

C 3218.44

Harvard College
Library



FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JOHN HARVEY TREAT
OF LAWRENCE, MASS.
CLASS OF 1862

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE EAST ASIAN LIBRARY
540 EAST 57TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
TEL. 773-936-3200

D. Appleton and Co. have recently published,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

THROUGH

ARMENIA, KURDISTAN,

PERSIA, AND MESOPOTAMIA.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS

UPON

THE CONDITION OF MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL PLATES AND A MAP.

PRICE \$2.25.

“An exceedingly interesting book of travels, which no reader will be very likely to lay by *for good* till he has seen the end of it. It contains a vast amount of information, religious and general, and is written in a style of perfect ease and simplicity. It deserves, and we doubt not will gain, an extensive circulation.”—*Albany Advertiser.*

63

M. J. P. and Co. have recently published,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

IN

ARMENIA, RUSSIA,

INDIA, AND NEPOTARIA.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS

BY

THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY AND CHRISTIANITY

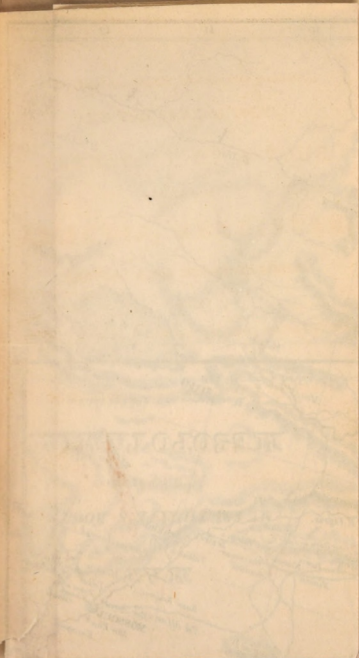
IN THESE COUNTRIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL PLATES AND A MAP.

THREE VOLS.

An exceedingly interesting book of travels, which no
traveller will be very likely to lay by the road till he has seen
the end of it. It contains a vast amount of information,
religious and general, and is written in a style of polished
ease and simplicity. It describes and we think not only
an extensive territory.—A. J. P.



244
244



NARRATIVE

OF A

VISIT TO THE SYRIAN [JACOBITE] CHURCH
OF MESOPOTAMIA;

WITH STATEMENTS AND REFLECTIONS

UPON THE PRESENT

STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN TURKEY,

AND

THE CHARACTER AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

EASTERN CHURCHES.

BY THE

REV. HORATIO SOUTHGATE, M. A.

no
NEW-YORK:

D. APPLETON & CO., 200 BROADWAY.

PHILADELPHIA:

GEO. S. APPLETON, 148 CHESNUT-STREET.

MDCCLXXIV.

C 3218.44
~~III 4972~~

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



John Harvey Treat.

ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1844, by
D. APPLETON & CO.,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District
of New-York.

J. F. TROW & CO., PRINTERS,
33 Ann-street, New-York.

P R E F A C E .

THIS little book is introductory to a series which the author has long had in contemplation, and which, if sufficient encouragement is given to the undertaking, will in due time appear, according as the pressure of other cares may allow him to finish them. Their sole object and design is to set forth the Eastern Churches in their real character, to show their wants, their condition and their prospects, with a view to engaging a deeper interest and sympathy in their behalf. He addresses himself to Churchmen, for they alone will fully appreciate the considerations which he has to present. To them, and to them only does he believe the work of restoring and strengthening those Churches to be committed, and they alone are able to perform it.

As a specimen of the character of the works which he has thus undertaken, and to supply information on a point upon which some will expect to meet with it in this volume, the following is subjoined from a treatise on the Doctrines, Ministry, Worship, Ritual, Usages and Religious Condition of the Syrian Church,—which is partly ready for the press.

After speaking of the Worship of the Syrian Church, the work proceeds:

We pass now from the outer shell of the externals of religion to speak of its kernel; from the forms of public worship we turn to doctrine. And here the first object which attracts attention is the difference by which the Syrians are separated from the great body of the Christian Church, which has made them a distinct people for more than a thousand years. I allude to their doctrine concerning the nature of Christ. What they are in common reputation is evident from the names they bear. They are most commonly called *Jacobites*¹ or *Jacobite Syrians*, from

1) This term is sometimes applied by Western writers to the whole body of the Monophysites, including the Armenians, Copts and Abyssinians as well as the Syrians.

