome*, lib. xlv. c. 1. p. 678. Paris, 1738.

(5) Τῆς νεωτέρας καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς. *Strab. Geog.* lib. ix. p. 625. ed. Oxon.

we could not procure a sight of any one of them. This place is an Episcopal See, under the Archbishopric of LARISSA<sup>1</sup>. *Strabo* mentions the *old* and the *new town*<sup>2</sup>. The old is also often noticed by *Livy*, and by other writers<sup>3</sup>.

Field of the  
Battle of  
*Pharsalia*.

*Monday, December 21*, we left *Pharsalus*, in a thick fog. In a quarter of an hour we saw a *Tumulus*, or *Polyandrium*, the usual indication of a *field of battle*; as in the instances already so often adduced. We came to a bridge of fourteen arches; five whereof were large, and the rest of inconsiderable and disproportionate size. The situation of this bridge, with respect to *Pharsa*, very accurately agrees with a remark by *Appian*<sup>4</sup> as to the interval between *Pharsalus* and the river ENIPEUS. We cannot possibly therefore have a better beacon for the situation of the contest between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; as

(1) Vid. Annot. in *Stephan. de Urbib.* ed. *Gronov.* p. 691. Not. 53.

(2) Ibid. *Strab. Geog.* lib. ix.

(3) Ibid.

(4) “ Διὸ δὴ καὶ τετραρακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν, παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς, ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντεδιέκόμεναι. i. e. Quapropter relictis quatuor millibus Italorum, qui castra custodirent, cæteros deduxit in aciem inter Pharsalum urbem et Enipeum amnem. Ubi et Cæsar ex adverso constitit, castris dispositis.” *Vid. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. vol. II. p. 278. Ed. Schweighæuser. Lips. 1785.*

indeed the *tomb* shews, marking the heap raised over the dead upon that memorable occasion. Mr. *Walpole* is also of this opinion; although he has not noticed the *tomb* in his *Journal*; neither did we observe the cotton plantation which he mentions: but this is of little moment. He mentions the course of the river, and the situation of the *field of battle*, in his *Journal*<sup>5</sup>.

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From *Pharsa* to *Larissa*, the road is excellent. It is almost entirely over plains covered with fine turf, without a single stone, but sometimes interspersed with a fine gravel. The soil is very rich. The *Plain of Pharsalia*, which we crossed first, riding during an entire hour at a jog-trot, resembled the scenery in *Cambridgeshire*; so much so, that we could not avoid noticing the circumstance; being similarly flat and dreary, without inclosures, exhibiting pasture mixed with ploughed land, and dykes near the road, beyond which were shepherds with their flocks: only, instead of the *Royston* crows, we had nobler flights of eagles and vultures. A dense fog, concealing the distant mountains,

Appear-  
ance of the  
Plain.

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(5) "The traveller cannot miss finding the field of battle, now overgrown with cotton: it is, says Appian, *μιστὰς τὸν Φαρσάλου τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ*. The *Enipeus* flows into the *Apidanus*, which is received by the *Penæus*." *Walpole's MS. Journal*.

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IX.

*Pelasgiotis.*

Numerous  
Sepulchres.

rendered the similitude more striking. After we quitted this plain, we crossed over some hills of trifling elevation; and thence descended into the immense campaign of LARISSA, once the greater plain of the *Pelasgi*. The soil here is the finest that can be imagined; the land, although in many parts uncultivated, being smooth and flat, but, even in places where the plough had passed, very negligently kept, and full of weeds. In this plain are some of the most remarkable *tumuli* known, both as to their size and to the regularity of their form. *Lucan* seems to have had the numerous sepulchres of *Thessaly* in contemplation, in one of his splendid digressions <sup>1</sup>.

At some distance from our road, we saw

- (1) "Thessalia infelix quo tanto crimine tellus  
Læsisti Superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,  
Tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit ævum,  
Immemor ut donet belli tibi damna vetustas?  
Quæ seges infecta surget non decolor herba  
Quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?  
Ante novæ venient acies, scelerique secundo  
Præstabis nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos.  
Omnia majorum vertamus busta licebit,  
Et stantes tumulos, et qui radice vetustâ  
Effudère suas, victis compagibus, urnas:  
Plus cinerùm Hæmoniaë sulcis telluris aratur,  
Pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa."

*Lucani Pharsal. lib. vii. v. 847. p. 229. Lips. 1726.*

several parties of *Turkish* sportsmen, coursing, on horseback, with negro attendants, and with very fine greyhounds. The plough in this country is drawn either by a pair of oxen or by two buffaloes. As we drew nigh to LARISSA, the fog dispersed; and the atmosphere becoming clear, we saw a chain of mountains, like a great wall, stretching *east* and *west*, and bounding all the plain towards the *north*. At the base of this vast barrier lies the town of LARISSA, extending in a long line, and making a magnificent appearance. We counted not less than twenty-four mosques and minarets. Here we saw, once more in use, those antique cars, drawn by oxen or by buffaloes, with solid wheels, which we had observed in the *Plain of Troy*, and of which a representation was given in a former Part of these Travels<sup>2</sup>. We noticed, also, other wheel-carriages, for the first time since we left *Constantinople*. The very sight of them proved our approximation to northern regions, and that we should now more frequently encounter the genuine *Thracian* and *Sarmatic* habits.

Antique  
Cars.

As we entered *Larissa*, and rode along the *Larissa*.

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(2) See the *Vignette* to Chap. V. Vol. III. Octavo Edit.



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streets, we saw very few antiquities: they consisted of the broken shafts of *Corinthian* pillars, and cornices. The cœmety near the town, by the prodigious quantity of marble it contains, hewn into the most barbarous imitations of *Turkish* tiaras, such as *calpacks* and *turbans*; offers a convincing testimony of the havoc made by the *Moslems* of *Larissa*, among works of *Grecian* art, during the long period that this city has been in their possession. We found here some antient sepulchral marbles, used for *Turkish* tomb-stones, with *Greek* inscriptions, mentioning merely the names and countries of the deceased: but no other *inscription*, nor a single entire column, could be seen. There was a *conak* at this place; but we found it to be absolutely uninhabitable, and the people belonging to it were as insolent and fierce as savages. We therefore resolved to wait upon the *Bey*, taking care to be accompanied by our *Tchohodar*. After making our way through a throng of slaves and attendants, we found him in a sumptuous apartment, fitted up after the *Eastern* manner; sitting, not upon the couch, but upon the floor of the *divân*, playing at backgammon with another elderly personage, who had the distinction of a green turban. He was surrounded by effeminate-looking young men,

Evil disposition of its inhabitants.

who were sprawling upon the same floor, and either smoking or sleeping. Having made our complaint as to the state of the *conak*, and the behaviour of the people, he ordered us to be conducted to the house of a *Greek* Bishop; but recommended caution to us in venturing among the inhabitants; describing them as a vicious and ungovernable set of men<sup>1</sup>, over whom he had himself, he said, no authority, not daring to punish any one of them.

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We remained all the following day at *Larissa*, endeavouring to obtain some account of the present state of the city and of its inhabitants; but this, which is always a difficult undertaking where the majority consists of *Moslems*, was made particularly so in the present instance, by the evil disposition of the populace towards strangers who are *Christians*. Never will the traveller find a place where *Franks* are less

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(1) They had the same character when *Pococke* was here, in the middle of the last century. "The people," said he, "both *Turks* and *Greeks*, have a bad character; and it is dangerous travelling near the city." *Pococke's Description of the East*, vol. II. Part II. chap. vii. p. 153. Lond. 1745.

Dr. *Holland* cites "a geographical work of some merit, composed in the *Romaic* language (Γεωγραφία Νεωτεριζή), where they are characterized as Μισοχριστοὶ εἰς ἀκρό, καὶ θηριωδῆς: HATERS OF CHRIST TO THE HIGHEST DEGREE, AND BRUTAL." See *Holland's Travels*, &c. p. 269. Lond. 1815.

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respected. When we appeared in the streets, the boys followed us, pelting us with stones; and the slightest attempt to check their disorderly behaviour endangered our lives. Everywhere we heard the same opprobrious expressions, of “*Christian dogs!*” “*Rascally Infidels!*” “*Accursed of God!*” Much of this was owing to our being compelled to send the *Tchohodar* about the town upon business: when he was with us, we were less interrupted by insult. We ascertained, however, the number of houses in *Larissa*: they amount to seven thousand; and there are about thirty mosques<sup>1</sup>. Some few *Greeks* and *Jews* reside here; but the principal part of a population amounting to 20,000 individuals, consists of *Moslems*. The shops are numerous and good: among the goldsmiths we found some valuable silver medals, particularly one of large size, in the highest state of perfection, of the *Locri Opuntii*. We bought also some of *Larissa*; and a bronze coin of the greatest rarity, of *Pelinna*, with the legend entire, ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΩΝ; together

Population.

Medals.

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(1) *Pococke* mentions fifteen thousand *Turkish* houses, only, which must have been an exaggeration; fifteen hundred *Greek*, and about three hundred *Jewish*, families. (*Description of the East*, vol. II. Part II. p. 153. Lond. 1745.) *Dr. Holland*, four thousand houses, and 20,000 inhabitants. See *Holland's Travels*, &c. p. 266. Lond. 1815.

with silver coins of *Thessaly*, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and gold coins of *Philip* and of *Alexander*. We were told by the goldsmiths that antient medals are often found at *Pharsa*, and that they are brought to *Larissa* for sale. One of the goldsmiths regretted that we had not arrived a little sooner; having, as he said, melted as many silver medals, a short time before, as afforded a mass of the pure metal weighing half an *oque*<sup>2</sup>. Making great allowance for this most exaggerated statement, we may nevertheless believe that medals pass frequently through the hands of these workmen in *Larissa*: and as the large silver coins of the *Locri Opuntii* are among the finest specimens of the *Grecian art*<sup>3</sup>, travellers, coming after us, will do well to attend to the circumstance. In the shops of this city we observed almost every thing that is sold at *Constantinople*, and much of *German* ware besides, especially glass. Tea is also sold here, and of good quality. Where there are so many *Turks*, the commerce in other respects cannot be considerable; yet *Thessaly* must export a great quantity of corn, as the

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IX.

Commerce.

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(2) "On trouve dans cette ville d'excellentes médailles d'or et d'argent, presque toutes des Rois de Macédoine et de la Grèce." *Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas, tom. I. p. 84. Amst. 1744.*

(3) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

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inhabitants are unable to consume the produce of their land. The earthenware sold at *Larissa* is so beautiful, that it may be considered as the only place where modern pottery exists, resembling, as to its purity, brightness, and elegance, the antient *terra-cotta* of *Greece*: it comes from a manufactory near *Salonika*, where the *Thericlean* art may be said to exist in its original perfection<sup>1</sup>. We saw some vessels of red clay, with as fine a varnish, and as elegant a form, as those which are taken from the sepulchres of *Athens*; and they were very strong, although almost as thin as paper. Being obliged to continue our journey on horseback, we had not the means of conveying any of them away with us. The town is situate upon the *PENEUS*, now called *Salambria*; and there is a very handsome bridge over the river, the buttresses being lightened by perforations: it consists of sixteen arches, eight large arches, and eight that are of much smaller size. From this river the inhabitants are well supplied with fish; particularly carp, roach, and eels. Rain fell profusely during this day; and it caused such a flood in the river, that it rose almost to the top of the

*Penæus*  
river.

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(1) "Ὅσα δ' ἴσπιν εἶδη Θεηκελίαν τῶν καλῶν. *Dionysius Sinopensis in Servatrice. Vid. Athen. lib. xi. c. 4. p. 467. Lugduni, 1657.*

higher arches<sup>2</sup>. We found many fragments of the *Verde-antico* marble used even for the common purposes of paving: perhaps this may be accounted for by a circumstance that will be related in the sequel; the discovery of a substance very similar to this *breccia*, in the neighbourhood, lying in its natural state. Some priests applied to us for a charitable donation for their monastery, pretending to be very poor: this practice is common in *Turkey*, wherever

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(2) "The river Peneus runs on the west and north of this town, and is crossed by a stone bridge of many arches. Procopius says, 'This river which washes the town is borne on with a gentle current to the sea,' εἰ μάλ'α προσηνῶς: *De Ædific. lib. iv.* The same author describes the country in the vicinity as extremely fertile and well-watered. Indeed, no plain in *Greece* can be more productive than that of *Larissa*, particularly in corn and cotton: it is still the '*Larissæ ...campus opimæ*,' *Hor.* In its greatest length, it is twenty miles. The market of *Larissa* is well supplied with all kinds of provision; particularly with excellent fish caught in the Penæus. The circuit of the town is from three to four miles: the inhabitants are, in number, about 14,000 Turkish families, 1600 Greek; and there are 2000 Jews. The Greek at whose house I lodged, complained of the unhealthy air of the place. From the window of my room I looked over the river, and part of the plain, backed by the snow-covered summits of Olympus, which, extending in a great length of line from east to west, brought to mind the exact meaning of the μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος of Homer. The height of this mountain has been given at 800 toises. I find in Plutarch, that Xenagoras measured it accurately with instruments (δι' ὀργάνων), and found the perpendicular height to be more than ten furlongs (πρὸς τὴν κάθιστον). See the *Life of Paulus Æmilius*. The height of Pelion, Pliny informs us, was also taken by Dicæarchus, by order of the Ptolemies, and was found to be 'mcccl passuum ratione perpendiculari.' "

*Walpole's MS. Journal.*

there are monasteries. In the street near to the bishop's house we saw the capital of a *Doric* pillar; and such detached fragments are all the remains we could find of the *Temples*<sup>1</sup> of this famous city. But many more considerable relics of its antient splendour may exist, and would be brought to light, if we were permitted to enter the courts and mosques of the intolerant *Turks*, who hold the supreme rule here, and oppose every inquiry of this nature. Before we quit the subject of the *antient Larissa*, it may be proper to remark, that, owing to the number of cities to which this appellation was common, some confusion has been introduced into the geography of *Greece*. And this seems also to have happened among the *Romans*; for *Livy* makes a careful distinction<sup>2</sup> between the *noble city of Thessaly*, of this name, and another, called *Larissa Cremaste*: yet how often have they been confounded by the moderns! *Livy*

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(1) "Vidit prima tuæ testis LARISSA ruinæ  
Nobile, nec victum fatis, caput: omnibus illa  
Civibus effudit totas per mœnia vires  
Obvia ceu læto præmittunt munera flentes:  
Pandunt *templa*, domos."

*Lucani Pharsal. lib. vii. ver. 712. p. 224. Lips. 1726.*

(2) "*Larissamque*, non illam in *Thessalia* nobilem urbem, sed alteram, quam *Cremasten* vocant." *Livio, lib. xxxi. c. 46. tom. III. p. 49. ed. Crevier.*

is relating an expedition of the *Romans* from the northern point of *Eubœa* to the opposite continent, to attack *Larissa Cremaste*; but it does not hence follow that this city was upon the coast: indeed, the words of *Strabo* decidedly prove the contrary<sup>3</sup>. It had also the name of *Pelasgia*<sup>4</sup>; and it had been called *Cremaste* from its situation, (being as it were *suspended*) upon a high rock. It is therefore not improbable that this may have been an antient citadel of the more modern *Larissa* upon the *Penœus*, at some considerable distance from the other, and in a precipitous situation, above the plain. The author thinks he can almost prove this to have been true; for the inhabitants now give the name of OLD LARISSA to a *Palæo-castro* which is upon some very high rocks, at four hours' distance towards the *east*. The place is visible from *Larissa*. This *Palæo-castro*, therefore, may have been LARISSA CREMASTE, if it were not also the PELASGICON ARGOS of *Homer*, where *Achilles* reigned, and whence he received the appellation of *Larissæus*<sup>5</sup>. And perhaps we may

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*Larissa  
Cremaste.*

(3) 'Εν μισσογαίᾳ ἴσταν Ἡ ΚΡΕΜΑΣΤΗ ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑ, κ. τ. λ. *Strabonis Geog. lib. ix. p. 630. ed. Oxon.*

(4) Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ μὲν ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΑ λεγομένη. *Ibid.*

(5) "Quos neque Tydides, nec *Larissæus Achilles*,  
Non anni domuère decem, non mille carinæ."—*Virg. Æn. II. 179.*



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gain other information also from this circumstance; for nothing more seems to be necessary to explain why the *Citadel of Argos* in PELOPONNESUS was called *Larissa*, and the *Citadel of Larissa* in THESSALY was denominated *Argos*; than this circumstance of their similitude as to situation and appearance; each of them having been constructed upon the top of a high and almost inaccessible rock.

On *Wednesday, December the twenty-third*, we left *Larissa*, and set out for the VALLEY OF TEMPE. This name, authorised by a long acceptance, is now generally used; but the *Gorge*, or *Defile of Tempe*, would be a much more appropriate appellation. That any dispute should have arisen among the Moderns as to the situation of the place itself, is truly marvellous; because it still preserves its primeval name, pronounced TEMBI; and there is no place in all *Greece* whose locality it is less difficult to determine. An *inscription* discovered by us within the *defile*, and

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JUPITER was also called *Larissæus*, not, as some have supposed, from this city of *Larissa*, but from the *Argive citadel* of that name (where there was a *Temple of Jupiter*), as it plainly appears from *Strabo*, lib. viii. Vide *Stephanum*, lib. de Urbib. p. 419. Not. 72. edit. Gronovii. Adde *Pausaniam* (*Corinthiacis*, c. 25.) See also *Chap. VIII.* Vol. VI. of these Travels, p. 473. Octavo Edition.

which will hereafter be more particularly noticed, will set this matter in a clear light. According to the plan hitherto observed in these Travels, we shall avoid anticipating observations that were subsequently made; but set before the Reader the substance of our Notes, according to the order in which they were written upon the spot. Mr. *Walpole* considers the *Defile of Tempe*, and the *Vale of Tempe*, as two distinct places. His opinion, and the observation of another learned and accomplished traveller, our common friend, Professor *Palmer*<sup>1</sup>, upon this subject, are subjoined in a note<sup>2</sup>.

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(1) JOHN PALMER, B. D. *Arabic Professor*, and late Classical Lecturer in *St. John's College, Cambridge*;—VIR ERUDITUS, PROBUS, DILECTUS.

(2) "In order to understand clearly what the Antients have said concerning Tempe, it is necessary to keep in mind, that there are two distinct places, having distinct characters of scenery belonging to them;—the *Defile of Tempe*; and the *Valley of Tempe*.

"I shall begin with the first.—The river Peneus flows for three or four miles through a gorge between the mountains Olympus and Ossa, which rise on one side of it, almost perpendicularly: on the other, they afford space for a narrow road formed in the rock, running along the river side. Some of the mountains in Borrowdale by Keswick resemble those in the defile of Tempe, both in shape, and in their wild and barren aspect. The manner in which the rocks at Matlock rise from the border of the river reminds us of those at Tempe: but to make the resemblance more striking, nothing but the grey limestone rocks at Matlock should be seen, divested of all the verdure with which the oak and mountain-ash adorn them; and they should rise to a greater height. The *Defile of Tempe* could never have been represented by the Antients as picturesque or beautiful. Livy, speaking of  
the

Excepting that the *defile* is rather wider, and expands more into the form of a *valley* at its

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the lofty mountains there, uses these words: '*Montes ita utrinque abscissi, ut vix despici sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possint.*' Pliny's words are not quite so strong: '*Ultra visum hominis se attollere dextra lævaque leniter convexa juga.*'

"On the top of the mountains overhanging the narrow parts of the defile, on the side where Ossa rises, are the remains of ancient forts. Here might be the spot where Livy says, 'ten armed men could defend the Pass with ease.' *Dec. v. lib. iv.* In this part also is to be seen the inscription, first observed by *Dr. Clarke*, cut in the rock; stating, that 'L. CASSIUS LONGINUS FORTIFIED TEMPE.' In searching different writers, to see whether any mention is made of this person, I have been fortunate enough to find the following words in Julius Cæsar (*lib. iii. De Bello Civili*): '*L. Cassium Longinum in Thessaliam misit Cæsar.*' There can be no doubt that this is the person alluded to: we are therefore in possession of another interesting fact,—the very age of the inscription.

"The word *Tempe*, says *Vossius* (in *Melam*), from being applied to the Thessalian defile, was afterwards used when the Greeks spoke of narrow passes: thus, in *Theophanes*, the Passes of Taurus are called *Τέμνη τῆς Κιλικίας*. *Anna Comnena* calls *Tempe*, *Κλεισόρα*; a word employed by the Greeks now as meaning a *defile*. Another Byzantine historian, *Georgius Acropolita*, speaking of a Pass through which the *Strymon* flows, says, 'The common people call such places, *Κλεισόρα*.'

"Respecting the situation of the other part of *Tempe*, called the *Valley*, *Pococke* speaks in a very undecided manner. He doubts whether it lies at the south-west entrance of the defile, near *Baba*; or at the north-east extremity. As I passed through *Tempe* in December, at a time when it was impossible to judge correctly of the natural beauties of the country, I shall not speak, from my own observations, more positively concerning this celebrated valley; but shall subjoin a valuable Note from the Journal of my friend *Professor Palmer*, who saw it in the spring of the year 1806, the most favourable season, as he was travelling southward from *Salonica*. From his statement, there can be little doubt that the valley was situated towards the north-eastern entrance of the Defile of *Tempe*.

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" ' May

extremities, we see no reason for insisting upon the distinction. The *dales* of *Derbyshire* and *Cumberland*, and the *dingles* of *Wales*, are by some called *valleys*, and by others considered rather as *defiles*, or *passes*; but these distinctions exist only in the *names* given to them.

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“ ‘May 13, 1806. After riding nearly an hour close to the Bay, we turned S. through a delightful plain, which, after a quarter of an hour, brought us to an opening between Ossa and Olympus, the entrance to a Vale, which, in situation, extent, and beauty, amply satisfies whatever the Poets have said of Tempe.

“ ‘The country being secure, we were able to view the scene from various situations. The best view is from a small hill about one mile S. from the Chán. Looking E. you have then Ossa on your right hand; on your left, a circling ridge of Olympus, clothed with wood and rich herbage, terminates in several elevations, which diminish as they approach the opening before mentioned. In the front is the Vale, intersected by the Peneus; and adorned with a profusion of beauties, so concentrated, as to present under one view a scene of incomparable effect.

“ ‘The length of the Vale, measured from the station to the opening by which we entered, I estimate at three miles; its greatest breadth, at two miles and a half.

“ ‘Extending your view northwards, the Vale opens towards a rich plain which bounds the Bay of Salonica; high above whose waters is seen majestic Athos. This interesting feature has hitherto been unnoticed: indeed, it can only be noticed in very favourable circumstances of weather and situation of the observer.’

*MS. Journal of Professor Palmer.*

“ To this spot, then, described by *Professor Palmer*, must be applied the epithets used by the Antients, when speaking of Tempe,—*nemorosa*, *umbrosa*, *viridantia*, καλό. The opinion of the Emperor Julian should not be overlooked. During his residence in Greece, he probably had visited this interesting spot. In a letter to Libanius, he places ‘the Thessalian Tempe only second to the celebrated Grove and Temple of Daphne in Syria.’ ”

*Walpole's MS. Journal.*

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Road to  
Tempe.

Leaving *Larissa*, we saw, upon the right, the torso of a statue of a woman, remarkable for the excellent sculpture visible in the drapery. Within the *Turkish* cœmetary, upon this side of the city, there were many *Greek* sepulchral marbles; also the *operculum* of a *Soros*. Here we read some valedictory *inscriptions*, of which the two following may serve as specimens; for they are hardly worth notice, except as a proof that the cutters of tomb-stones in all ages have been generally illiterate men.

1.

ΔΙΟΝΥΚΙΑΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΝΤ  
ΟΝΕΑΥΤΗCΑΝΔΡΑΜΝΙΑC  
ΧΑΡΙΝΗΡΩCΧΡΗCΤΕΧΕΡΙΝ

2.

ΑΥΓΗΓΑΙΟΝΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΑΝΔΡΑ  
ΜΝΕΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ  
ΗΡΩCΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Tumuli.

Being once more in the open *Pelagic Plain*, we were struck by the appearance of the numerous *tumuli* then in view: many of them were extremely large, and in excellent preservation. They did not seem to have been opened and ransacked for the hidden treasure which it is possible some of them contain, as it has often

happened in *Tahtary*; but, upon some of them, small huts had been constructed, as dwellings for the shepherds. We observed these *tumuli* on both sides of the *Penëus*, and the whole way to the *Defile of Tempe*, the entrance to which is distant three hours and a half from *Larissa*. Our road over the plain was along the old *military paved-way*; and we passed a marshy lake, said to be dry in summer, by means of this causeway. It can be no other than the *Palus Nesonis*, mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>1</sup> as near to *Larissa*, which, as usual, is inaccurately placed in the maps published for *Barthelemy's Anacharsis*. The river, swollen by the late rain, had inundated the land near to its banks; and this *marsh* was therefore full of water, so as to resemble a lake.