Jacobus Baradaeus, who, in the sixth century, revived their declining Church, and with almost incredible zeal and success spread it throughout the regions of Syria and Mesopotamia. Sometimes they are called *Eutycheans*, from Eutyches, the principal founder and propagator of the Monophysite doctrine, who was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. Sometimes they are called *Monophysites*; and sometimes, distinctively, *Syrian Monophysites*. All these terms are intended to imply that they hold the doctrine of one nature in Christ. Our present business is to define their exact position. The subject is one of great importance, inasmuch as it is the principal thing which separates them from other branches of the Church of Christ.

First, then, they are not properly called *Eutycheans*, both because they do not hold the doctrine of Eutyches, and because they condemn and anathematize the heretic himself. Not only do they positively declare this in all their conversations, but every Bishop, at his consecration, pronounces a form of anathema upon Eutyches.

Secondly, the term Jacobite (*Yacoubi*) is, indeed, common among themselves, although it is disliked by their most learned men, who regard their Church as the ancient Church of Antioch. Their Patriarch styles himself the successor of St. Peter, in that see, and calls the Greek Bishop who claims it, a *Metropolitan*. The Greek Papal Patriarch, the head of those who have seceded from the Greek Church in Syria, also lays claim to the same title, so that there are no less than three prelates who style themselves *Patriarch of Antioch*. The question, however, properly lies between the Greek and the Syrian, as they alone can claim in the right of succession from St. Peter. The papal pretender has no other title than that he has been recognized, and, indeed, created, by the Patriarch of Rome, called the Pope. Not only is he unable to show a succession extending beyond a few generations, but the act by which he is created, is a palpable usurpation on the part of the Patriarch of Rome and in direct violation of ancient Canons.¹ The Greek and Syrian Patriarchs, however, claim in due and regular succession from the Apostles. The Syrians, therefore, discard the name of *Jacobites*, as not properly applicable to their Church, although in common conversation the laity frequently use it. They acknowledge Jacobus Baradaeus (Yacoub Bardani) as the reviver and strengthener of their Church, but not as its founder. They do not esteem him a saint above other holy men of old,

1) See the fourth and sixth Canons of the First Council of Nice, A. D. 325; the second of the First Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381; the eighth of Ephesus; the first of Chalcedon confirming the Canons of preceding Councils. Several other Canons of the same Councils bear upon the subject.

nor have they any day set apart in honor of his memory. The Patriarch once rebuked me for calling his people *Jacobites*, and said it was a term given to them by their enemies. I have often heard it, however, among the laity, especially as used to distinguish themselves from the seceding party, and the firmans and other documents issued by Government generally, not always, contain it.¹ The Latins do their utmost to fix it upon them, while *they* call the seceding party *Syrian Catholics*. Both terms seem to me unjust, the first because they themselves discard it, and because there seems to be no more propriety in calling them from the name of *Jacobus Baradaeus*, than there would be in calling ourselves *Parkerites*; the second because the Catholicity of the seceders consists primarily in their acknowledgment of Papal supremacy. In these pages I call the first *Syrians*, which is the name (*Syriani*) by which they are commonly known in the East. The seceders I call *Syrian Papists*, or *Papal Syrians*, not from the desire to convey any reproach thereby, but because it indicates most precisely the leading difference between them and the Church from which they have seceded. A Roman Catholic writer says, that the Eastern Christians recognize in this the only difference between themselves and the Church of Rome. "As for you [Roman] Catholics, they [the Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites,] used to say to us, 'only one question divides us—obedience to the same chief. Prove to us the necessity of this and a reunion will be effected.'"² Nothing could more clearly show the nature of Roman Catholic operations among the Eastern Churches, and well might the people understand that that was the only difference which is the only difference insisted upon. There is no other term than *Papist*, then, which gives an exact idea of an Eastern Christian who has seceded from his own Church to that of Rome. I adopt it, therefore, simply as the most appropriate.

Thirdly, as to the term *Monophysites*, it seems to me clearly that the justice of it must depend upon the real belief of the Syrians. Monophy-

1) This, however, has been brought about by the Latins in their controversies with the Syrians, before the Porte.