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The scenery was now uncommonly fine; *OLYMPUS* being all in view towards the *north*, covered with snow. More towards the *east*, *OSSA*, upon our right, made a conspicuous appearance. Towards the *south-east*, and rather behind our route, as we journeyed towards *Tempe*, appeared *MOUNT PELION*. But the

View of  
*Olympus*.

(1) Καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Νισωνίδα λίμνην, κ. τ. λ. *Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.* p. 639. ed. Ozon.

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view of OLYMPUS engrossed our particular attention, owing to the prodigious grandeur into which its vast masses were disposed. We had never beheld a scene of bolder outline; for the only diminutive objects in this grand prospect were the distant herds of cattle, grazing in detached groupes upon the plain in the foreground<sup>1</sup>. All the rest consisted of parts of such magnitude, that, in their contemplation, animated nature is forgotten<sup>2</sup>: we think only

(1) The sketch which the author made of this scene, as a memorandum, has been considered a faithful representation by other travellers; and therefore it has been engraved for the Plate annexed to Vol. IV. of the Quarto Edition of these Travels, facing p. 277. It will serve to shew the reader the nature of this highly-poetic land. The form of *Olympus*, and the undulating line presented by its "many tops," has been accurately taken.

(2) This feeling is finely expressed by *Cumberland*. The poet is described as viewing the prospect from the summit of *Skiddaw*, in *Cumberland*.

" Now downward as I bend my eye,  
What is that atom I espy,  
That speck in Nature's plan?—  
Great heaven! is that a man?  
And hath that little wretch its cares,  
Its freaks, its follies, and its airs?  
And do I hear the insect say,  
' My lakes, my mountains, my domain?'  
O weak, contemptible, and vain!  
The tenant of a day.  
Say to old *Skiddaw*, ' Change thy place,  
Heave *Helvellyn* from his base,  
Or bid impetuous *Derwent* stand  
At the proud waving of a master's hand."

*See Hutchinson's Hist. of Cumberland, Vol. II. p. 168. Carlisle, 1794.*

of that Being who is represented in the immensity of his works; and we thereby indulge the same feelings which first induced the benighted Heathens to consider the tops of their mountains<sup>3</sup> as habitations of "THE MOST HIGH GOD<sup>4</sup>."

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Drawing near to the base of this mighty rampart, which seems to interrupt all communication between the *plain of the Pelasgi* and the more northern territories, the entrance to the *defile of Tempe* begins to appear, like a breach in a wall. Suddenly one of the guides, a *Greek*, conducting a baggage-horse, began to sing, in a loud tone of voice, a popular ballad in *Romaic*, expressing a dialogue between the two mountains, *Olympus* and *Ossa*; which still retain their original names in the country, although a little altered in the appellations 'Ο ΕΛΙΜΠΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ 'Ο ΚΙΣΣΑΒΟΣ. The dialogue relates to a dispute between the two mountains, as to the length of the season when they are concealed by snow<sup>5</sup>.

Entrance  
of the Val-  
ley.

(3) Πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαὶ τε φίλαι, καὶ πρόνοιες ἄκροι  
'Υψηλῶν ὀρέων. *Hom. Hymn. in Apollinem, ver. 144.*

(4) *Jupiter* being therefore called "Ἵψιστος, and Ἵψίζυγος.

(5) We shall give the beginning of it, exactly as we received it from an illiterate peasant; not vouching for correctness, or grammatical construction.



CHAP. IX. We dined near a village called *Yan*: between this place and *Larissa* there are many vineyards. Afterwards, we continued our journey by the side of the PENEUS, until we arrived at *Baba*, situate at the entrance of the VALE OF TEMPE. There are many *Turkish* villages within the mouth of this valley, at its *Thessalian* extremity: and as we could find no antiquities upon the spot, we knew not where to place any of the *Grecian* towns that were said to have occupied the same position. Perhaps *Baba* may have been the antient *Gonnus*, for this was in the entrance to TEMPE: and there was also a city called *Elatéa*, near to *Gonnus*, and within the *defile*<sup>1</sup>. It is proper that the reader should be made fully acquainted with the nature of this extraordinary passage: and first, in order to give him some notion of the appearance of *Tempe*, it may be said, that it resembles the pass of *Kyllycrankie* in *Scotland*, and that of

*Gonnus.*

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Ὁ Ελιμπος καὶ ὁ Κισσαβὸς τὰ δύο βουνὰ μαλλόνων,  
 Μαλῶν τοῦ Θαλασσίου, καὶ διατὶ τοῦ βοισίου;  
 Μὴ μὴ μαλλόνεις Κισσαβὸς, καὶ μὴ μὴ παραδιοκνεῖς;  
 Ἐγὼ πολλὴ ἴδεν κατοπῆ, τοῦ μαι τοῦ καλοκαίρι,  
 Νὰ παρὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ να πρώτου καὶ τοῦ εἰχὼ δια ἀπὸ τὸν μῆνα.

(1) "*Livy*, speaking of *Elatéa* and *Gonnus*, says, "*Utr.que oppida in faucibus sunt, quæ TEMPE adeunt.*" *Liv. Hist. lib. xlii. c. 54. tom. III. p. 634. Paris, 1738.*

*Dovedale* in *Derbyshire*; but it is upon a much grander scale; for *Olympus* upon the left, and *Ossa* upon the right, form the two sides of the pass. Owing to some tremendous revolution in the face of nature, these two mountains were separated from each other, having been originally one and the same entire mass; and in the bottom of the cleft formed by their division, flows the *Peneüs*. If ever the waters of the *Black Sea* shall be so far drained and evaporated as to leave only a river flowing through the *Canal of Constantinople*, then the *Thracian Bosphorus* will become what *Tempe* is now. That a sea, like the *Euxine*, once covering the whole of *Thessaly*, was drained by the opening of this chasm between *Olympus* and *Ossa*, is not only evident, from the position of the *strata* on either side of it, but the fact has always been so traditionally transmitted, as to become a theme of poetical allusion, if not a portion of recorded history<sup>2</sup>. A powerful torrent, occupying in

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Origin of  
the Defile.

(2) The passages subjoined, from *Herodotus*, *Lucan*, and *Ælian*, will shew how prevalent this opinion was among the Antients: it had always been a tradition in *Thessaly*. The whole of the 129th chapter of the Seventh Book of *Herodotus* is taken up with this subject, from which we can only insert an extract.

Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τοπαλαίων εἶναι λίμνην, κ. τ. λ. . . . . αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὴν αὐλῶνα, δι' οὗ ῥεῖι ὁ Πηνειός. οἰκότες ἀλιγοῦντες. ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διστιῶτα

ὑπὸ

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 some parts of *Tempe* nearly the whole of the passage from side to side, is therefore exhibited by the *PENEUS*; flowing with great rapidity from the *west-south-west* to *east-north-east*; that is to say, from the *Pelagic* to the *Pierian Plain*, which begins at the *eastern* extremity of the *defile*. By the side of this torrent, and at the *western* entrance, as before stated, stands *Baba*. To the *south-south-east* of *Baba*, that is to say, towards the *right*, but at a considerable elevation above this village and the river, upon *Mount Ossa*, is a village called *Ampelákia*. *Ampelákia*; one of the most extraordinary places in all *Turkey*; because, being situate in the most secluded spot of the whole empire, and

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Ἐπὶ σεισμῷ, τοῦ Θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκείνη ἰδὼν, φαίη Ποσειδίωνα ποιεῖσαι. ἔργον γὰρ ἴσθι σεισμῷ, (ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεσθαι) ἢ διάστασις τῶν οὐράων. *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. cap. 129. p. 420. ed. Gronovii.*

“ Hos inter montes mediâ qui valle premuntur,  
 Perpetuis quondam latuère paludibus agri:  
 Flumina dum retinent campi, nec pervia *Tempe*  
 Dant aditus pelagi; stagnumque implentibus unum  
 Crescere cursus erat: postquam discessit *Olympo*  
 Herculea gravis *Ossa* manu, subitæque ruinam  
 Sensit aquæ Nereus.”

*Lucani Pharsalia, lib. vi. v. 343. p. 173. Lips. 1726.*

“Ἔστι δὲ χώρος μεταξὺ κείμενος τοῦ τε ὈΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ, καὶ τῆς ὈΣΣΗΣ· ὅρη δὲ ταῦτ’ ἴσθιν ὑπερέψηλα, καὶ οἶον ὑπὸ τινος θείας φροντίδος δισχισμένα, καὶ μίσην δίχεται χωρίον, κ. τ. λ. *Æliani Variæ Historiæ, lib. iii. cap. 1. tom. I. p. 191. ed. Gronovii, 1731.*

where no one would look for the haunts of active industry, it carries on an extensive commerce, the effects of which were once severely felt by our own manufacturers in *Britain*. We left the main route to visit this village, and ascended, from *Baba*, a part of *Mount Ossa*. The way up is by a paved road; and it is full of a green chlorite schistus, containing veins of white marble and of white quartz. In the description of *Larissa*, fragments of the *Verde-antico* were said to have been observed in the pavements of the city, and that the substance itself existed in the neighbourhood. It was to this part of *Tempe* that allusion was then intended; reserving for the account of the place itself, any further notice of the discovery of this beautiful mineral, in its natural state; because it is singularly connected with the antient geography of the country. That the antients obtained their *green marble* from this place, we shall endeavour to prove. Quarries might now be wrought<sup>1</sup> for the *Verde-antico* in this part of *Mount Ossa*. Those parts of the mountain which are above the *defile* consist, in many places, of *green schistus* veined and spotted

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Natural  
locality of  
the *Verde-antico*  
Marble.

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(1) It has lately been found in *Anglesea*; and a very considerable manufacture of this marble has commenced in *London*.

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with *white*. Much of this substance has been used for the *military road* through the *Defile of Tempe*, and about the village of *Ampelákia*. But the discovery of a natural deposit of this rare kind of marble, so near to the *Peneüs*, may be attended with other consequences than merely making known the locality of a curious mineral: it may throw some light over the dark recesses of *Tempe*, by pointing out the situation of one of its antient cities; because we may now shew that *Ampelákia* perhaps originally occupied the site of the antient *ATRAKIA*, and that the original situation of *Ampelákia* agreed with what *Livy*<sup>1</sup> and *Stephanus*<sup>2</sup> have told us of the antient city. *Ampelákia* was formerly situate lower down, towards the defile; but the inhabitants removed their village to these heights, owing to the incursions made upon them by the *Turkish* troops, in passing this way. The site of the old city *ATRAKIA* is manifested by this discovery of its *green marble*; because the *Verde-antico* was called *Atracian marble*. There is a very curious and scarce

*Atrakia.*

(1) "Decem ferme millia ab Larissa abest: sita est urbs super Penëum annum." *Livii Hist. lib. xxxii. cap. 15.*

(2) "Ατραξ και Ἀτρακία πόλις Θεσσαλίας τῆς Πιλασγιώτιδος μεύρας." *Stephan. de Urbib. p. 135. Amst. 1678.*

treatise of *Blasius Caryophilus*, commonly called *Biagio Garofolo*, a *Neapolitan*, "*De Marmoribus Antiquis*." It was printed at *Utrecht* in 1743. This writer satisfactorily proves that the marble called *Verde-antico* by the *Italian* lapidaries is, in fact, the *Marmor Atracium*<sup>3</sup>; and the *Atracian* marble was called *Θεσσαλή λίθος*, by *Julius Pollux*<sup>4</sup>. It is mentioned by *Paul Silentiarius*, among the marbles placed by *Justinian* in the church of *St. Sophia* at *Constantinople*<sup>5</sup>. The

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*Marmor  
Atracium.*

(3) *Caryophil.* de Marmor. Antiq. p. 9. *Ultraject.* 1743.

(4) "Atracium marmor, quod Polluci Θεσσαλή λίθος dicitur." *Ibid.*

(5) It should therefore seem that the *Atracian*, rather than the *Lacedæmonian* green marble, was used for the ornaments of this edifice. The author, who has bestowed some pains upon the subject, was once induced, from an observation of *Pliny*, to believe that the green columns in *St. Sophia* were of *Lacedæmonian* marble. (See *Tomb of Alexander*, p. 42. Note k. *Cambridge*, 1805.) The *Lacedæmonian* was one variety of the *Verde-antico*; but it was green and black, instead of green and white. *Caryophilus*, after citing *Silentiarius*, says, "De octo columnis quæ posuit *Justinianus* in templo Sanctæ Sophiæ, *Silentiarius* intelligit πρασίνοισι τοῖς ἀξιοθαυμάστοις, admirandas prasini coloris, ut habet *Codinus* (de Orig. Constantin. p. 65. ed. *Paris*) *Divus Gregorius Nyssenus* (p. 399) de Θεσσαλοῖσι στήλοις, columnis Thessalicis, ad exornandas gymnasiorum porticus, primus, quod novimus meminuit. Ex eodem marmore *Basilius Macedo* octo pariter ponendas curavit pro ornandis Basilicæ ædibus, quas extruxit (*Const. Porphyrog. in Bas.* p. 203) Constantinopoli ἐκ λίθου Θεσσαλῆς ἢ τὸ πρασίον χροῖμα κεκλήρωται, ex Thessalico lapide, qui prasini est coloris, hoc est viridis." According to *Caryophilus*, the marbles used by the *Greeks* amounted to forty-one varieties; and the information is too valuable to be withheld. They were as follow :

1. Hy-

appearance therefore of the *Atracian marble* indicates very satisfactorily the position of the

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1. Hymettus.—The marble of *Hymettus* was so much esteemed in *Xenophon's* time, that temples, altars, shrines, and statues, were made of it throughout *Greece*, but especially at *Athens*.
  2. Pentelicus.—First mentioned by *Æschines*, who lived in the 86th *Olympiad*. Also by *Theophrastus*. *Λιθοτομίας Πεντιλικῶν*.
  3. Phellensis Lapis;—so called from Mount *Phelleus* in *Attica*, mentioned by *Aristophanes*.
  4. Tænarian, of two kinds; from *Tænarium* Promontory in *Laconia*: it was green and black.
  5. Corinthian: variegated, but chiefly yellow.
  6. Ægina.
  7. Atracian; green and white.
  8. Parian: *Lapis candidissimus*.
  9. Docimæan: called also *Synnadicæan*.
  10. Proconnesian.
  11. Thasian: *Λευκοφαῖος*, like *Parian*.
  12. Carystian: green, variegated with spots. This was also a sub-variety of the *Verde-antico*.
  13. Melian: yellow.
  14. Chian: variegated.
  15. Cubelican.
  16. Coralitican.
  17. Rhodian.
  18. Troadensian.
  19. Bosphorian.
  20. Phengites lapis: found in *Cappadocia*.
  21. Tyrian: white, from *Libanus*.
  22. Hierosolymitan.
  23. Marmor Porinum: called also *Porus*. White as *Parian*, but light as *Tophus*.
  24. Scyrian, Deucalian, and Hierapolytican: also Lydian, of two kinds; Lesbian, and Heraclæan.
  25. Mylessenssian, Alabandine, Jassenssian, and Ephesian.
  26. Marmor Conchyte;—much used in works at *Megara*.
  27. Tauromenitan, Syracusian, Tragurian, and Molossian.—In all, 41 varieties.

city of ATRAKIA<sup>1</sup>. This is not the first time that *antient geography* has been indebted to *mineralogy* for its illustration. The situation of *Megara*, in the *Isthmus of Corinth*, if every other trace of its existence has disappeared, might in a similar manner be ascertained, by the prevalence of the *marmor conchyte* about the place. Other instances could also be adduced; but it would lead us too far from the main subject.

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We entered the modern village, whose name, although written Ἀμπελάκια<sup>2</sup>, is always pronounced *Ambelákia*. All the heights around it

Village of  
*Ampelákia*.

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(1) See also *Ptolemy* (*Geog. lib. iii. cap. 13.*) who places it among the towns of the *Pelasgiotæ*. Also *Strabo*, lib. ix. for its situation near the PENEUS. *Livy* stations it "in *Pelagoniæ faucibus*." (*Vid. lib. xxxi. cap. 34.*) "Sed apud eum perperam scribitur *Athaco pro Atraci*, dativo casu." (*Stephan. de Urbib. p. 136. Not. 40. Amst. 1678.*)

———"Qualis per nubila Phœbes  
*Atracia* rubet arte labor."——

*Statius, Theb. lib. i. v. 105. tom. I. p. 20. Lut. Paris. 1685.*

(2) This word, as it is thus written, is said to signify "*The little Vineyard*," (*ab ἄμπελος vinea*); but by attending to the etymology of antient names after their corruption into a modern language, the greatest confusion may be introduced. As a proof of this, we shall mention only one instance. The word NAUPACTUS has been corrupted by the *Turks* into *A'neh Bakht*; and this, if it have any meaning, should signify "*The mirror of fortune*." The word *Ampelákia* is by *Dr. Holland* written *Amphilochia*. (*See Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c. p. 287. Lond. 1815*) which was the name of a district of *Acarmania*, upon the *Sinus Ambracius*.



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are covered with vineyards, and its wine is the best flavoured of any that we tasted in *Greece*. It is of a red colour, and resembles claret. The town consists of four hundred houses<sup>1</sup>, as it were hanging upon this side of *Mount Ossa*, above the Pass of *Tempe*: it contains no *Turkish* inhabitants, and enjoys a state of freedom, forcibly contrasted with the condition of other places in the same neighbourhood, although not exempted from imposts. We might almost have imagined ourselves to be in *Germany*. The inhabitants are many of them from that country; and they are a thriving, healthy-looking people. They wear the *Eastern* dress; but they have introduced many foreign manners and customs among those of *Greece*. Some *German* merchants, upon our arrival, sent to us the last *Frankfort* Gazettes; and soon afterwards they paid us a visit. As we intended to pass the night here, we accompanied them to see their staple manufactory for dyeing cotton-thread of a red colour, which not only supports and

Manufac-  
tory.

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(1) *Beaujour* reckons the population at 4000 souls,—“living,” as he happily expresses it, “like bees in a hive.” We state the number of houses as it was given to us by the merchants of the place. If *Beaujour’s* account of the population be not exaggerated, the number of the houses is possibly greater. *Voy. Tabl. du Comm. de la Grèce*, p. 272. Paris, 1800.

enriches the inhabitants, but has given rise to a commerce so considerable, that whole caravans are laden with this cotton for the markets of *Pest, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, &c.*; and hardly a day passes without some exports being made, which are carried even to *Hamburgh*. The fabric for dyeing the cotton, however, causes such a consumption of wood, that it will make a sad havoc among the natural beauties of the *Vale of Tempe*.

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We shall now briefly describe the process used in preparing the cotton for exportation; referring our readers, for more particular information, to the valuable work of *Felix Beaujour* upon the "*Commerce of Greece*;" where the subject is treated with all possible minuteness, and, at the same time, with a degree of accuracy that entitles its author to the highest credit<sup>2</sup>. About this time the merchants of *Ambelâkia* began to feel the effect of the preference given to *English* cotton-thread in the *German* markets; and it was a subject of their complaint. "*They foresaw*," they said, "*that the superior skill of the English manufacturers, and*

Effect of  
the *English*  
Cotton-  
mills.

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(2) Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce, &c. par *Félix Beaujour*, Ex-Consul en Grèce. 2 tom. à Paris, 1800.

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*their being enabled to undersell every other competitor upon the Continent, would ultimately prove the ruin of their establishment.* This no doubt is owing to the improvement adopted in *Great Britain* of spinning cotton-thread in mills, by means of engines that are worked by steam, which has caused such a considerable reduction in its price;—all the thread made at *Ampelákia* being spun by manual labour. The beautiful red tincture of the *Turkish* cotton will, however, long maintain its pristine celebrity: it has never been perfectly imitated in *England*. The *English* cotton-thread is much finer, but it has not the tenacity of that which is manufactured in *Turkey*; neither is its colour so durable. The whole population of *Ampelákia*, amounting to four thousand souls, including even the children, is occupied in the preparation of this single article of commerce; the males in dyeing the wool, and the females in spinning the thread. A delightful picture of industry is thereby exhibited; and the happy effects of active employment, in a land otherwise oppressed by a general stagnation of its energies, is remarkably conspicuous, in the health, in the cheerfulness, and in the good feeling to which industry always conduces. Spindles only are used in making the thread: there is not a

Manner of  
making the  
thread.

spinning-wheel in the place. *Beaujour* states this as one cause of the excellence of the cotton thread here manufactured<sup>1</sup>. Although but a village, *Ampelákia* contains twenty-four fabrics for dyeing only. Two thousand five hundred bales of cotton (each bale weighing two hundred and fifty pounds) are annually dyed here, the principal produce of the manufacture being sent to *Vienna*. We visited several of the fabrics: they contain a number of vessels for steeping the cotton. The substance used for the colouring principle is the root of a species of madder (*Rubia*) found at *Churdiz* and *Bachir*; in *Asia*, which comes to them from *Smyrna*: but whether it differ from the common madder of dyers (*Rubia tinctorum*) we could not learn. The *Ampelákians* call this root *Lizar*, written *Aly-zari* by *Beaujour*<sup>2</sup>. They prepare the dye by pulverizing the root, and then mixing it in a caldron with water, in the proportion of an hundred parts of water to thirty-five of the madder; adding, afterwards, bullocks'-blood. But a principal part of the art seems to consist in the process of preparing the cotton to receive

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Process of  
dyeing the  
Wool.

(1) "Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce," tom. I. p. 273. Paris, 1800.

(2) Ibid. tom. I. p. 265.

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the dye. It is frequently dipped in a saponaceous lye, made with oil and a weak solution of soda. The cotton is trodden in this solution, during several days successively; being also carefully rinsed and dried as often as it is taken out of the lye<sup>1</sup>. They also use a small portion of sheeps'-dung in preparing the lye. After this, it is dyed in the madder; and lastly, to fix and heighten the colour, it is boiled in another lye of *soda*. The *French*, who long ago endeavoured to establish a fabric for dyeing cotton at *Montpelier*, and who borrowed the art originally from the *Greeks*, pretend to have met with success by adopting a process very similar to that which is here described<sup>2</sup>.

In the course of this evening, the inhabitants shewed to us several antient medals, found either in the place or in its neighbourhood. Many of them were similar to what we had seen in *Larissa*, but some were new to us. There

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(1) Dr. *Holland* says, the cottons are first exposed to three lyes, of *soda*, *ashes*, and *lime*, mixed in nearly equal quantities; then follows a *soda bath*, and afterwards a process of "galling and aluming;" after this, the dye is given, which is finally perfected by a bath alcalized with *soda*; the lye being made to boil until the colour takes its proper tint. See *Holland's Travels, &c.* p. 289 (*Note*). Lond. 1815.

(2) *Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce*, p. 287. Note (1).

was one with a *head full-faced* in front, and a *horse* upon the obverse side, which we had never seen before; also another with this legend as a reverse, <sup>ATIE</sup> <sub>IPYTA</sub>. Some curious *Cuphic* coins were also brought, that were struck under the *Caliphs*. We had seen similar silver coins at *Platæa*, and neglected to buy them, thinking they had been *Turkish*: the same were also observed at *Larissa*, and at *Marathon*.

*Thursday, December the twenty-fourth*, we were an hour occupied in descending from *Ampelákia* into the *Vale of Tempe*. Having regained our route, as soon as we began to proceed through the *defile*, we observed that the river *Penæus* was much swoln, and very muddy; but we could perceive no appearance corresponding with *Pliny's* account of the unmingled waters of the *Eurotos*<sup>3</sup>, probably owing to the flooded state of the river. Such appearances are common in many other rivers; and therefore there is every reason to believe that *Pliny's* account is accurate. The river called by him *Eurotos*, is the *Eurotas*

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(3) "Accipit amnem *Euroton*, nec recipit, sed olei modo supernatantem (ut dictum est *Homero*) brevi spatio portatum abdicat: pœnales aquas dirisque genitas, argenteis suis misceri recusans." *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 8. tom. I. p. 212. L. Bat. 1635.*

of *Strabo*; who says, that it is named *Titaresium* by *Homer*. *Lucan* calls it *Titaresus*<sup>1</sup>; and by *Strabo's* epitomiser, it is denominated *Europos*. The *Penëus* here occupies the whole of the valley, from side to side; with the exception only of the narrow pass afforded by the old paved causeway of the *military way*, which extends along the right bank of the river. Fragments of the *Atracian marble* appeared in different parts of this pavement: to afford space for it, even the solid rocks were cut away from the side of the *Penëus*. Here the scenery possesses the utmost grandeur. The precipices consist of naked perpendicular rocks, rising to a prodigious height; so that the spectator can scarce behold them from below without giddiness. *Livy's* description, therefore, in addition to its intrinsic grandeur, has all the majesty of truth:

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(1) See the beautiful and valuable description of the rivers in the sixth book of *Lucan's Pharsalia*. The account of the unmingled waters of the *Titaresus* and *Penëus* is borrowed from *Homer*: Οὐδ' ἔστι Πηνειῶ συμμίσγεται, κ. τ. λ. It is thus given by *Lucan*:

“ Solus in alterius nomen cum venerit undæ,  
Defendit Titaresos aquas, lapsusque superne  
Gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur arvis.  
Hunc fama est Stygiis manare paludibus amnem,  
Et capitis memorem, fluvii contagia vilis  
Nolle pati, superumque sibi servare timorem.”

*Pharsalia*, lib. vi. p. 175. Lips. 1726.

RUPES UTRINQUE ITA ABSCISSÆ SUNT, UT DESPICI VIX SINE VERTIGINE QUADAM SIMUL OCULORUM ANIMIQUE POSSIT: TERRET ET SONITUS ET ALTITUDO PER MEDIAM VALLEM FLUENTIS PENEI AMNIS. The various colours which adorn the surfaces of these rocks can only be expressed by painting: and how beautiful would the effect be, if these masses were faithfully delineated, in all their distinct or blended hues, of ashen grey, and green, and white, and ochreous red, and brown, and black, and yellow! Such description by the pen suggests no distinct image to the mind. Upon their utmost peaks, both to the right and left, we saw the ruins of an antient fortress, once the bulwarks of the defile, whose walls were made to traverse the precipices, in a surprising manner, quite down to the road. The cliffs are so perpendicular, and the gorge is so narrow, that it would be absolutely impossible for an army to pass while the strait was guarded by these fortifications<sup>2</sup>. In this part of the defile, as the

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Antient  
Fortifica-  
tions.

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(2) In the valuable "*Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople, par Du Fresne*," we find this *Defile of Tempe*, and the *Defile of Thermopylae*, again rendered conspicuous by the wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The former then retained its name. "Les Grecs appelloient ainsi certains détroits qui sont entre les hautes montagnes d'*Olympe* et d'*Ossa*,"



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Roman  
Inscrip-  
tion :

Its date  
ascertained.

author was beginning to scale the heights towards the right, with a view to examine the ruins more narrowly, his attention was caught by the appearance of some *Roman* letters in the face of the rock, which had been purposely planed for their reception. He found that they belonged to an *inscription*, which has preserved, in legible characters, the whole history of these fortifications. This *inscription* is upon the right hand, about twelve feet above that part of the antient way where the rocks have been cut to leave a passage for the road; and it contains the name of the *Roman* General by whom the defile had been fortified. As this name has been since found by Mr. *Walpole*, in the third book of *Cæsar's* History of the Civil War, with the time of this officer's mission into *Thessaly*, the date of the *inscription* is accurately ascertained. The reader will also remark the very curious writing of the word TEMPE; *I* being substituted for *E*:

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*d'Ossa, séparées par une petite vallée où plaine raboteuse longue environ de quarante stades, et large en quelques endroits de cent pieds, en d'autres moins; au milieu de laquelle le fleuve de Penée descendant des rochers avec bruit et impetuosité prend son cours, puis se décharge dans le Golfe Thermaïque, en sorte qu'en cette plaine il n'y a passage au plus que pour quatre ou cinq hommes de front. Alexis et Sgure logerent quelques troupes au haut de cette montagne pour garder les pas." Hist. de Const. div. i. c. 30. p. 23. Paris, 1657.*

admitting, perhaps, this easy explanation, that  
 “every *soldier* is not a *Cæsar*.”

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L CASSIVS LONGIN  
 PRO COS  
 TIMPI MVNIVIT

It is, however, a valuable inscription; because the geographical position of *Tempe* was not before so completely ascertained: for a long time it remained a matter of doubt and dispute. *Pococke* was entirely ignorant of its situation<sup>1</sup>: not that he neglected to make the distinction between the *Valley* and the *Defile*, but that he knew of neither, as applicable to *Tempe*. This has been satisfactorily proved by a writer, who has published the most ingenious dissertation upon the subject that has yet appeared; and who, without visiting *Greece* himself, accurately ascertained the situation of the place; and moreover shewed, that *Pococke* actually passed through *Tempe*, without knowing where he was<sup>2</sup>. In his observations upon

Former  
notions of  
TEMPE.

(1) See *Pococke's Description of the East*; vol. II. Part II. c. 7. p. 152. Lond. 1745.

(2) See “*Miscellaneous Sketches, or Hints for Essays*,” (addressed by a Father to his Daughter,) written by *Arthur Browne, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin*. Lond. 1798. They are contained in a work, little known, “the result of thoughts which occurred in a long and solitary

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the site of *Tempe*, this author says<sup>1</sup>, "How are we disappointed, by finding that scarcely any modern traveller has paid a visit to *Thessaly*; while *Bœotia* and *Phocis* have had numerous describers. The country of *Achilles*; the region of the *battle of Pharsalia*; the favourite scenes of poetic creation, should have claimed a little more attention. The consequence is, that the *site of Tempe* is controverted, or unknown; and *Busching*, a geographer of the first name and character, says of it<sup>2</sup>, "*On la cherche aujourd'hui, et on ne la reconnaît plus.*" *Cellarius* had before expressed his difficulties on the subject of *Tempe*; confessing that he was puzzled by *Catullus*, in the epithet he gives it, of "*Phthiotica Tempe.*" But this difficulty seems easily removed, in the recollection that there were several places with the same name of *Tempe*; and there might have been one of them in *Phthiotis*. Thus *Ovid*<sup>3</sup> speaks of *CYCNEÏA*

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solitary journey into a remote and unfrequented quarter of *Ireland*, where conversation was not to be expected, and the mind was left to itself." The reader who is fortunate enough to procure a copy of it, will be thankful for the amusement it is calculated to afford, and for the information, upon various topics, which it contains.

(1) *Ibid.* p. 118.

(2) See the 12mo edit. of *Busching*, printed at *Lausanne*, 1780. tom. VIII.

(3) *Ovidii Metam.* lib. vii. ver. 371. tom. II. p. 489. *Amst.* 1727.

TEMPE; which was a place in *Bœotia*, from the fable of *Cycnus*: but the *Tempe* usually meant by the Poets was in *THESSALY*; and both *Horace* and *Ovid* distinguish it from the others, by calling it *THESSALA TEMPE*<sup>4</sup>. And in *Virgil's* fourth *Georgic*<sup>5</sup> we have *PENEIA TEMPE*. *Theocritus* also speaks of *KATA ΠΕΝΕΙΩ, ΚΑΛΑ ΤΕΜΠΕ*.

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The descriptions given of *TEMPE* by *Pliny*<sup>6</sup>, by *Ælian*<sup>7</sup>, and by *Livy*<sup>8</sup>, all concur in representing it as a narrow, beautiful, wooded, rocky glen, with a sounding river flowing through the bottom, between steep and lofty banks, along which there was a narrow difficult pass. *Catullus* describes it as surrounded by superimpending woods<sup>9</sup>. According to *Herodotus*, it was an entrance (*εσβολή*) from *Lower Macedonia* into *Thessaly*, by the *Peneüs*, and between

Descriptions given of *Tempe* by antient authors.

(4) *Ibid.* lib. ii. ver. 227. *Horat.* lib. i. od. vii.

(5) "Pastor *Aristæus fugiens Peneia Tempe*."

(6) *Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. c. 8. tom. I. p. 212. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(7) *Hist. Var.* lib. iii. c. 1.

(8) *Hist.* lib. liv. c. 6. tom. III. p. 684. *Paris*, 1738.

(9) ——— "viridantia *Tempe*,

*Tempe, quæ sylvæ cingunt superimpendentes*."

*Catulli Carm.* lxiii. ver. 285. p. 311. edit. *Burmanni*, *Patav.* 1737.

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*Olympus* and *Ossa*<sup>1</sup>; where the *Greeks*, before they fixed upon *Thermopylæ*, first intended to arrest the progress of the *Persian* army. We may now therefore observe with what surprising precision the author, before cited, fixes upon the real spot; being guided only by the clue suggested to his classic mind from the hints and allusions of the antient historians<sup>2</sup>. “From the descriptions of the Poets we can derive no great light. The ‘*Zephyris agitata Tempe*’ of *Horace*, and the ‘*frigida Tempe*’ of *Virgil*; the epithets *umbrosa*, *opaca*, *virentia*, are constantly bestowed upon this oft-sung dale; but woods will perish<sup>3</sup>, and barbarism will destroy. These are bad landmarks: we must look for others. The mountain will still raise its head, and the river will not cease to flow. *Olympus* (though a modern might not choose it for one of the steps of his ladder to heaven) is yet *a mile high*<sup>4</sup>; and the rapid *Penæus* is well known to

(1) 'Ες τὰ Τέμπεια ἐς τὴν ἰσβολὴν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίαν φέρεται παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Οὐλύμποῦ τοῦ οὐρείου ἴοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. c. 173. p. 438. ed. Gronovii.*

(2) *Browne's Miscell. Sketches, vol. I. p. 118. Lond. 1798.*

(3) See the complete fulfilment of his prediction, in the circumstance before related of the destruction of the woods for the manufactory and fabrics of *Ampelákia*.

(4) See the account of its elevation (in a preceding Note by Mr. *Walpole*), as ascertained by the Antients.

*Turkish Greece* by the name of *Salampria*<sup>5</sup>. That the *Penius* rolled through the middle of it, I have repeatedly said, and am confirmed in the assertion by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ovid*; but the two first-mentioned authors have thrown such lights on one of the methods of investigation I mentioned, namely, its bearing to particular objects, that I marvel how it could have been mistaken: it appeared to them that TEMPE was directly between *Ossa* and *Olympus*. The FACT IS, THE VALE IS ACTUALLY FORMED BY SOME OF THE HEIGHTS OF OLYMPUS TO THE WEST, AND OSSA TO THE EAST. How then *Pococke* and *Busching* could possibly have departed from these mountains, to look for it elsewhere, cannot easily be explained." And that they did so, as it has been observed by this writer, is not less remarkable than that one of them, *Pococke*, should have selected for his TEMPE, first, a plain, according to his own description<sup>6</sup>,

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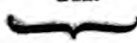
*Pococke*  
and  
*Busching*.

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(5) See the preceding description of *Larissa*. It is pronounced *Salambria*; but in all probability it is written *Σαλαμπερία*; the *Greeks* sounding their *μπ* like our B. In a modern *Greek Play*, called *Pamela*, founded upon *Richardson's Novel*, *Lord Bondfield's* name is printed ΜΠΟΝΦΙΑ.

(6) See *Pococke's Observations upon Greece*, Vol. II. Part II, chap. 7. p. 152. Lond. 1745.

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extended to the *Penæus* from the *Convent of St. Demetrius*, at the distance of two leagues, through the middle of which flowed no river whatsoever: and afterwards “*a valley, two miles wide*”<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to believe that a scholar, such as *Pococke* was, could have been ignorant of the descriptions which antient authors have left of this celebrated station. It appears from *Polybius*<sup>2</sup> that TEMPE was the only passage from the *Lower Macedonia* into *Thessaly*; but the description given of it by *Livy* is so scrupulously exact, and withal so characteristic of the scenery<sup>3</sup>, that it is impossible to mistake it. Even the particular *fortification* where we found the *inscription* now given, is mentioned by him; for he says<sup>4</sup>, “it was garrisoned in

Value of  
*Livy's*  
observa-  
tions.

(1) “On the twenty-second we came into a valley about two leagues long, and *two miles broad*, &c. It is much to be doubted whether these were not the *fields of Tempe*.” (Ibid.) What author has ever described *Tempe* as containing *fields*?

(2) *Polybii Hist. lib. xvii.*

(3) “Sunt enim *Tempe* saltus, etiamsi non bello fiat infestus, transitu difficilis: nam præter angustias per quinque millia, *quæ exiguum jumento onusto iter est*, rupes utrinque ita abscissæ sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quâdam simul oculorum animique possit: terret et sonitus et altitudo *per mediam vallem fluentis Penæi amnis*.” *Livii Hist. lib. xlv. c. 6. tom. III. p. 684. Paris, 1738.*

(4) “Hic locus, tam suapte naturâ infestus, per quatuor distantia loca præsidiiis regis fuit insessus: unum in primo aditu *ad Gonnum* erat; alterum

in four places: one at *Gonnus* in the mouth of the defile; a second at *Condylus*, an impregnable fortress; a third near *Lapathus*, at a place called *Charax*; and a fourth in the very *military way* itself, in the *middle of the strait*," where the road was so narrow, that there was hardly room enough to admit the passage of a single beast of burden, and "where ten men with ease would be able to defend the pass." As for the descriptions given of TEMPE by *Pliny* and by *Ælian*, they agree as to the geographical features of the place, but do not possess, altogether, the force, and fidelity, and copious brevity of *Livy*. Of the two, as that of *Pliny* is the most concise, if we subjoin what he has said, it will be sufficient: no future traveller will then be at any loss to reconcile the appearance of this *defile*

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*Pliny and  
Ælian.*

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alterum *Condylon* castello inexpugnabili: tertium circa *Lapathunta*, quam *Characa* appellant: quartum, VLÆ IPSI, quâ et media et angustissima vallis est, impositum; quam vel decem armatis tueri facile est." *Ibid.*

(5) "Et ante cunctos claritate *Penëus*, ortus juxta *Gomphos*; interque *Ossam* et *Olympum* nemorosa cõvalle defluens quingentis stadiis, dimidio ejus spatio navigabilis. In eo cursu *Tempe* vocantur v. mill. pass. longitudine, et fermè sesquijugeri latitudine, ultra visum hominis attollentibus se dexterâ lævâque leniter convexis jugis, intus suâ luce viridante allabitur *Penëus*, viridis calculo, amœnus circa ripas gramine, canorus avium concentu." *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 8. tom. I. p. 212. L. Bat. 1635.*



CHAP. with all that the antient poets<sup>1</sup>, historians, and  
IX. geographers, have said of TEMPE.

(1) Πηνεὶὸς ἰλισσόμενος διὰ Τεμπίων. (*Callimachus.*) Also *Ovid*:

“Est nemus Hæmoniaë, prærupta quod undique claudit

Silva: vocant *Tempe*. Per quæ *Penëus*, ab imo

Effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis:

Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos

Nubila conducit, summasque adspergine silvas

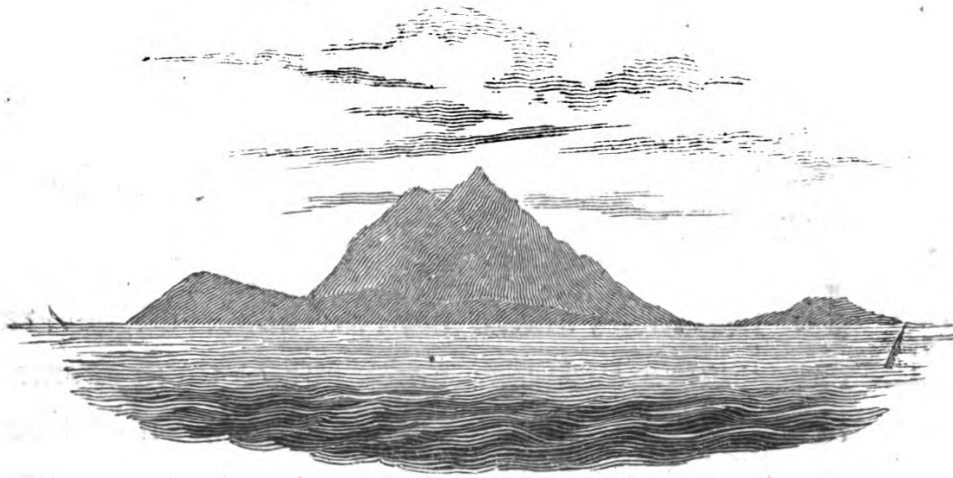
Impluit; et sonitu plus quàm vicina fatigat.

Hæc domus, hæc sedes, hæc sunt penetralia magni

Amnis: in hoc, residens facto de cautibus antro,

Undis jura dabat, Nymphisque colentibus undas.”

*Ovid. Met. lib. i. ver. 568. tom. II. p. 69. Amst. 1727. ed. Burmanni.*



*East View of Mount Athos, from Pieria.*

## CHAP. X.

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### VALE OF TEMPE, TO THESSALONICA.

*Ælian — Laurel of Tempe — Banditti — Length of the Pass — Appearance upon leaving the Defile — Heracléa — Turkish Funeral — Height of Olympus — Mount Athos — Kallidia — Malathria — Mauro-Nero and Pellica rivers — Inscriptions — Baphyrus — Antient Geography of Pieria uncertain — Tomb of Orpheus — Pimpléa — Observations of Livy — Situation of Dium — Katarina — View of Olympus — Palæo-Castro — Cleanly Cottages of the Albanians — Greeks compared with Albanians — Women — Shepherds' Dogs in body-clothes — Mountain barrier of Thessaly — Inscriptions between Katarina and Kitros — Country still called Macedonia — Mountains to the north of Salonîca — Kitros — Pydna — Tomb of the Macedonians — Transactions at Pydna — Leuterochori — Methone — Lebâno — Alorus — Inge Mauro ferry — Maurosmaek ferry*

*ferry—Axius, or Vardar river—Pella—Nature of the country celebrated for Alexander's Nativity—News of the Plague—Tekâle—Geography of Macedonia—Ægæ—importance of ascertaining its position—Arrival at Thessalonica.*

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*Ælian.* IN the rocks above us, we observed several cavernous apertures; and some of them seemed to have been made by art. *Ælian* mentions places of the same kind, as being natural recesses<sup>1</sup>. At a great height over the defile, eagles, reduced to the size of hawks, “were sailing with supreme dominion.” Below, in the chasm, the sides of the river were covered with plants, some of which, even in this season (*December*), were in flower. All the lower part of the rocks was covered with *Vallonïa* and dwarf oaks, and evergreen trees and shrubs; thick laurels hanging quite over the *military way*. Enormous plane-trees, which have flourished here for centuries, extend their branches over the *Penëus*, and their large roots into the torrent. It was with the *laurel of Tempe* that the victors in the *Pythia* were crowned<sup>2</sup>. The inhabitants of *Delphi* came every ninth year to

Laurel of TEMPE.

(1) Οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης χειρὸς ἔργα, ἀλλὰ φύσεως αὐτόματα, κ. τ. λ. *Æliani Variæ Historiæ*, lib. iii. cap. 1. tom. I. p. 193. ed. Gronov.

(2) *Ibid.*

gather it; because *Apollo*, according to a *Thes-  
salian tradition*, had been crowned with it; and  
had appeared in that city bearing a branch of  
the *Tempian laurel*, after his purification from  
the slaughter of *Pytho*<sup>3</sup>. Such was the sanc-  
tity of the place, that altars smoking with  
incense filled all the valley with unremitted  
odours; and travellers passing through this  
defile beheld, on every side of them, the cele-  
bration of some divine rite, as a testimony of  
the continual sacrifice that was here offered<sup>4</sup>.  
It was impossible not to participate for an  
instant the RELIGIO LOCI: we decorated our  
horses' heads with the laurel, and carried  
branches in our hands. But far different are  
now the tenants of the *Vale of Tempe*, from  
those who once guarded its odoriferous shrines.  
A ferocious banditti occupy all the haunts of the  
Pagan priests; and when these robbers issue  
from their lurking-places, instead of the sacred  
victims that bled upon its altars, the unwary  
traveller is immolated<sup>5</sup>. Close to us, upon our  
left, the *Penëus* rushed with a rapid current,

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Banditti.

(3) Ibid.

(4) *Æliani Variæ Historiæ*, lib. iii. cap. 1. tom. I. p. 195. ed. Gronov.

(5) According to Mr. *Hawkins*, the places infested by *banditti* in  
GREECE are the following :

TEMPE,

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Length of  
the Pass.

and with such force that it carried with it trees of immense magnitude. The length of this defile, taken in its whole extent, from its entrance at *Bába* to its termination at the northern extremity, is reckoned, in the country, as an hour's distance, "to a horse walking moderately fast." We use the expression as literally as it can be translated. This corresponds with the distance mentioned by *Pliny*, in the passage that has been already cited, of five *Roman* miles for the length of *Tempe*, taken in its whole extent, from the *Pelagic* to the *Pierian* Plain.

Appearance upon leaving the Defile.

However beautiful the scenery may appear to a traveller's eye within the *pass*, it is very different when he leaves it. As soon as the gorge opens, and a view of the *Pierian* Plain is exhibited to him, he beholds a disagreeable, swampy flat, covered with dwarf-trees, reeds, and thorns. Here we overtook a caravan from *Ampelákia*, as it was crossing a long stone

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TEMPE, and the Heights of OLYMPUS.  
THERMOPYLÆ.  
The Pass between *Bodonitza* and *Salona*.  
MOUNT PINDUS.  
The whole of CÆTOLIA.  
The whole of ACARNANIA.  
The *Villacti* of *Caldurita* in the MORÆA.  
The whole of LACONIA.

bridge over the *Peneüs*. This bridge was a quarter of a mile in length, having several arches, and a *Turkish* inscription over the middle arch<sup>1</sup>. The caravan consisted of twenty-six camels, preceded, as usual, by an ass. There had been much rain; and the *Peneüs* had overflowed the neighbouring country, so as to impede our progress: one of the horses fell with a part of our baggage, which also delayed us. After floundering in mud and swamps for about three hours, we came to the shore of the GULPH OF THERMA. Here a most beautiful view opened upon us, of the *Pierian region*, skirting the base of OLYMPUS along the coast. The summits of the mountain appeared covered with deep snow, the highest point bearing *west north-west*; and the modern citadel of HERACLÉA, now called *Platamonos*, standing upon a promontory in the middle of this enchanting scene<sup>2</sup>. The islands of *Sciathus* and *Scopelus*

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*Heracléa.*

(1) It has been since swept away by a flood. Dr. *Holland* was informed at *Athens*, that "it was proposed to re-build it more nearly within the entrance of *Tempe*; and that Baron *Haller* was to be entrusted with the design and superintendance of the work." See *Holland's Travels*, &c. p. 296, and *Note*. Lond. 1815.

(2) The author halted to make a sketch of this fine prospect (See the Plate facing p. 302, Vol. IV. of the Quarto Edition of these Travels); it will enable the reader to judge of the parts which compose it, although it cannot do justice to such a scene. The name of the town is pronounced by its inhabitants *Πλατάμωνος*; but this name occurs variously written: some travellers write it *Platamona*, and others *Platamana*.

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were both visible from this part of our route. Among the cattle feeding in the plain near the sea, we saw a very fine breed of sheep; but it was mixed with a breed of a very inferior kind. About an hour before we reached *Platamonos*, we passed a little river, which here discharges itself into the sea. When we arrived at the base of the rock upon which stands the citadel of *Platamonos*, we were told that the *Turkish* garrison would admit no *Christians* within the walls of the fortress: we therefore halted for the night at a small village below the castle. A *Greek* shopkeeper resides upon the spot. OLYMPUS was now without a cloud, and his towering summit shone with the most dazzling whiteness. The highest point is shaped like a *tumulus*: lower down the mountain are forests. At this village there is a *khan*, containing several antient pillars, with *Doric* capitals inverted, now serving as pedestals for the columns. We observed other antiquities about the building, which are the remains of HERACLÉA, whose situation corresponded accurately with this of *Platamonos*, as appears by a passage of *Livy*, describing an attack made by the *Romans* upon the citadel<sup>1</sup>. It was mid-way between

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(1) Vid. *Livium*, Hist. lib. xliv. cap. 9. tom. III. pp. 627, 688. ed. Crevier.

*Dium* and *Tempe*; and it stood upon a rock, having the sea in front, with a river upon one side of it<sup>2</sup>; and upon the land-side it was necessary to scale the walls. Its situation is, moreover, precisely that which *Scylax* has assigned for *Heracléum*, in the way to *Dium*, *Pydna*, and *Methone*, upon the *Gulph of Therma*<sup>3</sup>. We saw an *antient aqueduct* supplying a *fountain*, the water of which fell into a *Soros* of white marble, serving as a cistern. The length of this *Soros* was seven feet nine inches; its breadth, three feet ten inches; its depth, three feet two inches. Its sides were nearly seven inches thick. Below the *Soros*, as an additional reservoir, there was a marble bason, ornamented with grooving, four feet four inches in diameter; and there were some large slabs, as of the remains of a temple, in front of the *khan*. The *Turkish* cœmety is below the walls of the fortress, and close to the village. We witnessed the funeral of one of the garrison. The body was barely covered

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*Turkish*  
Funeral.

(2) " *Mediâ regione inter Dium Tempeque, in rupe amni imminente positum.*" Ibid. cap. 8.

(3) Πρώτη πόλις Μακεδονίας Ἡράκλειον, Δίον, Πύδνα πόλις Ἑλληνισ, Μεθώνη πόλις Ἑλληνισ, κ. τ. λ. (*Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, p. 61. ed. Gronov. 1697.) And this passage of *Scylax* is of the more consequence, in ascertaining the position of *Heracléa*; because the same author has before stated, that *Macedonia* begins immediately after the passage of the river *Penêus*.



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with earth: and a priest remained afterwards, during a considerable part of the evening, calmly speaking to the deceased; for the purpose, as we were told, of instructing him the way to heaven. During a conversation which we held here upon the subject of the mountain *Olympus*, the people of this place informed us, that it would be impossible to get to the summit in the winter; but that the priests of a village called *Scamnys* (pronounced *Scamni*), upon the side of *Olympus*, and upon the left of the road from *Platamonos* to *Katarina*, go annually, upon the twentieth day of *June*, to perform mass upon the top of the mountain. This is one of the most curious instances of the remaining ceremonies of the antient religion of GREECE. Perhaps the old *altar* may yet remain whereon the sacrifices to *Jupiter* were offered; for the antients had conceived a notion of the great height of *Olympus*, from a story, that letters traced on the ashes of that *altar* remained a long time undefaced; but *Xenagoras*, who measured it, found it not to exceed an *English* mile and a quarter<sup>1</sup>. During the whole of this night, caravans were passing, and principally from *Ampelakia*; causing a great bustle in and about

Height of  
*Olympus*.