2) *Correspondance et Memoires d'un Voyageur en Orient. Par Eugene Boré*, I. 343. —It does not appear from the author's pages that he ever questioned the truth of this remark, or gave these Christians to understand that it was further necessary, in order to become "Catholics," that they should recognize the Councils which they reject, and receive the faith of the Universal Church. And this is in exact accordance with the teachings of Latin emissaries wherever, throughout the Turkish Empire, the present writer has witnessed any thing of their operations. The question of Papal supremacy is every where thrust forward and made all in all, and the Eastern Christians universally understand by the word *Catoleek* simply and solely *one who acknowledges the Pope*. Such, however, we must call *Papists*.

sitism is the name universally appropriated to the doctrine of Eutyches, which the Syrians do not hold ; in this sense, therefore, they are not Monophysites, and I think it must create both confusion and needless prejudice to call them so.

We proceed now to show what their real doctrine is. And,

1. They do *not* hold the doctrine of the absorption of the human into the divine nature, in Christ. This was the heresy of Eutyches which was condemned by the Fourth General Council. The Syrians reject this doctrine altogether, not only in their words, but in their standards, and every Bishop, at his consecration, is required to denounce and anathematize it.

2. They do *not* hold to the mingling or confusion of the two natures in Christ, but discard the doctrine and speak most strongly and unequivocally against it, as do also their ancient writers, Bar Hebraeus for example. Thus I have frequently heard them use such comparisons as these—that the two natures are not mingled, as we say that wine and water are mingled ; nor does the one pervade the other, as we say that leaven diffuses itself through the lump.

3. To speak affirmatively, they distinctly and clearly hold that there are two natures in Christ, the divine and the human, and that these two natures are in the incarnation brought together in one, not mingled, nor confounded, but united. But,

4. They say that the result of this union is most properly described as *one nature*. Up to this point they seem to agree with us, but here, in words at least, they differ. They do not, however, deny the truth of our own doctrine—that the two are united in *one person*—but admit it. Yet they say, this is not enough, for it does not sufficiently express a real and indivisible union. To the whole of our second Article those to whom I have shown it, cordially agree, but they think it stops short of the full expression, and that it would more exactly describe their own doctrine if the word *nature* were substituted for, or added to, the word *person*. Thus they say that “the two whole and perfect natures were joined together in *one nature*” as well as in *one person*. What now do they mean by this ?

5. And here I will say that I have never been able to discover the slightest difference between their meaning of the word *nature*, when used to express the result of the union of the two natures in Christ, and our meaning of the word *person*, when so used. I will not positively affirm that there is no difference, (for this is a subject on which I feel extremely diffident of my own judgment,) but I do say that I cannot comprehend the difference, if it exists. After discussions almost innumerable with their Patriarch, Bishops and other clergy, (for it is a matter to

which they frequently recur,) it does seem to me that what they wish to assert by the oneness of *nature* in Christ, is precisely what we assert by the oneness of *person*. Why, then, do they use a different term? Because they imagine that the word *person* implies only an outward presence, as used by us, while the words *one nature*, with them, imply an inward and real union, by which the one Christ is spoken of as a single individual, from whom, as from one, all his words and actions proceed. Thus they say, (to illustrate this union,) it was the same Christ who performed miracles, and who ate and drank,—in both actions the same individual Christ. Yet they acknowledge that some actions belong to him as divine, others belong to him as human. For example, they assert, it was Christ in his humanity who suffered upon the Cross; but to guard, again, against the notion of a separation of natures, they add, the Christ who suffered upon the Cross was divine, for he forgave the penitent thief and promised him Paradise, and the Scriptures also say that God gave his *only begotten Son* to die for us. They say, moreover, that *generally* the actions of Christ are to be affirmed of him as one,—one by the indivisible union of the two natures. Thus they use illustrations like these, which I have recorded from their own lips: It was Christ who asked where Lazarus lay; it was also Christ who raised him from the dead. It was Christ who was sleeping in the storm; it was also Christ who calmed its rage. In each case appear by different acts his humanity and his divinity. He inquired and he slept as man; he raised the dead and allayed the tempest as God; for this he did, not as an instrument, like the Apostles, but in his own power. Yet both the one and the other belong to the single individual Christ. They condemn Eutyches for confounding these two natures, and Nestorius for separating them, and they refer to the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, especially his *Twelve Letters against Nestorius*, as giving a true exposition of their doctrine.