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(1) Vide *Plutarch*, in *Vit. Paul. Æm.*

the *khan*. The bells, and noise of the camels, and the bawling of their drivers, continued to maintain uproar until the morning.

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Leaving *Platamonos*, the next day, to go to *Katarina*, we crossed a small river, alluded to by *Livy*<sup>2</sup>: but it can only be considered as a river after heavy rains. We then saw *Scamnya* upon our left, hanging upon the side of *Olympus*, like one of the villages in the *Alps*. From *Scamnya*, a person may ascend the summit in about four or five hours: it is distant five hours and a half from *Platamonos*. There is another village, distant six hours from *Platamonos*, from which the ascent to the summit of the mountain is considered the easiest and best: it is called *Careá*; the *á* being pronounced broad, as in our word *calf*. We saw to the east, and at a vast distance across the Gulph of *Therma*, MOUNT ATHOS, called (*τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*) *The Holy Mountain*, looking like an island. The view of it was so clear and distinct, that we made a careful delineation of its appearance<sup>3</sup>, as viewed from this part of *PIERIA*. Its bearing at the time was due east.

Mount  
Athos.

(2) Vid. *Livium*, loco citato.

(3) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

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many antient marbles and ruins. We heard of this *Palæo-castro* in the whole of this route; but can determine nothing as to its original history. That *Dium* was not there situate, is evident; because *Dium* was only *seven stadia* from the sea<sup>1</sup>; yet it seems also plain that the *Malathria* was the *Enipeus*, to which *Perseus* advanced upon the retreat of the *Roman* army; when the fires in his camp were visible to the garrison in the citadel of *Heraclæa*. He caused the river, as it is said, to serve him instead of an outwork and fortification, as its passage was difficult: the *via militaris*, here situate, being the *Saltus*, mentioned by *Livy* as the only pass into *Macedonia*<sup>2</sup>. The whole of this district is unfavourable to the passage of an army; and it is as unwholesome and as frightful as any part of the *Pomptine marshes* in *Italy*. We saw no other moving objects than buffaloes, wandering through pools filled with reeds, and deep with

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(1) "Ὅτι τὸ Δίον ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐστίν, ἐν ταῖς ὑπερωρείαις τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ζ' ἀπέχει σταδίου. Epitom. fin. Septim. Lib. Strabon. Geog. p. 479. ed. Oxon.

(2) "Duos enim saltus, per quos inde evadere possent, habebant Romani: unum per *Tempe* in *Thessaliam*, alterum in *Macedoniam* præter *Dium*." *Livio*, Hist. lib. xlv. cap. 6. tom. III. p. 684. ed. Crevier.

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Mauro-  
Nero and  
Pellica  
Rivers.

mud. Just before we reached the town of *Katarina*, we had to ford two rivers; the first being called *Mauro-Nero*<sup>1</sup>, or *black water*, answering to the Greek MELAS (a name common to many *Grecian* streams); and the second bearing the appellation of *Pellica*: they both unite before they fall into the *Thermæan Gulph*<sup>2</sup>. To our surprise, we observed nearly a hundred hogs wallowing in the mud of these rivers; proving that the population is not entirely *Turkish*. Near the place where the *Pellica* is commonly passed, we saw, among some large plane-trees, a small chapel, about which were the ruins of a *temple* of the *Doric* order. We observed a *large triglyph*, a *pillar*, and the remains of its foundation. We copied three *Inscriptions* which we found among these ruins. The first was upon a pedestal, near the river; inscribed, as its purports, by "VALERIAN HIPPOIATRUS, SON OF HIPPOIATRUS, FOR THE SAKE OF REMEMBRANCE."

Inscrip-  
tions.

(1) The modern *Greeks* call water *νερό*, and *νερόν*. The name of this river was not pronounced *Mauro-nero*, but *Mavro-neri*.

(2) *Herodotus* makes the *Haliacmon* and the *Lydias* unite in their passage to the *Gulph of Therma*, but places their embouchure farther to the north, as will be shewn in the sequel.

ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗ  
 ΣΑΝΤΑΤΕ  
 ΚΝΑΑΥΡΗ  
 ΛΙΟΥΛΥΚΟ  
 ΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟ  
 ΣΔΕΙΛΛΟΥΚ  
 ΙΛΑΟΥΑΛΕΡΙ  
 ΑΝΟΣΙΠΠΟΙΑΤ  
 ΡΟΣΥΟΣΙΠΠΟ  
 ΑΤΡΟΥΜΝΕΙΑ  
 ΣΧΑΡΙΝ

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The second belonged to a monument erected by a woman to her husband :

“ TO HER HUSBAND PARMENIO, COMINIA  
 ANTIGONA ERECTS THIS.”

ΚΟΜΙΝΙΑΑΝΤΙΓΟ  
 ΝΑΤΙΤΩΤΙΒΕΡΙΑ  
 ΝΩΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΙ  
 ΤΩΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΙ  
 ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

The third is from a mother to her son :

“ ΝΕΙΚΙΣ ΤΟ ΗΕΡ ΣΟΝ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΙΔΕΣ.”

ΝΕΙΚΙΣΕΡΒΙΣΩ  
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗ  
 ΤΩΥΩΜΝΕΙ  
 ΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

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We were almost buried in the quicksands, in crossing the branches of this river; for it was widely flooded. The classical Reader will of course feel anxious to fix the antient name of these rivers, flowing through a country concerning which even antient geographers seem to have had no precise ideas. The southern limits of PIERIA are differently defined by *Ptolemy* and by *Strabo*, although it be so naturally bounded by the *Defile of Tempe*, where the plain terminates<sup>1</sup>; and for the courses and names of the rivers flowing from *Olympus* towards the *Gulph of Therma*, we have very little information; which aggravates the loss of the latter part of the Seventh Book of the Geography of *Strabo*. From all, however, that can be collected concerning the *Mauro-Nero* and the *Pellica*, it is evident, as will more plainly appear in the sequel, that they jointly constitute the *Baphyrus* of *Livy*. But it will then be asked, where are the remains of DIUM, whose situation

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(1) According to *Stephanus of Byzantium*, there was a city called PIERIA. (*Vid. Steph. Byzant. de Urbib. &c. p. 549. Amst. 1678. edit. Gronovii.*) His Commentator says, "Pieria, urbs in regione cognomine. Ubi locorum fuerit hæc regio, silentio præterit. E Ptolemæi lib. 3. c. 13. didici *Periam* esse Macedoniae regionem; Livius verò, libro 39. cap. 26. Petram in eadem regione celebrat, &c. &c. Pieriæ montis Thraciæ in quo commoratus est Orpheus meminit Scholiasta Apollonii Rhodii ad ejus Argonautic. lib. i. ver. 31."

was near to the *Haliacmon*? for although a position have been assigned in modern maps for a place called *Stan-Dia*, and *D'Anville* admits of its existence<sup>3</sup>, we could hear nothing of it in this part of our journey. In viewing this region the whole way from *Platamonos* to *Katarina*, the parts which compose it are so exceedingly vast and distinct, that any seeming confusion of its antient geography may have originated in two causes: First, that the boundaries of *Thrace* and *Macedon* were continually liable to change: and secondly, that different appellations were applied to one and the same place. There was a time, as we have before proved<sup>4</sup>, when the limits of *Thrace* extended to the Isthmus of *Corinth*; consequently, by very old writers, the mountains, rivers, and cities of *Bœotia*, *Phocis*, and *Thessaly*, would be considered as *Thracian*: and this may explain the reason why the old

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Antient  
Geogra-  
phy of  
*Pieria* un-  
certain.

(2) "Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ Δίον πόλιν, ὁ Ἀλιάκμων ποταμὸς ἔστιν, ἐκβάλλων εἰς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον. Excerpta ex Lib. Sept. Fin. *Strabon. Geog.* p. 479. ed. *Ospon.*

(3) "The last city," says *D'Anville*, "on this shore," (meaning the western side of the Thermaic Gulph) "is *DIUM*; known at present by the name of *Stan-Dia*; in which a preposition of place precedes the proper name, according to the usage which in later times had become prevalent in this part of the Roman empire." *Ant. Geog.* p. 198. *Lond.* 1791.

(4) See Vol. VI. Chap. X. p. 607. of the Octavo Edition of these Travels.



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Scholiast upon the *Argonautica* of *Apollonius Rhodius* mentions *Pieria* as a mountain of *Thrace*<sup>1</sup>. It was also owing to this cause that *Orpheus* was called a *Thracian*, whose sepulchre was long shewn in *Pieria*. The same indecision attaches to the antient geography of *Macedonia*. Its natural barrier to the *south* was of course formed by the *Defile of Tempe* and the *Penëus* river, where it is placed by the oldest geographer, *Scylax*, who has been considered as the inventor of geographical tables<sup>2</sup>. But in a later age, when the *Macedonians* were restricted within narrower boundaries, the *Lydias* and the *Haliacmon* were its utmost southern limits, as appears from *Herodotus*<sup>3</sup>. In journeying along the western side of the *Thermæan Gulph*, the whole district, from the mouth of the *Penëus* to that of the *Axius*, is one swampy plain, bounded on its *western* side by the chain of *Olympus*: to the *south* of it is seen *Ossa*; and upon the *east* it is terminated by the sea. There are no hills, nor other natural barriers to form subdivisions;

(1) Vid. Schol. *Apollon. Rhod. Argonautic.* lib. i. ver. 31.

(2) 'Απὸ δὲ Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ Μακεδόνες εἰσὶν ἔθνη. *Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, p. 61. ed. J. Gronov. L. Bat. 1697.

(3) Μίχρη Λυδία τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, εἰ εὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βορτιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, κ. τ. λ. *Herodoti Hist.* lib. vii. p. 419. ed. Gronov. L. Bat. 1715.

so that whether called *Bottiæa*, or *Pieria*, or *Perrhæbia*, it is all one and the same plain.

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After leaving the ruins of the *Doric temple*, being obliged to turn towards the left, out of the ordinary route, in order to avoid the inundation at the confluence of the two rivers, and to effect a passage over another branch of the *Pellica* near *Katarina*, we observed a most remarkable *tumulus* on a hill near to the village of *Spee*. This corresponds with the situation which *Apollodorus*<sup>4</sup> has assigned for the TOMB OF ORPHEUS. It is moreover mentioned by the Epitomiser of *Strabo*, that there was a village belonging to the city of *Dium*, called *Pimpléa*<sup>5</sup>, where *Orpheus* was said to have died. This *tumulus* is of immense magnitude: its form is perfectly conical; and upon its vertex there are trees growing of great size. But the *Tomb of Orpheus* was only twenty stadia from *Dium*<sup>6</sup>; and this *tumulus* is about the same distance from *Katarina*. The site of it, according to

Tomb of  
*Orpheus*.*Pimpléa*.

(4) *Apollodori Bibliotheca*, lib. i. c. 9.

(5) Epitom. fin. lib. vii. *Strabon. Geog.* p. 479. ed. Oxon. (Πίμ-  
πλιαν, ἴθα Ὀρφεὺς δίστριβεν.) "In antiquis exemplaribus Πίπλιαν, et  
Πίπλιαν, sine literâ μ legi, notaverunt eruditi, ut notavit *Salmastius* ad  
*Solinum*, p. 112. ed. *Ultraject.* (*Palmer.*)" *Ibid. Not.* 5.

(6) *Pausaniæ Bæot.* c. 30. p. 769. ed. *Kuhnii*.

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*Pausanias*, was marked by a *pillar*, upon the right hand, at the distance of twenty *stadia* from *Dium*, going from the city towards the *Pierian* mountain<sup>1</sup>. There was upon the pillar (*ὕδρεια λίθου*) an *amphora* of stone; and this vessel, according to a vulgar tradition of the inhabitants, was supposed to contain the bones of *Orpheus*. In this description, *Pausanias* has furnished us with all the apparatus of the oldest *Pelasgic* sepulchre: for the *pillar* (*κίων*), answering also to the *stélé* of *Homer*, bespeaks the presence of a sepulchral mound, as its pedestal; and it is for this reason that we prefer translating the word *ὕδρεια* by *amphora*, rather than by *urna*; because the former was used in *Greece* for *sepulchral monuments*, and was of itself considered as a *symbol of death*<sup>2</sup>. As to the belief entertained by the natives of its containing bones, it was consistent with the notions respecting funeral rites in the time of *Pausanias*, when it was more usual to burn than to bury the

(1) Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ ὄρος τὴν Πιερίαν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλιν Δίου, φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γενέσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὀρφεῖ. Ἴόντι δὲ ἐκ Δίου τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ στάδια προελθύθωσι εἴκοσι, κίων τί ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ, καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι, ὕδρεια λίθου. ἔχει δὲ τὰ ὀστέα τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἡ ὕδρεια, καθὰ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι. *Pausanias Bœotica*, c. 30. p. 769. ed. Kuhnii.

(2) See *Vignette* to Chap. V. Vol. VI. of the Octavo Edition of these Travels; and p. 282 of the same, for observations on the *Amphora*, as a *symbol of death*. Also *Recherches sur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce*, tom. I. Planche ix. fig. 4. à Londres, 1785.

dead. It is difficult to explain what *Pausanias* means by his allusion to the *Pierian Mountain*, because there was no other mountain than *Olympus* near to *Dium*; but perhaps this part of it in *Pieria* might have been so denominated. There is scarcely a mile that the literary traveller will proceed along the western side of the *Thermæan Gulph*, without regretting the loss of almost all information respecting its antient geography. If, as it was before observed, we had the seventh book of *Strabo* in its entire state, this loss might have been in some measure supplied; but all our usual resources fail us here. In such a dearth of intelligence concerning the rivers and the cities of *Pieria*, it behoves us to examine the only documents antiquity has afforded us with the greater assiduity; and particularly, to compare the observations of *Livy* with the modern state of the country. But even *Livy's* observations, perspicuous and valuable as they generally are upon subjects of this nature, tend rather to perplex than to guide us in our researches here: where may we seek for the river *Mytis*<sup>3</sup>, the town of *Agassa*<sup>4</sup>, or the river

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Observations of  
*Livy*.

(3) "Ad amnem nomine *Mityn* processit." *Livio*, Hist. lib. xlv. c. 7. tom. III. p. 685. ed. *Crevier*.

(4) "Postero die progressus, *Agassam* urbem, tradentibus sese ipsis, recepit." *Ibid*.



CHAP. X. *Ascordus*<sup>1</sup>? or how shall we discriminate between the widely-overflowing course of the *Baphyrus*<sup>2</sup>, and that of the *Enipeus*<sup>3</sup>? and what becomes of the *Haliacmon*, which *Livy* only once mentions<sup>4</sup>? According to him, there were two *pylæ* into *Macedonia*, each of which he calls a *saltus*; meaning, evidently, a narrow pass, with a paved causeway (*via militaris*), that might be easily defended. *Tempe* was one of these; and there was another near *Dium*. The latter *saltus* could be nothing more than a causeway to facilitate the passage of the *Mauro-Nero* and *Pellica*, or, as we have before suggested, of the *Malathria*, where its remains now exist. In describing the latter, he says that the whole space between *Olympus* and the sea was here only a mile; one half of which was occupied by the mouth of the *Baphyrus*, "LATE RESTAGNANS," and the rest by the *Temple of Jupiter* and the town of *Dium*, leaving only a very small portion, which could be easily fortified. Then he describes the *Macedonian* king, *Perseus*, as abandoning this passage,

Situation  
of *Dium*.

(1) "Progressus inde diei iter, ad *Ascordum* flumen posuit castra." *Livio*, Hist. lib. xlv. c. 7. tom. III. p. 685. ed. *Crevier*.

(2) "Latè restagnans *Baphyri* amnis." *Ibid.* p. 685.

(3) "Deinde quinque millia passuum ab urbe citra ripam *Enipei* amnis castra ponit." *Ibid.* p. 687.

(4) *Ibid.* lib. xlvii. cap. 53. tom. III. p. 633.

leaving it open to the *Roman* troops, and flying to *Pydna*. The *Roman* Consul advances, and in two marches comes to *Dium*, pitching his tents by the *Temple of Jupiter*, with a view to preserve it from insult; and himself entering the city. The following day he marches to the river *Mytis*; the day after, to the town of *Agassa*; and upon the fourth he is by the river *Ascordus*. In his retreat, first to *Dium*, and afterwards to *Phila*, he is followed by *Perseus*, who enters *Dium*, and repairs the fortifications which had been levelled by the *Romans*: and then advancing to the distance of five miles from *Dium*, pitches his camp by the *Enipeus*; making the river, on account of the difficulty of its passage, serve him instead of a rampart. Then begins the siege of *Heracléa* on the part of the *Romans*, which is stated to be mid-way between *Dium* and *Tempe*, at the distance of five miles from *Phila*; and it is also related that the garrison in *Heracléa* perceived the fires in the camp of the *Macedonian* king, upon the other side of the *Enipeus*. This valuable document is the only clue now afforded to the geography of the country between *Platamonos* and *Katarina*. The Reader will use his own conjectures, after comparing it with the description we have given of the country; but to us it seems probable that

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CHAP. X. the *Mauro-Nero* river was the BAPHYRUS, and the *Malathria* the ENIPEUS; and that *Katarina* was DIUM. The remains of the *Temple of Jupiter* we have already described; and it is evident, from *Livy's* description, that the site of this temple was at a certain distance from the town; because the *Roman* Consul, after pitching his tents by the side of it, quits the camp to enter the city. The situation also of the *tumulus* we have described as the *Tomb of Orpheus*, by its distance from *Katarina*, affords further presumption confirming the identity of this place with *Dium*, and, consequently, the propriety of the name thus given to the tomb. The only difficulty opposing such an arrangement is the want of a position for the *Haliacmon*, which, according to the Epitomiser of *Strabo*, flowed by *Dium* to the *Thermæan Gulph*<sup>1</sup>. It is very remarkable that this river is only once mentioned by *Livy*, who has so diffusely illustrated the topography of this district; and his allusion to it is not introduced with any reference to *Dium*: it occurs in another part of his history<sup>2</sup>, where the city of *Elimea*,

(1) See the passage before cited: "Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ Δίον πόλιν, κ. τ. λ.

(2) "Profectus inde toto exercitu, Eordeam petens, ad Begorritem quem vocant lacum positus castris, postero die in *Elimeam ad Haliacmonæ fluvium* processit." *Livii Hist.* lib. xlii. c. 53. tom. III. p. 633. ed. *Crevier*.

instead of *Dium*, is described as being upon that river. The *Haliacmon* is also mentioned by *Herodotus*, and under some circumstances that might connect it with the mingled streams of *Mauro-Nero* and *Pellica*<sup>3</sup>: but not a syllable is said of *Dium*; and he places it farther to the north, by associating it with another river, *Lydias*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, fell into the gulph of *Therma*, near to the mouth of the *Axius*.

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Here we saw the old *Pelasgic car* again in use, as we had seen it in *Thessaly* and in *Troas*, drawn by two oxen yoked. We then entered *Katarina*, a small town, surrounded with wood, situate in the narrow plain which *Livy* mentions, between *Olympus* and the sea; and upon the very roots of the mountain, whose summits tower above it in the highest degree of grandeur which it is possible to conceive. There is no place where the whole outline formed by the many tops<sup>4</sup> of *Olympus* may be seen to so much

View of  
*Olympus*.

(3) *Herodotus* describes them as the boundaries of *Bottia* and *Macedonia*: and he says that the two rivers fell by confluence into the same channel: *μίχρη Λυδία τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, ὃ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοτταϊαῖδά τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ῥέισθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγονται.* *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. cap. 127. p. 419. ed. Gronov.*

(4) *Ἀκροτάτη περὸς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ὄλύμπου.* *Hom. Il. A. 499.*



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advantage as from *Katarina*. Perhaps they were rendered more distinct in consequence of the snows by which the mountain was at this time invested. It appeared like one vast *glacier*; and for some time after our arrival we enjoyed the satisfaction of gazing at its *splendid*<sup>1</sup> and majestic form.

*Katarina* consists of about one hundred and forty houses<sup>2</sup>, principally inhabited by *Greeks*, who are governed by an *Agha*. Its commerce consists entirely in the exportation of corn, to the amount, annually, of between two and three thousand *quilots*<sup>3</sup>. It is sent to be shipped at a port which bears the same name as the town. Judging from the general internal appearance of the place, its condition must be very wretched;

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(1) ----- ἀπ' αἰγλήντος Ὀλύμπου. *Iliad*. A. 532.

(2) If Dr. *Holland's* statement be accurate, the number has been more than doubled since. He speaks of "300 houses, some of them of large size." See *Holland's Travels*, p. 305. *Lond.* 1815.

(3) "Les mesures Turkes sont le PIC pour les étoffes, et le QUILOT pour les grains. Le *pic* a 25 pouces : un *pic* et trois quarts font une *aune* de France. Le *quilot* de *Salonique* vaut trois *quilots* et trois quarts de celui de *Constantinople*. Quatre *quilots* et demi de *Constantinople* font la charge de *Marseille*, et un *septier* de *Paris* plus un cinquième. On appréciera les mesures Turkes avec plus de justesse encore, en indiquant leur rapport avec les poids. Le *quilot* de *Salonique* pèse 85 *okes* en blé Macédonien, et celui de *Constantinople* 22. La charge de *Marseille* peut être évaluée à 300 livres, et le *septier* de *Paris* à 250." *Beaujour, Comm. de la Grèce*, tom. II. p. 193. *Paris*, 1800.

but, externally viewed, it has a pleasing aspect, owing to the trees which surround it, and to its mosque rising among them. The *Turkish* mosques, generally constructed with domes, and always accompanied by one or more towers, as *minarets*, give an air of elegance, and sometimes of grandeur, even to the villages. In the middle of the town we saw a *Soros* of white marble, of such magnitude and beauty, that we were convinced it could have belonged to no mean city. Upon our inquiring where it had been found, we were told that it had been brought from the *Palæo-castro* of *Malathria*, before mentioned, situate in *Mount Olympus*, at three hours' distance from *Katarina*, where there were others of the same nature, and a great quantity of antient marbles; but that some *Franks* visiting the spot about three years before, and after being employed in copying *inscriptions*, removing something, the real nature of which was not known, the *Agha*, suspecting them of having discovered a concealed treasure, had ordered as many of those marbles as could be broken to be destroyed, and the rest to be conveyed from the place; in consequence of which order, this *Soros* had been brought to *Katarina*. Such was the substance of the story. The natives entertain a tradition that the sea

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once extended beyond its present boundary, over all the plain of *Katarina*, to the foot of *Olympus*; reaching quite up to that *Palæo-castro*, whose inhabitants, they say, then carried on an extensive commerce. Who the travellers may have been, thus designated under the name of *Franks*, it is difficult to determine. We at first believed them to have been Dr. *Sibthorpe* and Mr. *Hawkins*. Afterwards, we supposed that Mr. *Tweddell*, in his journey from *Salonica*, visited those ruins: and, if this be true, great as the regret must be which is felt for the loss of his valuable journals<sup>1</sup>, and deeply as this loss is now deplored by every person of taste and literature in *Europe*, it will be increased by this circumstance; because Mr. *Tweddell* would have made the discovery of a city in this part of *Pieria* an important point in the illustration of its general topography: and if he there found, as it is very probable he did, any antient *inscriptions* among the ruins, it is unnecessary to add a syllable as to the use that he would have made of them. Being therefore without any clue, either to the name of the city, or to

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(1) See the account of their "extraordinary disappearance," in the valuable work published by his brother,—"*Remains of the late John Tweddell*," &c. *Lond.* 1815.

the history of its *sepulchres*, our curiosity was strongly excited to repair ourselves to the spot; but in this we were disappointed. The *Agha*, to whom we sent our *Tchohodar* with a request for that purpose, positively refused his assent: and when we applied to the inhabitants for guides to conduct us thither, even in spite of the *Agha's* refusal, we found that no one dared to accompany us. The *Greek* inhabitants, to whom we applied, told us, that if we were determined to go to the *Palæo-castro*, we must remain in *Katarina* until we could enter into some contract with the *robbers* who dwell there, and who are the only proper guides to such deserted places. This we would willingly have done; but our time for remaining in *Turkey* would not admit of such delay, and we were therefore reluctantly compelled to abandon the undertaking. The persons whom the *Greeks* of *Katarina* designate by the name of *robbers*, are probably nothing more than the *Albanian* mountaineers of *Olympus*; a set of men whom any traveller may safely trust, and in whose honour we would gladly have confided. But it must be confessed, that their own countrymen, the *Arnauts* of *Katarina*, speak of a sturdy set of depredators in *Olympus*, whom they say even

CHAP. *Ali Pasha* has not been able to extirpate, and  
 X. who sometimes lay the villages under contri-  
 bution.

Cleanly  
 Cottages  
 of the  
*Albanians.*

When our *Tchohodar* returned from the *Agha*, he had orders to procure lodging for us in the little cottage of an *Arnaut*, or *Albanian* peasant: and here we found a cabin, small indeed, but in neatness and cleanliness it might have vied with the dwelling of a *Dutch* boor. The floor consisted of the hard and well-swept earth; and the walls were covered with a yellow plaster, kept so clean, that it was without spot. This being the evening of the *twenty-fifth* of *December*, our thoughts were directed homewards, to our beloved country, in the recollection of the happiness and social mirth diffused around the hearths of *Englishmen*, by the annual recurrence of their greatest festival. We had no reason to complain, either of our fare or of our accommodation. We were regaled, it is true, in no spacious apartment; nor had we any other seat or couch than what the bare earth afforded; but this we had been long accustomed to prefer before the sofas and cushions of the *Turks* or *Greeks*, which always swarm with vermin. As for our banquet, we must have been indeed

fastidious if we had been dissatisfied on this account; as, in addition to our own provisions, of bread and coffee and tea, from *Larissa*, a huge *Albanian* turkey smoked upon the floor. After a plentiful repast, the evening of our *Christmas-day* was spent in comfort and repose. Future travellers in *Greece* will do well to profit by our experience, with respect to the *Albanian* peasantry,—a race as distinct as possible from all the other inhabitants of the country. We never had reason to complain, when we consented to forego the accommodation offered in *Greek* houses for a night's lodging beneath their humbler sheds. The *Greeks* are, for the most part, indolent and profligate, vain, obsequious, ostentatious, poor, and dirty. The *Albanians* are industrious, independent, honourable, cleanly, and hospitable. They are a hardier and a healthier race; passing their lives, *sub dio*, either in the fields or upon the mountains: their sons possess a manlier disposition than the offspring of the *Greeks*, who are always effeminate; and the daughters of *Albanians* are not characterized by those relaxed habits and that early fading which may be observed in the *Grecian* damsels. A girl of *Grecian* parents scarcely attains her twentieth year before she begins to exhibit the

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*Greeks*  
compared  
with  
*Albanians*.

Women.

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marks of a premature old age ; and all the *Grecian* women exhibit a matronly appearance long before they enter into the marriage state. Some of them are, it is true, exceedingly beautiful ; and Nature seems to have been more lavish in the distribution of female charms among the *Grecian* than among the *Albanian* women ; because the *Albanian* women have almost all of them the complexion and the features of gipsies : but then the former seldom display the natural beauties which they possess ; they make their appearance disguised by cosmetics and paint, and by the artificial ornaments of false hair ; tricked out, at the same time, by all sorts of finery, and smelling of essences and of musk. The *Albanian* women are fond of finery, —and, indeed, where are the women, unless in highly civilized society, who are not fond of it ? —but the *Albanian* finery consists, principally, in a display of colours strongly contrasted ; and their dress is remarkable for the scrupulous attention to cleanliness by which it is distinguished. As the costume is uniformly the same, a description of the dress worn by one of the *Albanian* women will serve to give a general idea of the appearance exhibited by all of them. It consists of the following articles of

attire; the difference between the lower class and the higher, in their apparel, being found only in the costliness of the materials.

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1. A napkin fastened tight over the forehead, falling to the shoulders behind, and in front, on either side of the head, below the chin.
2. Great quantity either of silver or gold coin, hanging about the temples and under the chin, and braided behind into the hair, which hangs in long tresses down the back, reaching to the calves of the legs; the rest of the hair being only visible above the ears and temples.
3. An embroidered shift, richly worked in front, and covering the arms as far as the hands.
4. A sash, or girdle, of blue stuff.
5. Short plaided hose, with lively colours, like those worn by *Scotch Highlanders*.
6. Slippers of yellow leather.
7. An embroidered jacket over the shift, reaching to the elbows and ankles; trimmed round the lower skirts with fringe.
8. Another richly embroidered jacket over the first, but without sleeves, reaching only to the knees.

After all, a faithful drawing of this costume would represent it much better than any description can do: but costumes of the inhabitants of different nations, however accurately designed and coloured as to the dresses, almost



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always fail in the delineation of features; because nothing but a faithful portrait-painter can trace those modifications of the human countenance which characterise particular regions<sup>1</sup>.

Shepherds'  
Dogs in  
body-  
clothes.

On *Saturday, December the twenty-sixth*, we left *Katarina*; journeying towards the *east*, over a wretched sandy common, covered with brakes<sup>2</sup>. In the plains near *Katarina*, the *Arnaut* shepherds are seen armed with large pistols and poniards. Their dogs make a singular appearance, wearing body-clothes; the only instance we had ever seen of the same kind. The animals under their care, besides sheep, were hogs, buffaloes, and oxen. The *Christian* inhabitants of this district complain heavily of *Turkish* oppression: the sight of a family stripped of all its property, for no other

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(1) A remarkable proof of this occurs in the magnificent work of *Mons. de Choiseul*. In that work, the dresses worn by the *Grecian* women in the islands of the *Archipelago* are faithfully designed; but the females themselves are all *Parisian*. In *English* books of voyages and travels, the delineation of countenance is even less attended to; as in *Cook's Voyages*, where the inhabitants of the *Pacific Ocean* were represented with *Grecian* features. With respect to the inhabitants of *Turkey*, the work of *Mr. Hobhouse* may be mentioned as the only publication containing any faithful pictures of the women of the country.

(2) *Pteris Aquilina*.

reason than that of professing the *Christian* religion, is not uncommon: the consequence is, that some pretend to be *Moslems* whose hearts are well disposed towards *Christianity*; and many have no definable religion whatsoever. In the road from *Katarina* to *Kitros*, the termination of *Olympus* towards the *west*, or rather *west-south-west*, becomes visible; and after its declension in that direction, begins the acclivity of another mountain, also of considerable height, which at this season was entirely covered with snow; continuing the great chain or mountain barrier, in the same line with *OLYMPUS* and *OSSA*;—these three being all that are in view, like a vast wall between *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, reaching from the earth to the clouds. In this road from *Katarina* to *Kitros*, there are two places where antiquities are found; both of them being upon the left of the route. We turned out of our way to visit them. The first place occurs distant only three quarters of an hour from *Katarina*; at a village which lies in a valley towards the left; not visible from the road. Here we found several fragments of sculpture and architecture; and among them the following inscription, upon a monument erected, as it is stated, by

“ULPIA THE DAUGHTER OF HERMÆUS, TO ULPIUS

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Mountain  
barrier of  
*Thessaly*.

CHAP. X. RUSTICUS, HER DEAR HUSBAND." The form of  
the *Omega* is curious.

Inscriptions  
between  
*Katarina*  
and *Kitros*.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΟΥΛΠΙΩΡΟΥΣΤΙ  
ΧΩΤΩΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ  
ΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΕΚΤΩΝ  
ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΕΚΕΙΝΩ  
ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΤΩΓ  
ΩΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

The inhabitants told us that there were other inscriptions in the church of this village; but so much delay was likely to take place in getting it open, that we could not wait to see them. The next occurred at an hour's distance from *Katarina*; where, in the wall of a small chapel, near to the road, we found a *Cippus*, inscribed by a person of the name of "OPHELION, TO HIS FATHER'S MEMORY."

ΩΦΕΛΙ  
ΩΝΩΦΕ  
ΛΙΩΝΙΤΩ  
ΠΑΤΡΙΩΝΕΙ  
ΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

We observed here marks of the foundations of a *temple*; and upon the mountain, still farther to the left, there were other vestiges. It is

somewhat singular that the natives now call the place where the antiquities lie, by the name of MAKEΔONIA. "It is a name," they said, "which they always give to the *land* there; not to any *Palæo-castro*." The roads were deep, and full of mud, rendering our journey tedious and disagreeable: we were however amply repaid for all our fatigue, whenever we looked back towards *Katarina*; for then we beheld OLYMPUS, not only in undiminished glory, but seeming of greater magnitude than ever, being without a cloud to obscure any part either of its summit or sides; all its vast masses and deep chasms being displayed, so that the eye might range from its broad base upwards to its craggy tops, now radiant with bright and shining light, reflected from accumulated snows, and contrasted with the dark shadows of its awful bosom; beneath which, most beautifully picturesque, appeared the woods of *Katarina*, with the dome and minarets of the town conspicuous among the trees. At about half an hour's distance from this chapel, ascending a hill, we had another noble prospect, but in an opposite direction: it commanded the whole of the THERMÆAN GULPH; MOUNT ATHOS appearing plainly to the *east*: also upon the opposite side of the gulph we saw distinctly the white walls

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Country  
still called  
*Macedonia*.

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Mountain  
to the  
north of  
Salonica.

and buildings of SALONICA. Far beyond a range of hills situate at the back of the city, and towards the *north*, we saw a very elevated snow-clad mountain; and upon inquiring its name, were told that it is called *Maleshivo*. This can be no other than the SCOMIUS of *Thucydides*. We must continue the detail of objects hence visible, because it is made from notes written upon the spot. In the open sea, to the south of *Mount Athos*, we saw islands, and several high lands that seemed like islands, not one of whose names can be ascertained by any map of *Greece*: possibly the latter may have been the promontories of *Ampelos* and *Canastræum*. From this spot we also surveyed the whole of the plain surrounding the extremity of the *Gulph of Therma*. In this plain, upon the right hand, standing towards the sea, is an immense *Tumulus*, making a conspicuous and remarkable appearance, as the only principal object: it is now called ΤΥΜΒΟΣ by the *Greek* peasants. Thence we came to the village of *Kitros*, or *Kitro*, distant three hours from *Katarina*. Before we reached the village, we saw, upon our left, the ruins of a chapel; marking, perhaps, the site of an antient temple. Here we dined upon olives, onions, and biscuit, with very good wine, which we bought in the place.

*Kitros.*

*Kitros* is indisputably the *Macedonian* KYDNA, a name antiently corrupted into the more memorable appellation of PYDNA<sup>1</sup>, whose geographical position is pointed out by an observation of *Livy*, when he states that *Ænia*, upon the other side of the gulph, fifteen miles to the south of *Thessalonica*, was opposite to PYDNA<sup>2</sup>. The alteration of *Kydna* into *Pydna*, as mentioned by *Stephanus*, must have been a corruption of the earliest antiquity; for, before the time of *Herodotus*, it was written *Pydna* by *Scylax* of *Caryanda*<sup>3</sup>: however, there is some testimony, even in its modern name, of the truth of the remark made by *Stephanus*;—if a name may be called *modern*, which is mentioned in the epitome of *Strabo*<sup>4</sup>. Here we learn that

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Pydna.

(1) CYDNA is the name of this city, as written by *Pomponius Mela*. Also *Stephanus*, ΚΥDNA, πόλις Μακεδονίας. Θεογένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς. Ἡ κατὰ παραφθορὰν ΠΥDNA λέγεται. Τὸ ἰθὺκὸν, ΠΥDNAΙΟΣ. *Stephanus* de Urbib. p. 392. et Not. 55. *Amst.* 1678. In the text of *Stephanus*, it is written Πύδα; but his Commentator proves that it ought to be written Πύδνα.

(2) “Revocatis igitur in naves militibus, omissaque Thessalonica oppugnatione, ÆNIAM inde petunt: quindecim millia passuum ea urbs abest, adversus PYDNAM posita, fertili agro.” *Livii* Hist. lib. xlv. cap. 10. tom. III. p. 639. ed. *Crevier*.

(3) Πύδνα πόλις Ἑλληνίς. *Scylax* ἐν Μακεδονία. Vid. *Peripl.* p. 61. ed. *J. Gronov.* *L. Bat.* 1697.

(4) Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ Δίον πόλιν, ὃ Ἀλιάκμων ποταμὸς ἴστιν, κ. τ. λ. ἐν ᾗ καὶ πόλις ΠΥDNA, ἣ νῦν ΚΙΤΡΟΝ καλεῖται. Excerpta ex Lib. VII. sine *Strabon.* Geog. p. 479. ed. *Ozon.*

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the embouchure of the *Haliacmon* was to the north of *Dium*, in *Pieria*; and that the city of *PYDNA* occurred in the same district, bearing the appellation of *Kitron*. The same may be gathered from *Ptolemy*; only with this difference, that the places are enumerated in a contrary order, from *north to south*<sup>1</sup>. It is desirable to fix with certainty the position of a place rendered so remarkable in history. It was in the plain before *Pydna*<sup>2</sup> that the great battle was fought between the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*, when the former, by their signal defeat, forfeited for ever their freedom, and *Macedonia* became a *Roman* province<sup>3</sup>. The conspicuous *tomb* before mentioned decidedly marks the spot; and its immense magnitude is explained by the event of that battle, when twenty-five thousand of the *Macedonian* army were left dead

Tomb of  
the *Mace-*  
*donians*.

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(1) Πιρίας. Λυδίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί. ΠΥΔΝΑ, Ἀλιάκμωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ΔΙΟΝ κολωνία. *Ptolemaei Geog.*

(2) Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρὸς τῆς Πύδνης πεδίῳ, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστία Πικταπολεμῆσαντες, καθύλον τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. *Excerpta ex Libri VII. sine Strabon. Geog. p. 749. ed. Oxon.*

(3) This battle was fought on the twenty-second of *June*, B. C. 168; when twenty-five thousand men of the army of *Perseus* king of *Macedon* were slain by the *Romans* within the compass of an hour. It began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and ended before four. *Vid. Plutarch. in Vit. Paul. Æm. &c.*

upon the field<sup>4</sup>. It is the same species of sepulchre which *Strabo* has called *Polyandrium*; and this *tumulus* was in all probability noticed by him in that part of the seventh book which has unfortunately perished. It seems to have been a custom of the *Greeks*, derived from their remote ancestors, to raise a mound of this kind upon every spot signalized as the theatre of any important contest. In the course of these travels, and within the compass of a single volume, we have shewn that there is not a part of *Greece* which has been rendered illustrious as the field of any memorable battle, but a tomb of this description now remains, as a monument of the place where it was fought. This may be proved with reference to *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Platææ*, *Leuctra*, *Chæronéa*, *Pydna*, and *Pharsalia*. The *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, after their battles with the *Persians*, or with the *Romans*, or with each other, have always done this: but the same custom does not appear to have existed among the *Romans* in *Italy*, where there are no other *tumuli* than the *barrows* of the *Celts*, which are common to all *Europe* and *Asia*. In the great battle that was fought

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(4) *Ibid.* *Plutarch* says, that the whole valley, even to the feet of the mountains, was covered with dead bodies.



CHAP. X. between *Hannibal* and the *Romans*, under *Flaminius*<sup>1</sup>, near the Lake *Thrasymenus*, near *Perusia*, fifteen thousand *Romans* were left dead upon the field: yet there is no *tumulus* of this kind to mark the spot; insomuch that it is not now precisely known where the *battle of Thrasymene* took place; some believing it to have happened at *Ossaia*, and others at the *Ponte Sanguinetto*, between *Torricella* and *Crotona*. But the POLYANDRIUM of the *battle of Pydna*, like that in the *Plain of Marathon*, and the others here alluded to, is a conspicuous, nay, almost an everlasting monument, of that sanguinary conflict; and the *Albanian* shepherds, tending their flocks around it, although unconscious of its covering the mouldered relics of their ancestors, are the unaltered descendants of the same race of heroes who fought and died for the liberties of *MACEDON*;—"mighty men, as of old, men of renown; girded with the weapons of war." This place has been rendered memorable for the shedding of other blood than that which flowed so copiously in the *battle of Pydna*: it was here that *Cassander* massacred *Olympias* the mother, *Roxana* the wife,

Transac-  
tions at  
*Pydna*.

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(1) Fought in the year 217 B. C.

and *Alexander* the son of *Alexander the Great*<sup>2</sup>. And, as if it were destined in after-ages to maintain a pre-eminence among the scenes that have witnessed human slaughter, it was at *Kitros*, and along this road to *Salonica*, that the *French* prisoners, when compelled by the *Turks* to march from the *Morea* to *Constantinople*, suffered every cruelty that the malice of their enemies could inflict: many of them, after seeing their drooping companions put to death by their conductors, because they were unable, through sickness and fatigue, to continue the route, were constrained to carry the heads of their comrades in sacks, that an accurate return of the whole number might be made upon their arrival in the capital.

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From *Kitros* we went to the village of *Leuterochori*<sup>3</sup>, situate upon an eminence near the gulph, distant about five miles from *Kitros*<sup>4</sup>.

*Leutero-chori.*

(2) *Justin.* Hist. lib. xiv. c. 6.

(3) Signifying "the free village," according to Dr. *Holland*, who says that "this district is the most easterly part of the territory of *Ali Pasha*. Here commences the territory governed by *Ismael Bey* of *SERES*." *Holland's Trav.* p. 309. Lond. 1815.—The name of this village is corruptedly pronounced *Leftskoi* by the natives.

(4) We were only one hour in going thither; which, at the usual rate of travelling in *Turkey*, makes it rather less than five miles: but distances computed by time are not to be relied upon, unless performed with caravans of camels, which are generally preceded by an ass going a foot's pace, at the rate of a league an hour.

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X.

Methone.

From this place we intended to pass by water to *Salonica*; but when we arrived, we discovered that the persons who conducted our baggage, instead of halting, as they had been ordered to do, had proceeded forward with it to *Lebano*. The space between *Leuterochori* and *Kitros* agrees with the distance mentioned by *Strabo's Epitomiser*, of forty stadia between PYDNA and METHONE<sup>1</sup>: and the last-mentioned city occurs in this order, according to the description given of *Macedonia* by *Scylax*<sup>2</sup>. But these are not the only reasons for believing that *Leuterochori* stands upon the site of METHONE. After leaving this place, in the road to *Salonica*, the territory of the *Bey* of *Seres* immediately begins; and, according to the antient boundaries of the two regions, METHONE was the last town of *Pieria*; upon leaving which, the traveller entered *Bottiaea*<sup>3</sup>. This seems to prove an inaccuracy of the former geographer, in placing the *Haliacmon*

(1) 'Απίχου δ' ἡ Μεθώνη τῆς μὲν Πύδνης στάδια μ'. Excerpta ex Lib. VII. *Strab.* p. 479. ed. *Oxon.*

(2) Vide *Peripl. Scylacis Caryandensis*, p. 61. ed. *J. Gronov. L. Bat.* 1697.

(3) See the passage, as above cited, of the *Excerpta* of *Strabo's* seventh book; after which occur the words τῆς δὲ Ἀλώρου, ὁ στάδια· ἡ μὲν οὖν Πύδνα Πιερικὴ ἴσθιν πόλις· ἡ δὲ Ἀλωρος, Βοτταϊκὴ.

river southwards towards *Dium*; because, according to the older authority of *Scylax*, enumerating the places from south to north, along the western side of the *Gulph of Therma*, this river occurred after passing the city of **METHONE**<sup>4</sup>. It was at the siege of *Methone* that *Philip* lost the sight of his right eye, when struck by an arrow from the citadel; a circumstance perhaps as well attested as any fact in history, being related by *Strabo*<sup>5</sup>, by *Diodorus*<sup>6</sup>, by *Pliny*<sup>7</sup>, by *Solinus*, and by *Justin*<sup>8</sup>. With regard to the particular river across which *Philip* swum upon that occasion, as to most of the others crossing this route in their passage from *Olympus*, there will always be some uncertainty; unless their antient names were to be determined by a residence in the country;

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(4) Πύδνα πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Μεθώνη πόλις Ἑλληνίς, καὶ Ἀλιάκμων ποταμός, κ. τ. λ. *Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, p. 61.

(5) Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸ τῆς Μεθώνης πεδιῷ, γενίσθαι συνίβη τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἀμύντου τὴν ἰκκοπὴν τοῦ δεξιῷ ὀφθαλμοῦ καταπιπτικῷ βίβλῳ, κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς πόλεως. Excerpta ex Lib. VII. *Strabon. Geog.* p. 479. ed. Oxon.

(6) Vid. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xvi.

(7) *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. cap. 9.

(8) "Cum *Methonam* urbem oppugnaret, in prætereuntem de muris sagitta jacta dextrum oculum regis effodit." *Justin. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 6.

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because the appearances vary so considerably in different seasons of the year. The traveller journeying through this country at the melting of the snow, or after the annual rains, would find his search for a single stream repaid by half a dozen; and during the dry season, perhaps, nothing answering to his notion of a river would occur. The author finds a note in his journal, stating, that he did not pass a single river between *Katarina* and *Lebano*; a distance of six hours. At the latter place we halted for the night. The whole of this journey from *Katarina* was through a country, *fertile*<sup>1</sup> perhaps, but looking most wretchedly; and it may be conceived what a state the roads were in, from the circumstance of our making no further progress during an entire day. At *Lebano* we were conducted to the same *khan* where the poor *Frenchmen*, before mentioned, were halted for the night, during their horrid march to *Constantinople*. "They were seen," said the inhabitants, "carrying the heads of their wives and of their children, and of others

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(1) The plains around *Methone* were portioned out by *Philip* among his soldiers, as the rewards of their services after the capture of the city.

who had been their companions upon the road, whom the *Turks* had beheaded as fast as they fell sick by the way, because they were unable to keep up with the rest." Many of them fell for want of food, and some through grief and despair. It is said that at this place they excited the commiseration even of *Moslems*, who carried food and water for them to the *khan* where they were lodged°. Whether *Lebáno* was the antient ALORUS or not, depends entirely upon the manner in which we are permitted to read a short passage, as given from *Strabo*°, respecting the distances of *Methone*, *Pydna*, and *Alorus*. If by *seventy stadia* be intended the distance of the two last from each other, then *Lebáno* is proved to have been ALORUS; but if this be assigned as the distance

*Alorus.*

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(2) The annals of the world do not furnish more dreadful instances of human suffering than those which occurred, after the breaking out of the French Revolution, within the period of a few years towards the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To some of those afflicting sights the author of these Travels was an eye-witness: it seemed as if that BEING, who is "of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look upon iniquity," had withdrawn his countenance from the earth: for it was such a season as *Habakkuk* has called "THE HIDING OF HIS POWER."

(3) Ἀπίχτι δ' ἡ Μισθώνη τῆς μὲν Πύδνης στάδια μ'· τῆς Ἀλώρου δὲ, ὁ στάδια.  
Excerpta ex Lib. VII. fine, *Strabon. Geog.* p. 479. ed. Oxon.

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between *Methone* and *Alorus*, which seems to be the reading in this instance, *Lebano* is not situate far enough towards the north.

We left this village two hours before sunrise; and continued our journey along the plain at the extremity of the *Gulph of Therma*, at some distance from the sea, to avoid the swampy shores, and the mouths of the rivers, which were all inundated. Then we turned to the right; and in two hours came to a large river, which was much flooded, called *Inge Mauro*. This river we passed by a flying bridge. A poor *Turk* attended the ferry, living in a wretched hovel constructed of osiers and mud. We observed here a change in the dress of the female peasants. Over the white cotton *Albanian* shift and short petticoat, they wore a black vest made of goats' hair, without sleeves; and for their head-dress, white cotton handkerchiefs, with bunches of red silk over their foreheads, and silver ornaments in their ears. Continuing our journey across wet and dirty plains, we arrived, in three hours from the *Inge Mauro* ferry, at another large river, with a similar mode of passage, called *Kara-smack* by the *Turks*, and *Mauro-smack* by the *Greeks*; the

*Inge  
Mauro  
Ferry.*

*Mauro-  
smack  
Ferry.*

difference being only in the epithet, as applied to the name of the river<sup>1</sup>. Here we began to see a little cultivated land; our previous journey during this day having been through flat commons covered with water and mud. Two hours after passing the *Mauro-smack*, we saw, towards our *left*, a village called *Yanitza*, at the base of a mountain, by the foot of which flows the river *Vardar*<sup>2</sup>. We crossed this river by a wooden bridge formed of planks, at the least a quarter of a mile in length. The current was extremely strong: it is the *AXIUS* of *Herodotus*; separating the *Mygdonian* from the *Botticæan* territory<sup>3</sup>, where *Pella* stood; and

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(1) This river must be the *Lydias*, after having received the waters of the *Erigon*: but *Herodotus* mentions the confluence of the two rivers, *Lydias* and *Haliacmon*; the latter of which was farther towards the south. Vid. *Herodotum*, Hist. lib. vii. c. 127. p. 419. ed. *Gronovii*.

(2) "The best information I could procure respecting the source of the *Vardar* was in substance as follows: When the plain of the *Vardar* is scorched up in summer, the shepherds drive their flocks and herds into the country between *Bosnia* and *Caradar*, and to the high mountains beyond *Caradar*, eight days' journey from *Salonica*. Those shepherds relate, that in a swamp, which trembles when a man walks upon it, there is a spring, which rises from the earth so as to form a river upon the spot eleven yards wide from bank to bank. Soon afterwards it becomes augmented by seven other tributary streams (called rivers by the shepherds); but the true source of the *Vardar*, they say, is this powerful fountain." *Cripps's MS. Journal*.

(3) Ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν, ὅς οὐρίζει χόρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοστανίδα. *Herodoti Hist. lib. vii. cap. 123. p. 418. ed. J. Gronov. L. Bat. 1715.*



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*Axius, or  
Vardar,  
River.*

*Pella.*

it is now called the *Vardar*. The same river is also mentioned, under the name of *AXIUS*, by the venerable *Scylax*<sup>1</sup>. As we surveyed the marshy district in which *PELLA* was situate, we wished to note every thing belonging to the place of *Alexander's* nativity; but it is remarkable, that the traveller no sooner quits the *Grecian* territories, than he is left almost without a clue to the antient geography of the country. Owing to this circumstance, the mountain at whose base the village of *Yanitza* now stands is without a name. The site of *Pella*, however, is said to be known, which cannot have been far removed from the same spot; and it would indeed be marvellous if it were not well known<sup>2</sup>, after such a description

(1) He is mentioned by *Herodotus*, by *Aristotle*, and by *Strabo*; the last of whom, *Strabo*, calls him *Σκύλαξ ὁ παλαιὸς συγγραφεύς*. His notice, however, of the river *Axius* is only as a river of *MACEDONIA*, "*Ἄξις ποταμὸς*", without adding a syllable of its situation. Vid. *Scylax, Caryand. Peripl. p.61. ed. Gronov. L. Bat. 1697.*

(2) The editor of the *Oxford Strabo* says it is now called "*Palatisa*." Vid. *Not. 12. p. 479. Strabon. Geog. lib. vii.* The situation of *Yanitza* agrees very well with what *Beaujour* has said of *Yénidgé*; and if so, it is highly probable that it stands upon or near to the site of *Pella*: for *Beaujour* adds, in a Note; "Il ne reste plus de *Pella* que quelques ruines insignifiantes: mais on voit encore le pourtour de son magnifique port, et les vestiges du canal qui joignait ce port à la mer par le niveau le mieux entendu. LES MOSQUÉES D'ÉNIDGÉ ONT ÉTÉ BÂTIES AVEC LES DÉBRIS DES PALAIS DES ROIS MACÉDONIENS.—*Tableau du Commerce*

as that given by *Livy* of its locality<sup>3</sup>. The allusion made to *Pella* by *Herodotus* is less descriptive of its position<sup>4</sup>. In visiting places that have been rendered famous for the birth of illustrious men, it is natural to inquire, whether, in the scenes of their infancy and youth, there existed any thing likely to bend the mind towards the characteristic disposition it afterwards assumed. We have already described a region which was the nursery of inventive genius and poetry: it will therefore now be curious to examine the nature of another territory, whence a spirit of martial enterprise, of high ambition, and the most insatiable thirst of conquest, of dominion, and of glory, derived their origin. The inhabitants of mountains, and of maritime districts, of inland territories, lakes, and marshes, or of

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*Commerce de la Grèce*, tom. I. p. 87. Not. (1). Paris, 1800. The information concerning it, which we received at *Salonica*, was, that the place is now called *Araclese*.

(3) "Sita est in tumulo, vergente in occidentem hybernum. cingunt paludes inexcuperabilis altitudinis, æstate et hyeme; quas restagnantes faciunt lacus. In ipsâ palude, quâ proxima urbi est, velut insula eminet aggeri operis ingentis imposita: qui et murum sustineat, et humore circumfusæ paludis nihil lædatur. Muro urbis conjuncta procul videtur." *Livio*, Hist. lib. xlv. cap. 46. tom. III. p. 734. ed. *Crevier*.

(4) Τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν σταινὸν χωρίον πόλις Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πίλλα.  
*Herodoto*, Hist. lib. vii. p. 418. ed. *Gronov. L. Bat.* 1715.

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Nature of  
the Coun-  
try cele-  
brated for  
*Alexan-  
der's* Nati-  
vity.

extensive arid plains and deserts, are so generally marked by some stamp of their native region, that it were almost as nugatory to dispute the fact, as it would be to expect sublimity in the soul of a *Dutchman*, or any thing hostile to freedom in the mind of a *Norwegian*. With regard to the scene of *Alexander's* birth, it may be truly said, all that Nature hath anywhere exhibited of vast and varied objects, possessing either sublimity or beauty, had their counterpart here: mountains, and hills, and valleys, and plains, and rivers, and seas, and islands; and these, moreover, simultaneously invested with every feature peculiar to all seasons; with upland ice and snow; with lowland verdure, and summer suns; with barren rocks, and fertile fields; altogether constituting such an assemblage of the works of God, as suggested to the bard of *Israel* his sacred theme of *power* and *might* and *majesty* and *dominion*<sup>1</sup>. Immediately before his eyes, was presented the awful form of *Mount Olympus*, believed to be the throne of Heaven itself,—the seat of all the immortal deities<sup>2</sup>;

(1) See the sublime passages of the *Psalms of David*, cxlvii. cxlvii. wherein all the works of the Creator are made to speak his power and praise: also the *Revelation of St. John*, chap. v. ver. 13, &c.

(2) Vid. *Homer. Iliad.* E. 360, 367, &c. &c.

the grandeur of whose appearance can only be felt by those who view it from the plain of *Pella*. There is a passage in *Herodotus* which mentions this prospect as beheld by *Xerxes* from *THERMA*; but who could imagine, simply from observing the situation of these places in a map, that the magnitude of *Olympus*, as it appears from the modern town of *Salonica*, is such as to fill all the prospect towards the western side of the *Thermaic Gulph*, and actually to dazzle the eyes of the beholder with the radiance reflected from its snow-clad summit?<sup>3</sup> Instead of seeming remote from the place of his observation, so enormous is the size of this mountain, that it appears to be close to his view.

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After we had crossed the bridge of planks, and were proceeding in our route, we heard the disagreeable intelligence that the plague was raging with great vehemence in *SALONICA*. Rumours of the same nature had before reached us, during our journey from *Larissa*; but reports of the plague in *Turkey* are so liable to exaggeration, that we had paid no attention to them. We were now told that many of the

News of  
the Plague.

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(3) Vid. *Homer. Iliad.* A. 420, 532, &c.

CHAP. X. inhabitants had left the city; and some *Tahtars* said that the number of deaths had daily increased to an alarming extent. We had, however, no alternative, but to venture into the midst of the contagion: our resources were exhausted, and we were in want of all kinds of necessaries. We saw upon our left, in the plain, near a village called *Bounarchi*, an immense *tumulus* of earth; retaining still, among the inhabitants, the name of *τύμβος*; and near to it there was another of smaller size. In this plain, four-wheeled carriages were in use. About two hours' distance from the *Vardar*, we arrived at a miserable village, called *Tekále*, or *Tekélly*. There were several antiquities about this place; among others, some *granite* columns, and a beautiful *operculum* of an immense marble *Soros*. As we viewed the mountains north of *THESSALONICA*, and compared their appearance with the forlorn blank in all the maps of the country between the *Hebrus* and the *Axius*, we could but regret that they have been so rarely visited by travellers. The whole of *Æmathia*<sup>1</sup> is as a chasm in antient geography. We know nothing of *Pæonia* or of *Pelagonia*, or

*Tekhle.*

Geography  
of Mace-  
donia.

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(1) "Macedonia, &c. Emathia antea dicta." *Plinio*, Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 10. tom. I. p. 213. *L. Bat.* 1635.

of the whole region westward to the borders of *Illyria*. Some means of communication must still exist along the *Via Ignatia*<sup>2</sup>, from the north of the *Gulph of Therma* to the *Illyrian* coast of the *Adriatic*, which future travellers will do well to explore:—for where are the cities of *LYCHNIDUS*<sup>3</sup>, and *ÆGÆ*, called also *Melobotira*<sup>4</sup>, and more antiently *Ædessa*<sup>5</sup>, the regal seat of the *Macedonian* kings<sup>6</sup>? We entered *Macedonia*

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ÆGÆ.

(2) The whole passage of *Strabo* concerning the *Via Ignatia* should be read with attention: it defines with great perspicuity the boundaries of *Illyria*, *Epirus*, and *Macedonia*. We shall only insert the following passage, relating to the beginning of its course from *Epidamnus* to *Thessalonica*.—Ἡ μὲν οὖν πᾶσα Ἰγνατία καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ πρώτη ἐπὶ Κανθαουίας λέγεται ὄρους Ἰλλυρικοῦ διὰ Λυχνιδίου πόλεως καὶ Πυλῶνος, τόπου ὀρίζοντος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τὴν τε Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἰστέι παρὰ βαροῦντα διὰ Ἡρακλείας, καὶ Λυγκιστῶν, καὶ Ἐορδῶν, εἰς ἘΔΕΣΣΑΝ καὶ ΠΕΛΛΑΑΝ, μέχρι Θισσαλονικίας. *Strabon. Geog. lib. vii. p. 468. ed. Oxon.*

(3) See the *Vignette* to the next Chapter. *STRABO* calls it *Lychnidius*. It is thus mentioned by *LIVY*: “Nuncius ex Macedonia venit, Eropum quemdam corrupto arcis præsidii que præfecto, *Lychnidum* cepisse; tenere et *Dassaretiorum* quosdam vicos et *Dardanos* etiam concire.” *Livio, Hist. lib. xxvii. c. 32.* *Ptolemy* (lib. iii. c. 13) places it in *Macedonia*, in the country of the *Dassaretii*.

(4) Ἡτις καὶ Μηλοβόστια, κ. τ. λ.—“Scilicet ab ovibus quas pascebat. Id enim sonat id nominis.” *Stephanus de Urbib. p. 32. et Not. 10. ed. Gronov. Amst. 1678.*

(5) *Stephan. de Urbib. ibid.* “Etsi *Cosmographo Geographiæ, lib. iii. c. 13.* *Ædessa* et *Ægea* sunt diversæ *Emathiæ Macedoniae* regionis urbes.”

(6) Vid. *Justin. lib. vii. c. 1 and 2.* *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 10. tom. I. p. 213. L. Bat. 1635.* (“*ÆGÆ, in quo mos sepelire reges.*”) *Solin. c. 14. Diodor. Sic. lib. xix. c. 52.*

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Importance  
of ascer-  
taining its  
position.

in the hope that, of all its antient cities, this at least would not escape our researches; because in *ÆGÆ* were preserved the sepulchres of *Alexander's* predecessors: and a superstition existed concerning the burial of the *kings of Macedon*, similar to that which is so well known in *Italy* with regard to the *Popes*; namely, that their dominion would cease when the bodies of their sovereigns should be no longer buried in the same cœmety. The discovery of the ruins of *ÆGÆ* would be particularly gratifying. In the examination of the regal tombs of the *Macedonians*, we might become acquainted with their manner of burial, of which so little has been yet ascertained. But as all our inquiries respecting the remains of this city<sup>1</sup> were made

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(1) It stood to the south of the river *Axius*, fifty-nine miles from *Thessalonica*, in the *Roman* road; *Diocletianopolis* and *Pella* being between *Thessalonica* and *Ægæ*.—Since this was written, the author, upon his return to *England*, circulated, in manuscript, a regular set of *queries*, as hints to travellers respecting their researches in the *Levant*. One of those *queries* related to *Edessa*, and to the *Sepulchres of the Macedonian Kings*. He has, in consequence, recently been permitted to make the following extract from a manuscript Letter of his friend, *Dr. Fiott Lee*, of *St. John's College, Cambridge*, to his fellow collegian, *Mr. Hughes*; whereby it appears that *Dr. Lee* succeeded in discovering the spot, and actually went himself into two of those sepulchres. "If a *Firmân* could be procured from *Ali Pasha of Joannina*, I am confident," says *Dr. Lee*, "that there would be found at *EDESSA* treasures of antiquities. The place

to no purpose, we have been unable to throw any light upon this subject. Every inquiry concerning the *Macedonians* is reviving with redoubled interest, in the knowledge we have that they were of the same race with the nation now called *Albanians*; the latter having preserved the manners, customs, and language of their ancestors, almost unaltered, from the earliest ages. It is therefore only by a careful examination of the antiquities occurring along the *Via Ignatia*, and by a strict attention paid to the manners, customs, and superstitions of the *Albanians*, that any additional information can be obtained respecting the *Macedonians*; whose history, and especially the earliest part of it, is involved in great obscurity. It may be remarked, that the learned investigators of their annals, whose lucubrations were published in

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place is now called *Vodina*: it is a delightful spot. There are *sepulchres* cut in the rock, which the superstitious inhabitants have never plundered; because they are afraid to go near them. I went into two, and SAW THE BODIES IN PERFECT REPOSE, WITH SOME KINDS OF ORNAMENTS, AND CLOTHES, AND VASES; but touched them not, and paid little attention to them; being at that time a novice in the *sexton trade*, and ignorant that a traveller could gain celebrity and honour by robbing the bodies of the dead. There is a beautiful inscription in the town. The fall of waters is magnificent."—*Dr. Bee's MS. Letter*. To this it may be added, that *Beaujourn* also mentions *Vodina* as the antient *EDESSA*. *Voy. Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce, tom. I. p. 128. Paris, 1800.*



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the middle of the last century<sup>1</sup>, and who, with the most patient investigation, seem to have ransacked every source of information with regard to the *Macedonians*, have nevertheless left their readers entirely in the dark concerning their *funeral* customs<sup>2</sup>: so that nothing is yet known of the form of their sepulchres, although we have a decisive document to prove that the *Macedonian rite* of burial<sup>3</sup> differed from the ceremony in use among the *Greeks*. PLUTARCH has once made an allusion to the *tombs* of the *Macedonian kings* at ÆGÆ, when he mentions that the *Gauls*, whom *Pyrrhus* left to garrison the city, had violated the *regal sepulchres*, and stolen out the gold and silver they contained<sup>4</sup>. All that we learn from this is, that a custom which was common to all *Eastern* nations, that of burying with a deceased person his most costly ornaments, existed also among the *Macedonians*;

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(1) See the *Universal History (Macedonians)*, vol. VIII. p. 381. Lond. 1747.

(2) The Reader may consult *Guichard's* curious work "*Des Funérailles*," &c. à *Lyon*, 1581; and *Murat's* Dissertation concerning "*the Funeral Rites of all Nations*," as published in *London*, 1683; but he will find no information upon this subject. The voluminous collections of *Gronovius* and *Grævius* are equally barren of intelligence as to the *funeral customs* of the *Macedonians*.

(3) Καὶ τὸν μὲν ΝΟΜΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Ἰθακτὴν ἐν Μίσητι. *Pausaniæ Attica*, c. 6. p. 15. ed. *Kuhnii*.

(4) Vid. *Plutarch. in Vit. Pyrr.*

but this practice was so general in remote ages, that owing to the laws against violating the sanctity of a tomb<sup>5</sup>, and the universal regard shewn to its preservation<sup>6</sup>, many of the monarchs of antiquity, as a measure of policy, made the *tombs* of their ancestors answer the purpose of places for hoarding their wealth<sup>7</sup>; perhaps corresponding with those deposits alluded to in *inscriptions* under the denomination of "THE MOST SACRED TREASURY<sup>8</sup>." It is

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(5) By the *Salic law* it was enacted, that whoever violated a tomb should be banished as a monster from the society of men; and that none should give him refuge, not even the members of his own family, under the severest penalties.

(6) So great respect has ever been shewn to sepulchres, that the most zealous *Christian* princes have extended it even to those of the *Heathens*. For besides the Emperor *Constans*, who of all monarchs most abhorred *Paganism*, the Canons of the fourth Council of *Toledo* (Concil. *Tolet.* 4. Canon. 45.), together with those of that of *Meaux* (Canon. 72.), or *Paris*, make the violation of a grave a capital crime. The *Moslem* Emperors, particularly *Selim*, after the conquest of *Egypt*, returning to the *Holy Land*, and seeing the *tombs* of *Christian* princes in *Jerusalem*, who, under *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, recovered that country from the *Moslems*, prohibited their violation.

(7) *Hyrchanus*, high-priest of *Jerusalem*, seeing the city besieged by *Antiochus*, took out of *David's sepulchre* three thousand talents.

(8) See Vol. III. of the Octavo Edition of these Travels, Chap. VI. p. 201. The opinion therefore entertained by the *Turks* of concealed wealth among the ruins of *Greece* and *Syria* may possibly have originated in the occasional discovery of treasures in the tombs. Dr. *Holland* says, (*Travels*, p. 526. Lond. 1815.) that he could not convince even *Ali Pasha* of "the improbability that there should be concealed treasures among the ruins:" possibly the *Pasha* had  
good

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remarkable that the monuments of *Macedonian* power, of every description, should be so rare as they are in this country. While the whole of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and the most distant parts of *ASIA*, partook of the magnificence of *Alexander*, there is hardly a trace of his existence remaining in his native country. It is yet more singular that the coins of *Philip* and *Alexander* are rarely to be found in *Macedonia*, although they be common elsewhere.

Arrival at  
THESSA-  
LONICA.

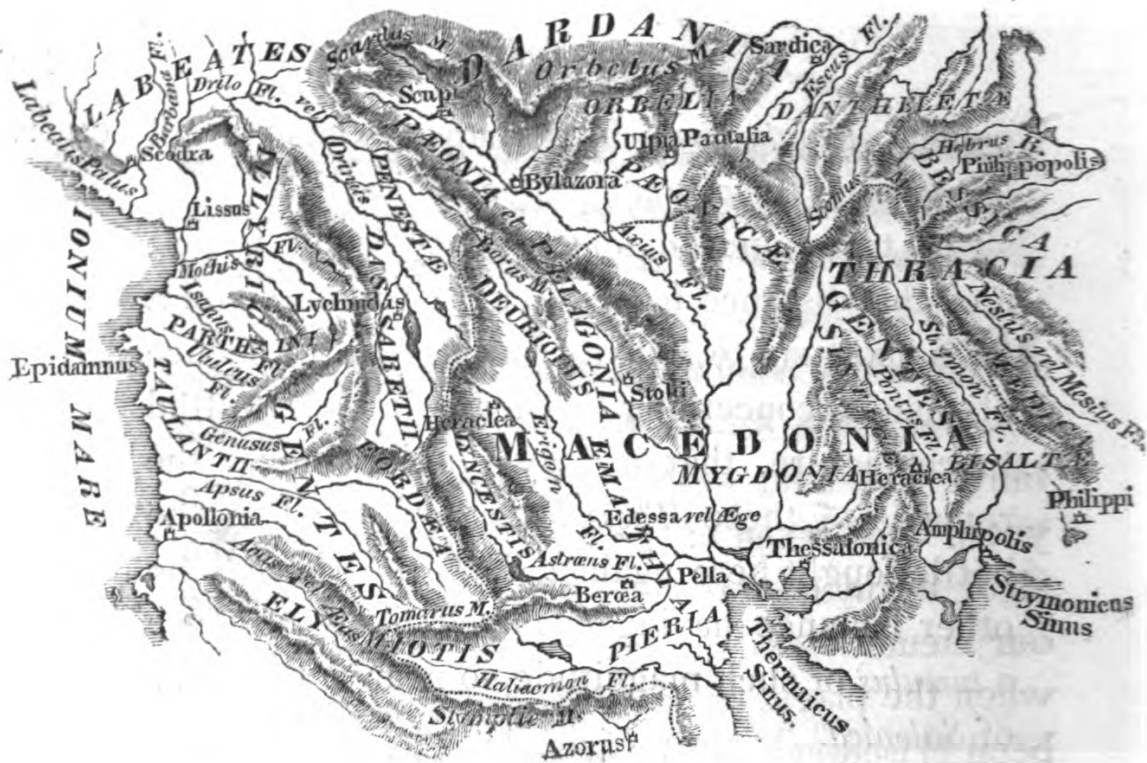
The rest of our journey from *Tekále* was over the plains of the *Vardar*. After a ride of two hours, we arrived at *Salonica*;—the THESSALONICA of a former age, and more antiently called THERMA<sup>1</sup>. Before we entered the town, we saw in the level plain upon our left hand, close to the road, the largest and most perfect

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good reason to believe in a contrary opinion. The immense treasure found by the *Russians* in *Tahtarian tombs* has been alluded to by the author, upon a former occasion. See "*Tomb of Alexander*," p. 51. *Cambridge*, 1805.

(1) *Stephanus* (de Urbib. p. 306. ed. *Gronov. Amst.* 1678.) says it was antiently called HALIA, ἥτις πάλαι ἑκαλεῖτο Ἀλία; but from *Strabo* we learn that its antient name was THERMA: ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη ἴσθιν πόλις, ἢ πρότερον ΘΕΡΜΗ ἑκαλεῖτο, κ. τ. λ. Vid. *Excerpt. Strabon. Geog.* lib. vii. p. 480. ed. *Oxon.* It was so called from some hot baths in its neighbourhood. *Pococke* found some hot springs at four miles distance from *Salonica*. See *Descript. of the East*, vol. II. Part II. p. 149. *Lond.* 1745.

conical *tumulus* which perhaps exists in all *Turkey*. The circumference of its base measures two hundred and seventy-seven paces; and the distance from the base to the summit from sixty-six to seventy yards. In the silence of history concerning this *tomb*, it is permitted to conjecture, that it may possibly cover the remains of those *Thessalonians* who fell in the battle fought here against *Philip the Second*; no other instance having occurred likely to cause a *tumulus* of such magnitude so near to the walls of *Salonica*.



## CHAP. XI.

### THESSALONICA.

*Hospitality and kindness of the English Consul—Visit paid to another Merchant—Account of the Plague—Walls of the City—its antient splendour—Citadel—Torso—Propylæum of the Hippodrome—Caryatides—Rotunda—Situation of the Hippodrome—St. Sophia—Mosque of St. Demetrius—Temple of the Therméan Venus—Shooting Excursion—Triumphal Arch of Augustus—Arch of Constantine—Soroï—Medals—Mines of Macedonia—Population of Salonîca, and of all Greece—Commerce of Salonîca—Plan of Macedonia—Cotton—Tobacco—Wool—Imports of Salonîca—Government—Game found in the Environs—Prices of Provisions—Malâria—Antient and modern Jews—*  
*Comment*

*Comment upon St. Paul—Want of communication with the Bazars—Splendid Prospect of the Olympian Chain of Mountains—Valedictory Retrospect of all GREECE.*

WE were conducted to the house of Mr. *Charnaud*, the *English* Consul; of whose hospitality and kind offices every traveller of late years has given a grateful testimony<sup>1</sup>. We shall begin our account of *Salonica*, by adding our memorial to the rest: because, at a time when the plague was so rife that his gates had been closed against all intruders, and even his provisions were daily received through one of those turning machines that are used in convents, he nevertheless threw open his doors for us, and welcomed our coming, in a manner which we can never forget. It was indeed a luxury to us to spend two or three days in his comfortable mansion, during the long journey from *Athens* to *Constantinople*; this being almost the only place of real rest in the whole route: and to the comfortable accommodation afforded in his house, Mr. *Charnaud* was enabled to add the advantages of polished society; possessing

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Hospita-  
lity and  
kindness  
of the  
*English*  
Consul.

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(1) See particularly an account of this gentleman in the "*Remains of the late John Tweddell*," as edited by his brother, the Rev. *Robert Tweddell*, p. 333. Lond. 1815.

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Visit paid  
to another  
Merchant.

himself the easy manners and the information of a gentleman who has been liberally educated. Having introduced us to his family, he also invited to meet us, a *French* surgeon, and another gentleman of the name of *Abbott*, who is called the Father of the *Levant* Company, brother to a merchant whose house we had frequented at *Constantinople*. Mr. *Abbott* desired that we would use his house as our home while we remained; and he introduced us to the ladies of his family. Here we found, as at Mr. *Charnaud's*, some affable and pleasing women, seated, after the *Eastern* manner, upon the couches of a *diván*, who entertained us by their vivacity, and great curiosity to know all the objects of our journey. To our surprise, they amused us with anecdotes respecting our friends and acquaintance at *Constantinople*; and seemed to be as well acquainted with all that had taken place when we were last in that city, as if they had actually mingled in the society there. Having congratulated them upon possessing such cheerfulness, in the midst of a city which had been described to us as the very centre of contagion, they laughed, saying, they never troubled their heads with any thoughts of the plague: if it came, they must take their chance: that it was confined principally to the *bazars*, in the lower part of

Account of  
the Plague.

the town, and to the quarter inhabited by the *Jews*, with whom they had no intercourse. Unfortunately, this part of the city contained almost the only antiquity worth seeing in the place—the *Propylæa* of the antient *Hippodrome*, or of the *Forum*; and we had determined not to leave *Salonica* without obtaining a sight of the famous *alto-relievos* there preserved. This, it was said, we might do, if we were only careful not to suffer any person to touch us: and as our excellent friend Mr. *Charnaud*, more concerned than any other person in the consequences of our going thither, was urgent that we should see all the antiquities, we determined to venture. We had escaped the contagion in *Bethlehem*, where the plague raged with even greater fury; and had therefore reason to hope that the same precautions we had there used might also be the means of our safety here.

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The walls of *Salonica* give a very remarkable appearance to the town, and cause it to be seen from a great distance, being white-washed; and, what is still more extraordinary, they are also painted. They extend in a semicircular manner from the sea, inclosing the whole of the buildings within a *peribolus*, whose circuit is five or six miles; but a great part of the space

Walls of  
the City.



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within the walls is void. It is one of the few remaining cities that have preserved the form of its antient fortifications ;—the mural turrets yet standing, and the walls that support them being entire. Their antiquity is perhaps unknown ; for although they have been ascribed to the *Greek Emperors*, it is very evident that they were constructed in two distinct periods of time ; the old *Cyclopéan* masonry remaining in the lower part of them, surmounted by an upper structure of brick-work. The latter part only may properly be referred to the time of the *Greek Emperors*, being also characterized by the method of building which then became very general, of mixing broken columns, and fragments of the early productions of *Grecian* architecture and sculpture, confusedly among the work<sup>1</sup>. Like all the antient and modern cities

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(1) The author has before proved, from *Thucydides*, that such heterogeneous materials were used in constructing the *walls of Athens*, so long ago as the *Peloponnesian War*. See p. 123 of this Volume, and Note (1).

Mr. *Walpole* seems to have observed a separation between the *antient* and *modern* walls of *Salonica*. His situation of the *Hippodrome* may not perhaps be found to agree with that which the author has assigned for it, in the sequel, between the *Rotunda* and the *sea*. The beautiful *Inscription* which he found upon a marble *Soros*, and the account he has extracted from *Cameniates*, of the destruction of many of those monuments, will be considered, as it is by the author, a valuable addition to this part of his work.

“ In

of Greece, its wretched aspect within is forcibly contrasted with the beauty of the external

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“In some parts, the distance between the antient and modern walls of the city is very small: the circuit therefore of Thessalonica, formerly, may not have been much greater than it is now; about six miles. A third of the town is occupied by the Jews; and in their quarter are seen five Corinthian columns supporting an entablature, over which are many figures in alto-relievo. At the south-east end of the town is the site of the *Hippodrome*. Some of the Christian churches, as those of Santa Sophia and San’ Demetrius, have been converted into mosques: the number of Greek churches is now sixteen. Besides the Jews, who amount to 20,000, there are 12,000 Turks, 10,000 Greeks, and some Bulgarians.

“Near the city walls, by the sea-shore, is a sarcophagus, now used as a reservoir for water. This is one remaining out of the many monuments of this kind, with which the city formerly abounded; and which were converted by the inhabitants of Thessalonica, in the tenth century, to the following use.—‘To defend the part of the city open to the sea from the attack of the enemy, (says Cameniates, who wrote an account of the destruction of this city,) sarcophagi were thrown into the water; or, to use his own words, tombs cut out of one single stone, in which the Greeks antiently deposited their dead; *Ἐκ μονολίθου γυγλυμμένοι τύμβοι, ἐν οἷς πάλαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς ἐνταφίαζον Ἕλληες.* These were covered by the sea; and placed at small distances, to prevent the enemies’ ships approaching.’

“Perhaps the sarcophagus we saw was one brought to the sea-side for the purpose just mentioned; or it may have been recovered from the sea. On one side of it is a Greek Inscription, in hexameter verse, cut in letters of a low age. The four following are the concluding lines, written with that simplicity so characteristic of the Greek compositions of this kind:

ΤΕΥΞΕΔΕΤΟΝΔΕΤΑΦΟΝΦΙΛΙΟΣΠΟΣΙΣΕΥΤΡΟΠΟΣΑΥΤΗΙ  
ΟΙΤΑΥΤΩΙΜΕΤΟΠΙΣΘΕΝΟΠΩΣΕΧΟΙΑΜΠΙΑΥΕΣΘΑΙ  
ΣΥΝΦΙΛΙΗΙΖΥΝΩΣΑΔΟΧΟΙΚΕΚΛΩΣΜΕΝΟΝΑΥΤΩΙ  
ΤΕΡΜΕΣΙΔΩΝΒΙΟΤΟΥΑΛΥΤΟΙΣΥΠΟΝΗΜΑΣΙΜΟΙΡΩΝ.

“HER

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appearance, rising in a theatrical form, upon the side of a hill surrounded with plantations of cyprus and other evergreen trees and shrubs. The houses are generally built of unburned bricks, and, for the most part, they are little better than so many hovels. The citadel stands in the higher part of the semicircular range from the shore; and there is a bastion, with a battery, at either extremity of the arc towards the sea, but no fosse on the outside of the walls. *Cassander* changed the name of this city from *Therma* to *Thessalonica*, in honour of his wife, the daughter of *Philip Amyntas*, and a sister of

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“HER AFFECTIONATE HUSBAND CONSTRUCTED THIS TOMB FOR HER AND HIMSELF; THAT HE MIGHT HAVE IT WHEREIN TO REST TOGETHER WITH HIS WIFE; LOOKING FORWARD TO THE TERM OF LIFE WOVEN FOR HIM BY THE INDISSOLUBLE THREADS OF THE FATES.”

*Walpole's MS. Journal.*

We shall subjoin a copy of this beautiful Inscription, in the common Greek characters:

Τεύξε δὲ τόνδε τάφον φίλιος πόσις εὐτροπος αὐτῇ  
Οἱ τ' αὐτῷ μετόπισθεν ὅπως ἔχοι ἀμπαύεσθαι  
Σὺν φιλιῇ ζύγως ἄλοχῳ κεκλώσμενον αὐτῷ  
Τέρμ' εἰδὼν βίοντος ἀλύτοις ὑπονήμασι μοιρῶν.

(1) *Beaujour*, to whom the author confesses that he has been indebted for additions made to his own Notes, says of its fortifications, “Dans l'état actuel, elle est ouverte à la plus-foible escadre; et tout vaisseau armé en guerre peut y entrer, et de-là canonner la place, qui n'a pas, pour se défendre, quatre canons montés, et pas un canonier qui sache pointer.” *Felix Beaujour Comm. de la Grèce*, tom. I. p. 28. Paris, 1800.

*Alexander the Great.* For the truth of this, we have the high authority of *Strabo*<sup>2</sup>; therefore, however plausible the opinion of some antiquaries may be<sup>3</sup>, who would maintain that the change originated in a *victory* gained by *Philip the Second*, few will be inclined to adopt their belief. In consequence of the subjection of *Macedon* to the *Roman* power, after the fatal battle of *Pydna*, the country was divided into *four* districts, and *Thessalonica* was made the capital of the *second*. This city was the residence of *Cicero*, during a part of the time that he remained in exile. Many of the Emperors had divine honours rendered to them in *Thessalonica*; but *Jupiter*, as the father of *Hercules*, was its patron-divinity. In the days of its prosperity, *Thessalonica* boasted of an *Amphitheatre* for gladiators, and also a *Hippodrome* for the solemnization of the *public games*. The Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus* raised it to the rank of a colonial city. In the citadel, according to *Beaujour*<sup>4</sup>, there may still be seen some pillars of the *Verde-antico*, or *Atracian marble*; from the quarries of which,

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Antient  
Splendour  
of the City.

(2) Κτίσμα δ' ἴσθιν Κασσάνδρου δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὀνόματιν. Excerpt. ex *Strabon.* Geog. lib. vii. fine, p. 480. ed. *Oxon.*

(3) See *Felix Beaujour* Comm. de la Grèce, tom. I. p. 25. Note (2).

(4) *Ibid.* p. 28.

CHAP. XI. on the other side of the gulph, it was not  
 remotely situate. Those pillars are believed  
 to be the remains of a temple of *Hercules*<sup>1</sup>.  
 There is also a *triumphal arch*, erected under  
*Marcus Aurelius*; and, as an *Inscription* sets  
 forth, in honour of FAUSTINA, COMMODUS, and  
 ANTONINUS :

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΗΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΚΑΙΛΟΥΚΙΩΚΟΜΟΔΩΗΠΟΛΙΣ

Below appears, in smaller characters,

TITΩANTONEINΩΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΕΥΣΕΒΕΙ

Citadel. The *Turks* call this castle *Yedi-Koulé*, and the  
*Greeks* ΗΕΡΤΑΡΥΡΓΙΟΝ (*Ἑπταπύργιον*), under  
 which name it is mentioned by *Paul Lucas*<sup>2</sup>,  
 signifying the same in either language; that is  
 to say, the “*Seven Towers*.” It is the old  
*Greek citadel*, or *Acropolis*; but the towers are  
 said to have been built by the *Venetians*. To-  
 wards the *west*, opposite to a small monastery  
 of *Dervishes*, is a tower called *Namasia-Koulé*;   
 it has been thus denominated in consequence  
 of the colossal *Torso* of a female statue, said to  
 be that of the sister of *Alexander the Great*,  
 daughter of *Philip Amyntas*, and wife of *Cas-*  
*sander*, from whom the city received its name.

(1) See *Felix Beaujour* Comm. de la Grèce, tom. I. p. 29.

(2) *Voyage de Turquie*, liv. i. tom. I. p. 50. Amst. 1744.

The remarkable tradition certainly entitles this *Torso* to some consideration. At the feet of the figure is represented the stern of a ship. CHAP.  
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The day after our arrival, we visited the other principal antiquities of the place; but there may be many concealed, which we did not see. *Beaujour* mentions several fine structures of the Lower Empire; and he says, that *Thessalonica* ranks next to *Athens*, in the number of works left by the antients<sup>3</sup>.

Our first visit was paid to that celebrated piece of architecture, which is represented, by a series of beautiful and very accurate engravings, in the splendid work of Athenian *Stuart*<sup>4</sup>. This building is called, by the *Spanish Jews* who reside here, the *INCANTADAS*; meaning thereby, "*enchanted figures*." Being situate in the *Jews' quarter*, it marked at this time the very *focus* of the plague contagion. In consequence, however, of the alarm the disorder had occasioned, this part of the town was almost deserted; and we had leisure to examine the

*Propylæum* of  
the *Hippodrome*.

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(3) See *Felix Beaujour*, *ibid.* p. 31.

(4) See *Stuart's* "*Antiquities of Athens*," vol. III. chap. 9. p. 53. *Lond.* 1794.

building, safe and unmolested. We found a magnificent *Corinthian* colonnade, consisting of five pillars supporting an entablature, and having four void spaces between the columns; for entrance, as we supposed, into the *Hippodrome*, or the *Forum*. This structure, both as to its design, and the subjects thereon represented, seems calculated for a magnificent PROPYLÆUM. The style of the workmanship, upon the whole, betrays the decline of the Arts; but there are parts of the sculpture that are very fine, as may be seen by reference to *Stuart's* valuable publication<sup>1</sup>. Over the entablature is an *attic*, adorned with figures in *alto-relievo*. These figures, upon the side next to the street, are as follow :

- I. A representation of VICTORY.
- II. A Female, called HELBN by *Stuart*.
- III. A Male Figure naked, perhaps that of PARIS, in the old *Grecian* cap, with a *Bull's Head* by his side; but called that of *Telephus* by *Stuart*.
- IV. GANYMEDE carried by an *Eagle*.

Behind these figures, upon the obverse side of the structure, are :

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(1) See *Stuart's* "Antiquities of Athens," vol. III. Plates to Chap. 9. No. 1 to 13.

- I. A BACCHANTE playing a *Flute*.
- II. BACCHUS, with a *Panther*.
- III. ARIADNE.
- IV. LEDA, with the *Swan*.

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*Stuart* had adopted a notion, that all these figures related to some play of *Euripides*; and consequently explained them with reference to his tragedies. In his plan, elevation, and section of the *Incantadas*, he has given part of an *Inscription* which he observed upon the lower part of the entablature, extending below the whole length of the frieze<sup>2</sup>:

Ν Γ Ε Γ Ε Ν Η Μ Ε Ν Ο Ν Υ Π Ο

This escaped our notice; but imperfect as it is, some conjecture, as to the history of the building, may perhaps be thereby suggested. The figure of *Leda* is made obverse to that of *Ganymede*; and the four obverse figures are executed in sculpture very inferior to that of the four front figures above the *inscription*. The figure of *Paris*, in the old *Grecian* cap, with the *bull's head*, is in a capital style of sculpture; but that of *Ariadne* behind, is very badly executed. Behind the figure of *Victory* is the *Bacchante*, who is playing the flute. The whole

(2) Ibid. See Plate II. of Chap. 9.



CHAP. of the sculpture is executed in the marble of  
 XI. Mount *Pentelicus*: probably, therefore, it was  
 brought from *Athens*; for the columns are of  
*Cipolino* marble. These double *alto-relievos* are  
 made to sustain the upper architrave of the  
*Caryatides*. attic, after the manner of *Caryatides*: it consists  
 of three pieces, the joints being over the two  
 middle *Caryatidæ*. If this building were not  
 intended, as we have supposed, for a *Propylæum*  
 to the *Hippodrome* (which was consistent with  
 the taste and customs of antient *Greece*), it  
 may possibly have been part of a square in-  
 closure for an *agora*, or *forum*; but even in  
 this case it must appear to have been one of  
 the entrances to the same. *Beaujour* thinks  
 it was erected in the time of *Nero*; and he  
 considers the *alto-relievos* as the finest pieces  
 of *Grecian* sculpture that have escaped the  
 ravages of time and of barbarians<sup>1</sup>. The figures  
 are as large as life. Many attempts have been  
 made, both on the part of the *English* and  
*French*, to get them removed; but the *Turkish*  
*Pasha*, to whom applications were made for  
 this purpose, would not give his consent. The  
 diameter of the *Corinthian* columns equals

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(1) Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce, tom. I. p. 38. Paris, 1800.

three feet six inches; but the soil has increased so considerably, that all the lower part of their shafts is buried.

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After seeing the *Incantadas*, we went to the *Rotunda*. ROTUNDA; an edifice built after the model of the *Pantheon* at *Rome*. The great prevalence of the worship of the CABIRI in *Macedonia* and *Thrace* has induced some to believe that this was a temple consecrated to their mysteries. *Beaujour* maintains, that he can prove this fact from the subjects represented upon the medals of *Thessalonica*, and that the temple was built under *Trajan*<sup>2</sup>. In the beautiful dome of this edifice there is a circular aperture, as in that of the *Pantheon*. The inside of the building is covered with Mosaic, like the dome of *St. Sophia* at *Constantinople*. In front of it, we saw a magnificent marble *Béma*, or pulpit, ornamented in *basso-relievo*. We saw, also at a fountain, part of an *Inscription*; mentioning the name, either of *Cassander*, or of some citizen of CASSANDRIA, upon the *Isthmus* of *Pallene*<sup>3</sup>:

(2) *Ibid.* p. 36.

(3) "In *Pallenensi Isthmo* quondam POTIDÆA, nunc CASSANDRIA colonia." *Plinio*, *Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. cap. 10. tom. I. p. 214. *L. Bat.* 1635. ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ, πόλις Μακεδονίας, κ. τ. λ. *Stephan.* lib. de *Urbib.* &c. p. 457. *L. Bat.* 1688. Sed vide *Holstenium.* *Not. et Castigat.* in *Steph. Byzant.* p. 164. *L. Bat.* 1684.

ΟΥΝΔΟΣΚΑΙΚΑΣΑΝΔΡ  
ΔΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΕΑΥΤΟ  
ΔΩΤΩΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΚΑΘΩΣΔ

and these numerals upon a tomb, without any other legible characters:

ΕΤΟΥΣ—ΗΨΡ

Situation  
of the *Hippo-*  
*podrome.*

In the space between this *Rotunda* and the sea, was situate the *Hippodrome*; a magnificent area, in form of an ellipse, surrounded by an immense *Coilon*, whose major axis, from *north* to *south*, equalled five hundred and twenty yards in extent, and its minor axis one hundred and sixty. To the west of it was the palace of *Diocletian*, supported by arches: the vestiges are still visible. The mention of this *Hippodrome* may call to mind the massacre that once inundated its area with human blood: it was here that *Theodosius*, the *Roman* emperor, who is extolled by antient writers as a sovereign blessed with every virtue, principally wreaked his vengeance on the inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, for the death of one of his officers; having caused six thousand innocent persons, without distinction of age or sex, to be cruelly butchered within the space of three hours; for which *Ambrose* afterwards prevailed upon him to do public penance in the church.

From the *Rotunda* we went to see the Church of *St. Sophia*. Mr. *Charnaud* accompanied us. This building is now a mosque, corresponding, in all its proportions, with that which bears the same name in *Constantinople*; but being of less magnitude. It is, however, exceedingly well worth seeing, owing to the columns of *Verde-antico* which it contains: they are mentioned by *Pococke*<sup>1</sup>. There is also here another extraordinary *Béma*, or *Suggestum*, made also of the *Verde-antico*, with steps leading up to it; the whole being of one entire mass of this beautiful aggregate. They have a tradition, that when *St. Paul* preached at *Thessalonica*, he delivered his discourse from this pulpit. Insignificant as such a tradition may appear, it is nevertheless noticed by almost every traveller who has written an account of the place. *Pococke* mentions it, but with some difference; for he refers the place of *St. Paul's* preaching to a subterraneous church beneath the mosque of *St. Demetrius*. This mosque we also visited: it was once the metropolitan church. Its form is that of a cross. *Pococke* calls it the most beautiful mosque in the town: on each side is a double colonnade of

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Church of  
*St. Sophia*.

Mosque  
of *St.*  
*Demetrius*.

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(1) See *Pococke's Descript. of the East*, vol. II. Part II. p. 151. Lond. 1745.

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Temple  
of the  
Therméan  
Venus.

pillars of 'the *Verde-antico*', with *Ionic* capitals; and the whole of the interior was lined with marble, great part of which now remains. It is about seventy yards long, and forty wide. There is also another mosque, called *Eski Djumna* by the *Turks*, which was once a temple sacred to the *Therméan Venus*. This we did not see. *Beaujour* says of it<sup>2</sup>, that the *Greeks* spoiled it, by endeavouring to make it cruciform. It was a perfect parallelogram, seventy feet long, and thirty-five feet wide; supported on either side by twelve columns of the *Ionic* order, of the most elegant proportions. The six columns of the *Pronaos* still remain, although concealed by the wall of the mosque. "If," observes the same author<sup>3</sup>, "the country belonged to a civilized people, it were an easy matter to unmask the *Temple of the Therméan Venus* from its *Gothic* disguise: when, of all the chaste monuments of antiquity, next to the *Theséum* at *Athens*, this edifice would appear in the most perfect

(1) *Pococke* says these pillars are of white marble. (See *Description of the East*, vol. II. part II. p. 151. *Lond.* 1745.) It is very possible, that, under the circumstances of our seeing the buildings of *Salonica*, an error of this kind may have escaped our observation; but *Beaujour* has the same remark: "La nef du milieu est un beau vaisseau, soutenu par deux rangs de colonnes de vert antique," &c. *Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce*, tom. I. p. 43. *Paris*, 1800.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 45.

(3) *Ibid.*

state of preservation: now it can only be seen through its plaster covering:”—and he adds, that he “passed three years in *Salonica* without suspecting any thing of its real nature.”

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The next day (*December 30*) Mr. *Cripps* accompanied Mr. *Charnaud* upon a shooting excursion into the country, to provide game for our journey; the Consul being very partial to this amusement, and glad to meet with a companion as fond of it as himself. “We shall find plenty of game,” said he; “but you must promise to take away with you all the *hares* that we may kill: for the people of this country hold a dead hare in such detestation, that if I were to dress one for your dinner, I must take the skin off and roast it myself; and the consequence would be, that none of my servants would remain in the house where it was flayed, or come into the room where it was eaten.” This very antient superstition was before alluded to in this Work: it was connected with the worship of *Diana*, among the *Greeks*. But we find that, fifteen centuries before the *Christian æra*, the *Israelites* were taught to consider the *hare* as unclean; so that even to touch it was an abomination. “THE HARE, BECAUSE HE CHEWETH THE CUD, BUT DIVIDETH NOT THE HOOF, HE

Shooting  
Excursion.

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IS UNCLEAN UNTO YOU. . . . WHOSOEVER  
TOUCHETH THE CARCASE SHALL BE UNCLEAN<sup>1</sup>."

Triumphal  
Arch of  
AUGUSTUS.

The author employed nearly the whole of this day in seeking for other antiquities. The only objects that he observed in the city worth notice, besides what has been already described, were the two *triumphal arches* of AUGUSTUS and of CONSTANTINE. The first is called The Gate of the *Vardar*: and although less noticed than the other, it is a work far superior, in point of taste. It was raised after the battle of *Philippi*, in honour of *Octavius* and *Anthony*. For its dimensions the author is indebted to the accurate work of *Beaujour*; not being able to take more than a general view of it, owing to the state of *Salonica* at this time, although he went accompanied by the *Tchohodar* and a Janissary. Its height is eighteen *French* feet, the lower part of it being buried to the depth of twenty-seven more. The span of the arch is twelve feet. The vault within is sculptured, and the entablature is adorned with chaplets. When viewed externally, there are two *bas-reliefs*, one on each side, representing the two conquerors standing before a horse led by a boy. The masonry of the arch consists of square blocks of white marble, six feet thick;

(1) *Leviticus*, xi. 6. 24.

and upon one side there is an *inscription*, containing the names of all the magistrates then in office. The arch is on the *western* side of the town. It originally terminated a street that ran through the whole of the antient city from *east* to *west*. At the eastern extremity is the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, before what was called the *Gate of Cassander*; so that this superb street was terminated at either extremity by a triumphal arch. That of *Constantine* yet remains entire, as to every thing but its marble covering; which has been in great measure removed. Its original height was about sixty feet; but now, owing to the accumulation of the soil, it is not much more than forty. The span of the main arch is about thirty feet. Upon the south side is a *bas-relief*, representing the triumph of *Constantine*, who appears in the act of addressing his troops. *Pococke* believed this arch to be of the age of the *Antonines*. The brickwork about it is perhaps proof to the contrary; and of this the piers entirely consist. It was certainly a most costly and magnificent monument, whatever opinion may prevail as to the taste of the workmanship. There is no instance known of a *triumphal arch* that was more richly adorned with sculpture. It is quite marvellous to consider the labour that must have been

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XI.

Arch of  
CONSTAN-  
TINE.



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XI.

bestowed upon it, if we judge even from its present state. It consisted originally of three arches, built of brick, and cased with marble; and there were niches in the front between the arches, which of course were filled with statues. The piers all round were adorned with three compartments of *basso-relievos*, one above another, each *relief* being four feet two inches deep, divided by others that were twelve inches deep, covered with foliage and flowers. The author went twice to visit it; once upon this occasion, and afterwards upon leaving *Salonica*. It is situate in a very crowded part of the city, which made his stay dangerous, and would have rendered its examination at any time difficult; but he was convinced, from the view of it, that the work is not older than the time of *Constantine*. The sculpture is evidently that of a period when the arts were in their decline; and in some parts of it, inferior to what we often see in our country churches. But as to the objection, so particularly levelled against *Pococke*, who admired the work, of a want of perspective in the sculpture<sup>1</sup>, this is altogether nugatory; and with regard to the sweeping assertion, that *perspective* was strictly attended

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(1) *Tableau du Commerce, &c.* tom. I. p. 35. *Paris*, 1800.

to in the best ages of the art<sup>o</sup>, it is almost superfluous to add, that the finest works of antiquity afford decisive proofs to the contrary<sup>o</sup>.

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The other antiquities of *Salonica* consist of marble *Soroi*, found in different parts of the town, as cisterns, both in the courts of the houses, and in the streets. There is no place in *Turkey* where a greater number of false medals are offered for sale. The genuine coins of antiquity are, in general, too cheap, to admit of the possibility of their fraudulent imitation, for purposes of gain; but in *Salonica* the *Jews* have devised a wretched imitation of some of the *Grecian* coins, by means of casts in silver. In speaking of spurious coins, the traveller should, however, be upon his guard against considering as such, the large silver tetradrachms of *Thasos* and of *Heracléa Syntica*, sold frequently by the *Jews* of this city; which, with every appearance of being factitious—a rough surface and want of sharpness in the edges of the letters, as if cast in a mould of sand, are undoubtedly genuine. The quantity of such

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(2) " Dans les temps du bon goût, les figures étaient en perspective." Ibid.

(3) Witness the *alto-relievos* of the *Parthenon*, and the sculpture upon the *Tower of the Winds* at *ATHENS*, &c. &c.

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Mines of  
*Macedonia*.

medals, and the carelessness of their fabrication, was owing to the low price of silver at one period in *Macedonia*, in consequence of the abundance of its precious metals. Its enemies, in every period of history, seem to have entertained a greater dread of its *mines* than of the valour of its native troops. In the regulations for a new order of government made after the conquest of *Macedonia* by ÆMILIUS, the *Romans* allowed the inhabitants their freedom and the administration of their own laws, paying only half the tribute that they usually paid to their kings; but they were prohibited from working any mines of *gold* or of *silver*. The principal wealth of *Macedonia* consisted in its *mines*; of which it had many, of all kinds of metals, but particularly of *gold*. In *Pieria*, according to *Aristotle*, under its antient kings, large quantities of *gold* were found in the sand, in lumps of considerable magnitude<sup>1</sup>. The country between *Thessalonica* and *Stagira* was also famous for its *mines*; but by far the most celebrated were those in the mountain *Pangæus*, which PHILIP added to his dominions. It was

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(1) This fact is surely worthy of the attention of the *mineralogical* traveller. The *alluvium* of *PIERIA* has not changed its nature, in consequence of the lapse of time since the period to which *Aristotle* has alluded.

thence that the *Thasians* drew their enormous wealth. PHILIP derived annually from those mines a thousand talents of gold<sup>3</sup>. Having expelled the *Thasians*, and rebuilt the antient city of *Crenides*, he called it, after his own name, *Philippi*. Here he established regular assaying-houses, with skilful refiners; and made such advantage of the possession of the *Pangæan gold*, that he obtained the empire of all GREECE by means of the treasure he thence extracted. Yet, in this enlightened age—if under such circumstances any age may be said to possess this character—such is the blind policy, even of a *British Government*, that *mineralogy* is made a study of subordinate consideration; and it is regarded rather as a polite accomplishment, than as a source of national power<sup>4</sup>.

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*Salonica* is governed by a *Pasha*, who in his absence appoints a *Musulim*. Its population, according to the latest estimate that has been made, amounts to sixty thousand souls<sup>4</sup>. In

Population  
of Salo-  
nica;

(3) Vid. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xvi.

(3) See the valedictory appeal to the nation upon this subject, by the Bishop of *Llandaff*, in his last publication.

(4) *Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce*, p.58. *Paris*, 1800. We had received from Mr. *Charnaud* a different statement of its population; making it amount only to 53,000; in which number were supposed

to

CHAP. XI. this number are comprehended thirty thousand  
 Turks, sixteen thousand *Greeks*, twelve thousand  
*Jews*, and a mixed population of *Gipsies* and  
*Æthiopian slaves*, amounting to two thousand.  
 It is situate in 40°. 41'. 10' of north latitude,  
 and 20°. 28" of east longitude, reckoned from  
 the meridian of *Paris*<sup>1</sup>. The whole population  
 of *Macedonia* amounts to seven hundred thou-  
 sand individuals, which allows three hundred  
 and seventy persons for every square league<sup>2</sup>;  
 and that of all GREECE has been calculated as  
 equal to one million, nine hundred, and twenty  
 thousand. *Thessaly* contains three hundred  
 thousand; *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, and *Bœotia*, two hun-  
 dred thousand; and *Attica* only twenty thou-  
 sand. The inhabitants of the *Morea* amount to  
 three hundred thousand; and those of *Epirus* to  
 four hundred thousand. The most fertile dis-  
 tricts of *Greece* are, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and  
 the eastern parts of *Phocis* and *Bœotia*. The  
 agricultural productions of *Attica*, owing to the  
 lightness of its soil, are confined to barley and

and of all  
 GREECE.

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to be included, 15000 *Jews*, and 8000 *Greeks*; the rest being *Turks*. But  
 as *Beaujour* has since published a very accurate work, containing a  
 detailed account of the population of *Salonica*, and resided himself  
 upon the spot, we have not deemed it proper to differ from the account  
 he has given.

(1) *Ibid.* p. 21.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 22.

olives. The *Morea* is susceptible of every species of culture; and the mountainous region of *Epirus* is of all others the most barren<sup>3</sup>.

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The principal commerce of *Salonica*, for which its situation is so favourable, consists in exporting the *corn, cotton, wool, tobacco, bees-wax, and silk*, of all *Macedonia*<sup>4</sup>. This wealthy region,

Commerce  
of *Salonica*.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(4) It also carries on a considerable trade in *carpets*, and in a coarse kind of *cloth* used by the *Grand Signior* for clothing the *Janissaries*. It is said also to export *timber*, from the forests at the foot of *Mount Olympus*, near *Katarina*. The Manuscript Journal of Mr. *Walpole* contains the following statement on the subject of the *Commerce of Salonica*,

“ Mr. *Charnaud*, the English Consul, furnished me with the following information:

“ The *Beys of Salonica*, ten in number, are the monopolists of the corn. They sell annually such a quantity as brings into circulation the sum of 1,500,000 piastres.—300,000 kiloes of corn are annually exported from the plains of the *Vardar*, from *Cassandra*, and *Panomea*, near *Salonica*. Each kilo may be valued, including the bribe given to the *Beys* to allow the exportation, at five piastres.

“ 30,000 loads of cotton were annually sent from *Salonica*, by land, into *Germany*. Each load consists of 100 okes. This quantity, valued at one piastre and thirty paras the oke, including the duty at the custom-house, gives the sum of 5,250,000 piastres. The cotton comes from *Serres* (eighteen hours distant from *Salonica*) and the neighbouring plains. A quantity was exported annually by sea, valued at 3,000,000 piastres.

“ The exportation of tobacco made to *Alexandria*, on the average of different years, was 15,000 bales; the quantity exported to *Satalia* by *Albanian* and *Bosniac* supercargoes, who bring money to make

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XI.  
Plain of  
Macedonia.

only the half of which, however, is cultivated, has that *crater*-like form so often alluded to by the author as characteristic of the limestone formation; one side of the bason being broken, and open towards the sea. It extends therefore from *east* to *west*, in the form of a *horse's shoe*; having the maritime termination of Mount PANGÆUS, whereof the Isle of *Thasos* is a continuation towards the *east*, and that of OLYMPUS and OSSA towards the *west*. The *eastern* extremity of this vast *semicircle* is guarded by the citadel of *Cavallo*, and its *western* termination by *Platamónos* and the *Pass of Tempe*. Its *northern* boundary is the Mountain SCOMIUS, which is itself a branch of PANGÆUS. The chief part, therefore, of the exports of *Salonica* is produced in the rich territory embraced by the arms of this *semicircle*; and its *focus* may be found in the land of *Séres*, fifteen leagues to the north of *Salonica*; a plain watered by the river *Strymon*, which rises at the foot of *Scomius*, and falls into the *Sinus Strymonicus*, or Bay of *Amphipolis*, after a course of twenty leagues. Almost all the cotton exported from *Salonica* grows in that

Cotton.

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their purchases, was 3,000 bales: and the quantity exported every year to different parts of Europe was 20,000 bales. The annual sum in circulation for the first purchase, and other charges of this article, amounted to 1,661,519 Turkish piastres." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

plain: its cultivation employs the inhabitants of three hundred villages there situate. Tobacco, for which the soil of *Macedonia* is particularly favourable, flourishes to the *east* and *west* of the banks of the *Vardar*, particularly over all *Bottiaea*, the district of antient *Pella*, where *Jénigé*, pronounced *Yénigé*, is now situate, between the *Lydias* and *Axius*. But there are plantations of tobacco over all the country to the *north* of *Salonica*, and *eastward* as far as *Cavallo*; only that of *Yénigé* bears the highest price. It is even preferred before the famous tobacco of *Eatakia* in *Syria*, in consequence of its balsamic odour. The leaves of this kind of tobacco are very small: almost all of it is reserved for the use of the Grand Signior's seraglio: it is called *Yénigé Kara-sú*, and it sells as high as five or six piastres the *oke*<sup>1</sup>, whereas the price of other good tobacco does not exceed seventy *parts*. When it is mixed with the leaf of another kind of tobacco, growing also in the neighbourhood, and called *Ptisi*, it is said to exhale the fragrance of *violets*; and on this account it is highly esteemed in the *Turkish charems*<sup>2</sup>. With regard

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XI.

Tobacco.

(1) According to *Beaujour*, the *oke* of *Salonica* is equivalent to fifty ounces, which makes the average price of this tobacco (reckoning twelve ounces to the pound) rather less than two shillings per pound.

(2) *Tableau du Comm. de la Grèce*, tom. I. p. 91. Paris, 1800.



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Wool.

to the *wool* and *silk*, the best is brought to *Salonica* from *Thessaly*; the former as an article of exportation originating in no particular district. In a country where agriculture is so much neglected, a very considerable portion of it must necessarily be employed in pasture. The same may be said of other inconsiderable exports; as *honey, wax, opium, &c.* The imports of *Salonica* are principally from *England*: they consist of *cloth, muslin, tin, lead, iron, and hardware, watches, jewellery, glass, porcelain, furs, spices, sugar, and West-India coffee.* This last article is often sold in the *Levant* under the name of *Mocha coffee*, particularly at *Smyrna*, whence it has been sometimes shipped, and brought back to *England* under that name.

Imports of  
*Salonica.*

Government.

The government of *Salonica* is vested in the hands of a *Pasha* of *three tails*; excepting only that part of it which relates to the administration of civil justice; and this rests with a magistrate who is called a *Mollah*. Short as our abode was in this place, we yet saw enough of the society among the *Franks*, to regret that we could not prolong our stay, even in spite of the plague<sup>1</sup>. In the evening, Mr. *Charnaud* and Mr.

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(1) Above all, the pleasing society afforded by the families of Mr. *Charnaud* and Mr. *Abbott*, ought particularly to be mentioned.

Mr.

*Cripps* returned from their shooting excursion, bringing with them a plentiful stock of game. The quantity around *Salonica*, judging only from the description they gave of the day's sport, must be great indeed. It consists of *pheasants*; both *red* and *grey partridges*, the former being as large as pullets; *hares*, *woodcocks*, *snipes*, *wild-fowl*, *quails*, &c. All the *Frank* inhabitants are, consequently, sportsmen. The *Albanian* sportsmen practise the old method of shooting with a stalking-horse; that is to say, by carrying the picture of a horse or of a cow, behind which they conceal themselves, and thence take aim at their unsuspecting prey through a hole in the picture. Their method of killing *quails* is the same as that practised by the native inhabitants of the *Crimea*: they knock them down with sticks as soon as they rise, and are very dextrous in so doing. All sorts of provisions are

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Game  
found in  
the Envi-  
rons.

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Mr. *Flott*, who has since visited *Salonica*, says of it, in one of his letters to a friend setting out for *Greece*: "Here you will see the best and most pleasing of sights, — an honest, open-hearted *Englishman*, Mr. *Charnaud*, who will shake you manfully by the hand, and give you a hearty welcome. For the rest, *Salonica* is famous for *Jews*, *filth*, and *fecundity*. Every family, especially every *Consular* family, exhibits from six to ten children, mostly girls. Take care that some of them do not weaken your national prejudices for the *antient Greek*, and insensibly inspire you with a far greater admiration for the suavity of the *modern*."

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XI.

Prices of  
Provisions.

Malária.

cheap in the market of this city. A *turkey* costs only twenty-five *parás*; a *goose*, twenty. *Fowls* are so despised, that the poorest inhabitants will hardly eat them. The *bread* is excellent. In our Consul's house we had *caimack*<sup>1</sup> and fresh *butter*; the latter badly made: but this is the only place in all *Turkey* where we recollect having seen fresh *butter* at the meals of its inhabitants. The *Franks* keep good tables; but their large houses are better adapted to a long *Macedonian* summer than to the short period of their winter; being *airy*, in every sense of the word, and very cold. Their only fuel is wood; and this is very scarce. During summer, however, the merchants retire to other houses in the country. A terrible *malária* prevails in that season near the mouths of all the rivers, and by the borders of lakes, and in all the plains; especially where there are cotton-grounds<sup>2</sup>. In the summer months, the best plan for *Englishmen* in the *Levant* is to fix their residence as near as possible to the tops of the mountains; for their manner of diet and natural habits render them so peculiarly susceptible of the

(1) Coagulated cream. It is like the *clouted cream* of *Devonshire*.

(2) According to Mr. *Huwkins*, the *maldria* is at its height during the months of *August* and *September*: and owing to this circumstance, he was prevented visiting the country between *Salonica* and *Katrina*.

dangerous effects of bad air, that it has been said of them, "they suck it up, as a sponge absorbs water:" and this is so strictly true, that of all the *English* who have visited *Turkey*, hardly one has returned without bearing serious testimony to the fact.

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We shall not quit the subject of *Thessalonica* without adding a few words upon the figure made by the *Jews* of this city in the history of our religion: for as the *Greek Church* had the blessing and honour to be taught by the Apostles themselves, whatever may be the abject state of superstition into which it has since fallen, it were strange indeed if the inhabitants of our nation, indebted to *Christianity* for superior advantages of civilization and science, did not regard with some degree of interest the country whence *Greece* itself received the "things which belonged unto her peace." In some respects, *Thessalonica* is the same now it was then: a set of turbulent *Jews* constituted a very principal part of its population: and when *St. Paul* came hither from *Philippi*, where the Gospel was first preached, to communicate the "glad tidings" to the *Thessalonians*, the *Jews* were in sufficient number to "set all the city on an uproar." In

Antient  
and  
Modern  
*Jews*.

Comment  
upon *St.*  
*Paul*.

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the several jurisdictions afterwards established for the government of the Church, we find *Aristarchus* constituted, by that apostle himself, to preside at *Thessalonica*, and *Epaphroditus* at *Philippi*. This latter place, as it was the scene of his remarkable imprisonment<sup>1</sup>, is rendered peculiarly illustrious; but the whole of *Macedonia*, and, in particular, the route from *Berœa* (now pronounced *Veria*) to *Thessalonica* and *Philippi*, being so remarkably distinguished by his sufferings and adventures, becomes as a portion of *Holy Land*. In the Second Epistle which he sent from *Athens* to the busy commercial inhabitants of this city, we may gather, from his mode of arguing with them, something of their *Jewish* propensities and covetous disposition: and viewing what *Thessalonica* now is, it is impossible not to be struck with the force of this appeal: "We behaved not ourselves disorderly among you; NEITHER DID WE EAT ANY MAN'S BREAD FOR NOUGHT; but wrought

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(1) "Loosing from *Troas*, we came with a straight course to *Samo-thracia*, and the next day to *Neapolis*; and from thence to *Philippi*, which is the chief city of that part of *Macedonia*, and a colony." *Acts* xvi. 11. The author obtained, at *Amphipolis*, a bronze medal of *Philippi*, which will be afterwards represented: it had this legend, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ.

with labour and travel, night and day, THAT WE MIGHT NOT BE CHARGEABLE TO ANY OF YOU<sup>2</sup>.”

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The *major part* of the *Thessalonians* of the present day, that is to say, the *Jews*, are precisely the sort of men to be influenced by such a style of persuasion; and there is not one of them whose way of life does not afford a reasonable comment upon this passage of *St. Paul*. It was in the *Jewish synagogue*, both in *Thessalonica* and at *Beræa*, that the first promulgation of the Christian tenets was delivered to the inhabitants of those cities; therefore to visit the identical spot where *St. Paul* preached (which has always been an object of inquiry and curiosity among the Christians of *Salonica*), instead of repairing to the churches which were erected so long afterwards, attention should be directed towards the places of *Jewish worship*; especially as the rigid adherence of the *Jews* to all their antient customs, and to their old resorts for purposes of spiritual and temporal occupation, has ever been invariable<sup>3</sup>.

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(2) *Thess.* iii. 7, 8.

(3) *Dapper* says, that the *Jews* of *Salonica* have thirty-six great synagogues, without including in that number any of the smaller ones. *Voyage D'Écript. des Isles, &c. par Dapper*, p. 347. *Amst.* 1703.

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It was not in our power to prosecute any inquiry among the *Jews* of this place; owing, as we have already stated, to the infected condition of that part of the city. We had already encountered more risque than our worthy Consul deemed prudent: and we found it difficult to obtain, without extreme danger, the things from the *bazars* that were wanted for our journey. Our interpreter's clothes were quite worn out: and in order to provide him with apparel, it was absolutely necessary that some cloth should be procured. For this purpose we were at last compelled to rest satisfied with a coarse kind of manufacture of white woollen, worn by the *Albanian* shepherds, which was fumigated, and passed through water. With this mountain vest, as heavy and as thick as felt, and one of those *Pelasgic* bonnets upon his head, shaped like a *scalp*, which his ancestors the *Greeks* have worn ever since they were known as a people<sup>1</sup>, he came prepared to

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(1) See the very antient bas-relief engraved for this volume, (facing p. 186,) as found near *Orchomenus*; also the *scalp-like* cap worn by *Mercury*, as represented upon the silver medals of *Ænos*. Caps of this form now constitute one of the principal branches of *Grecian* commerce. They are worn by all the inhabitants of the *Levant*, whether *Moslems* or *Christians*, males or females. The *Greeks* wear this sort of cap simply as a hat; the *Turks* surround it with a turban; and the women adorn it with a handkerchief, tassels, and fringe. (See *Beaujour*, Tabl. du Comm.

accompany us upon the morrow, in a costume suited to the wild country we had yet to traverse.

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The last moments of this day were employed in taking once more a view of the superb scenery exhibited by the mountains OLYMPUS and Ossa. They appeared upon this occasion in more than usual splendour;—like one of those imaginary alpine regions suggested by viewing a boundary of clouds, when they terminate the horizon in a still evening, and are gathered into heaps, with many a towering top shining in fleecy whiteness<sup>2</sup>. The great *Olympian* chain, and a range of lower eminences to the north-west of *Olympus*, form a line which is exactly opposite to *Salonica*; and even the

Splendid  
Prospect  
of the  
*Olympian*  
Chain of  
Mountains.

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Comm. &c. tom. II. p. 117.) The portrait of *Manuel Palæologus*, engraved as a *Vignette* to Chap. I. Vol. III. of these Travels, Octavo Edit. represents him with one of these caps, as they were then worn by *Greek Emperors*.

(2) Persons who have never beheld a lofty chain of snow-clad mountains, like the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, may have a faithful conception of their appearance, by attending to the resemblance exhibited by *clouds* under such circumstances. As a proof how very much the two are like each other, it may be mentioned, that the author some years ago viewing the *Rhetian Alps* from the plains of *Suabia*, was so completely deceived, having mistaken them for a bank of clouds, that until he drew nearer to the defile at *Fuesen* he could not be persuaded that the white objects he saw towering in the horizon were mountains.



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chasm between *Olympus* and *Ossa*, constituting the *Defile of Tempe*, is hence visible. Directing the eye towards that chain, there is comprehended in one view the whole of *Pieria* and *Bottiaea*; and with the vivid impressions which remained after leaving the country, memory easily recalled into one mental picture the whole of GREECE; because it is portioned out by nature into parts of such magnitude, possessing, at the same time, so many striking features, that after they have ceased to appear before the sight, they remain present to the mind. Every reader may not duly comprehend what is meant by this; but every traveller, who has beheld the scenes to which allusion is made, will readily admit its truth: he will be aware, that whenever his thoughts were directed towards that country, the whole of it recurred to his imagination, as if he were actually indulged with a view of it. In such an imaginary flight, he enters, for example, the *Defile of Tempe* from *Pieria*; and as the gorge opens towards the south, he sees all the *Larissæan* Plain: this conducts him to the Plain of *Pharsalia*, whence he ascends the mountains south of *Pharsalus*; then, crossing the bleak and still more elevated region extending from those mountains towards *Lamia*, he views

*Mount Pindus* far before him, and, descending into the Plain of the *Sperchius*, passes the *Straits of Thermopylæ*. Afterwards, ascending *Mount Œta*, he beholds, opposite to him, the snowy point of *Lycorea*, with all the rest of *Parnassus*, and the towns and villages at its base; the whole Plain of *Elatæa* lying at his feet, with the course of the *Cephissus* to the sea. Passing to the summit of *Parnassus*, he looks down upon all the other mountains, plains, islands, and gulphs of *Greece*; but especially surveys the broad bosoms of *Cithæron*, of *Helicon*, of *Parnes*, and of *Hymettus*. Thence roaming into the depths and over all the heights of *Eubœa* and of *Peloponnesus*, he has their inmost recesses again submitted to his contemplation. Next, resting upon *Hymettus*, he examines, even in the minutest detail, the whole of *Attica*, to the *Sunian* Promontory; for he sees it all, and all the shores of *Argos*, of *Sicyon*, of *Corinth*, of *Megara*, of *Eleusis*, and of *Athens*. Thus, although not in all the freshness of its living colours, yet in all its grandeur, doth GREECE actually present itself to the mind's eye;—and may the impression never be obliterated! In the eve of bidding it farewell for ever, as the hope of visiting this delightful country constituted the earliest and the warmest wish of his youth, the

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Valedictory  
Retrospect of  
all *Greece*.

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author found it to be some alleviation of the regret excited by a consciousness of never returning, that he could thus summon to his recollection the scenes over which he had passed :

‘ΤΜΕΙΣ Δ’ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΙ ΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝ’ ΑΛΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ ΝΗΣΟΙ,  
 ‘ΤΑΤΑ Τ’ ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ, ΚΑΙ ‘ΙΕΡΑ ΧΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ,  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙ, ΚΡΗΝΑΙ ΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΡΕΑ ΒΗΣΣΗΝΤΑ.’

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(1) *Dionysii Perieg.* ver. 1181. p. 100. *Oxon* 1697.

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END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 19. line 17. "Probalinthus and CEnoa, cities of the TETRAPOLIS."—CEnoa has at length been recognised, according to Major Leake, in the vestiges of an antient Demos, in the valley above the Village of Marathon, called Inoë. See *Researches in Greece*, p. 420. Lond. 1814.

P. 71. at the bottom: "Sun-flower in the center."—The dimensions of the Soros are as follow:

|                                   | Feet. | Inches. |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------|
| Length of the Operculum - - - - - | 8     | 9       |
| Width - - - - -                   | 4     | 11      |
| Thickness - - - - -               | 1     | 4       |
| Depth of the Soros - - - - -      | 3     | 3       |

P. 75. l. 7. "Returning from this Chapel."—The parish where this chapel is situate is that of *Tabacides*; and it is here that the *Keff-kill* is dug, for the manufacture of pipes. Mr. *Hawkins* obtained specimens from the pits.

Same page, l. 8. "We were struck by the very artificial appearance" &c.]—This hill may perhaps be that of *ISMENIUS*, sacred to *APOLLO*. *Vid. Pausan. Bœot. cap. 10. p. 730. edit. Kuhnii.*

P. 99. at the bottom: "He bade his wife be brisk, and get a cake of bread ready, and bake it upon the hearth."—The

manners of the *Albanian* peasants are nearly those of the first ages. Thirty-seven centuries have elapsed since "ABRAHAM," as it is written of him, (*Genesis* xvii. 6.) "HASTENED INTO THE TENT UNTO SARAH, AND SAID, MAKE READY QUICKLY THREE MEASURES OF FINE MEAL, KNEAD IT, AND MAKE CAKES UPON THE HEARTH."

P. 132. l. 5. "*Higher up the mountain, at the distance of twenty stadia, &c. was the FOUNTAIN HIPPOCRENE.*" ]—*Strabo* mentions, besides the "*Hieron of the Muses,*" and the "*Hippocrene fountain,*" a natural cavern in *Helicon*, which future travellers may discover, called the "*Cave of the Nymphs Libethrides.*" Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ τό, τε τῶν Μουσῶν ἱερόν, καὶ ἡ Ἴππουκρήνη, καὶ τὸ τῶν Λειβηθρίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον. *Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 595. ed. Oxon.*

P. 136. l. 16. "*Highest mountain of Eubœa, bearing East and by North.*" ]—This mountain is now called *Delphos*.

P. 254. l. 4 from bottom: "*The wine from these vineyards is excellent.*" ]—Hence the original consecration of *PARNASSUS* to the *Sun*, and to *Bacchus*:

—"MONS PHŒBO, BROMIOQUE SACER."

*Lucano Pharsal. lib. v. ver. 73. p. 263. Lips. 1726.*

P. 307. l. 4. *The Tumulus itself is the POLYANDRIUM mentioned by Strabo.*" ]—Θάψαντες δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰργάσαντο κοινὸν Πολυάνδριον. *Ælian.* On the subject of the *POLYANDRIUM*, see *Gyraldus*, "*De vario Sepeliendi Ritu,*" tom. I. p. 748. (Not. 9.) *L. Bat. 1696.*

P. 436. Note (2). "*Funeral customs of the Macedonians.*" ]—The former, indeed, contains a valuable Dissertation of *John Baptista Crophius* upon the "*Antiquities of Macedonia;*" wherein there is a *Chapter* entitled "*MORBI AC FUNERA REGUM,*"

REGUM," at the end of the *First Book*; but this is principally taken up with an inquiry whether they *burned* or *buried* their dead. (Vide *Dissertationem J. B. Crophii de Antiq. Macedon. lib. i. cap. 27. apud Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiq. vol. VI. p. 2893. L. Bat. 1699.*) Concerning the *Sepulchre* itself, its *form*, and the *manner of the interment*, we have little information. Of this dissertation by *Crophius* it must however be remarked, that it is among the most curious articles in the whole *Thesaurus* of *Gronovius*. In the fifteenth century, *Gyraldus* of *Ferrara* published a dissertation, replete with erudition, "*De Sepulturâ, et vario Sepeliendi Ritu;*" which, however, is rendered of tenfold value, by the learned Commentary of *John Faes*, as edited by *Jensius*, in the complete edition of the works of *Gyraldus*, tom. II. *L. Bat. 1696.* See tom. I. p. 685. But this learned dissertation relating to the *Funeral Rites* of the *Greeks, Romans, Hetrurians, Ægyptians, and Jews*, takes no notice of the *sepulchres* of the **MACEDONIANS**.

P. 457. l. 4 from bottom: "*The Israelites were taught to consider the Hare as unclean.*"—CÆSAR, speaking of the *Antient Britons*, (sec. 10. lib. 4.) says, "*Leporem et gallinam et anserem, gustare, fas non putant: hæc tantum alunt, animi voluptatisque causâ.*"