They think that their mode of stating the union of the two natures is necessary, in order to guard against the doctrine of their existing distinctly in the same person, or under the same outward presence, for so they declare they understand the word *person* as here used. They supposed our doctrine, or rather the Latin, for of us they had known nothing, to be nearly the same with that of Nestorius, viz., that the two natures act separately and independently of each other, as in two individuals. They were, therefore, agreeably surprised with the definition of our second Article, which declares that "the two natures were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ;" only they thought that the word *person* (اقنوم), as used by the Latins, denoted alone the

outward and visible appearance, and that to say merely that the two natures are in one *person*, meant only that they coexist under one outward presence. The statement, therefore, of our Article, that they are *joined together*, and *never to be divided*, and that of this union is *one Christ*, seemed to present to them a new view of the Western faith, as recognizing, *under the outward presence*, the very union of natures which they wish to affirm by calling the result *nature* instead of *person*. They seemed never to have looked upon the one person of the Western Creed as the result of the union of the two natures, but only as the external form which inclosed or contained them. In other words, they were not aware of our asserting an actual joining together of the two natures, but only of their coexistence under one presence. Nor were they at first willing to take this view of the Western Creed, when I pressed it upon them, for it led at once to the conclusion that they had been separated from the great body of the Christian Church for so many centuries causelessly. On the contrary they at first endeavored to show that there must be a difference, as this alone would justify their separation, but finally in every instance they came to the conclusion, that if there was any, it was too subtil to be apprehended. Thus, I was once called upon to act as arbitrator between a Syrian Papal Bishop and two Syrian Bishops, who met for a discussion of this subject—the nature of Christ. The conference continued for three successive days, and at the conclusion the two Syrian Bishops unanimously declared that they saw no real difference between the Syrian and Western belief—that it was a mere logomachy—and that they were ready to assent to and affirm the Western tenet as their own, and to enter into intercommunion, so far as this was concerned, with the Western Church. No other difficulty, they thought, remained with regard to the Church of England and our own; but as for the Latin, they could not acknowledge the Supremacy of the Pope. This is only one case out of perhaps fifty which I have been acquainted with, all which seemed to reach the same conclusion. I say, then, that there is great reason to believe that the Syrians do not in reality differ from us on the nature of Christ; and I may add, that the voice of history, to any one who will carefully consider the circumstances attending the separation in Syria subsequent to the Fourth General Council, must, I think, speak the same language. [Upon the historical argument, however, I cannot here enter.]¹ But,

6. The Syrian Church rejects and condemns the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and also Leo, the Bishop of Rome, whose Epistle was approved by the Council. Every Syrian Bishop, at his consecration, is

1) This argument is given in the work from which the present extract is taken.

required to anathematize both him and the Council. They also defend Dioscorus, who was condemned by the Council, but not Eutyches, as I have said, nor his heresy. These they reject as strongly and clearly as the Council itself. Why, then, do they not receive the Council nor its Decrees? The reason, they say, is because it acted unjustly and violently towards Dioscorus, who, they affirm, did not hold the heresy of Eutyches; and they condemn Leo because, as they say, he was the principal instigator of the proceeding against Dioscorus. Yet they do not pretend to defend Dioscorus in his violent and intemperate proceedings at the Pseudo-Council of Ephesus, A. D. 449. They do not approve of that Council nor the object of Dioscorus in obtaining it, which was to effect a reversal of the sentence against Eutyches, passed by the Council convened in Constantinople the preceding year. They do not agree with Dioscorus in his defence of Eutyches, but they affirm that he did not hold the same doctrine with Eutyches, and that the action of the Council of Chalcedon against him was excessively severe and unjust, since not for clear heresy, but for a mere act of imprudence, which *they* also acknowledge him to have been guilty of, he was condemned and deposed by a General Council.

The Syrian rejection of the Council, therefore, does not imply a dereliction from the faith, but rather (may we not hope?) a mere dissatisfaction with the Synod for certain alleged improprieties in its action, while they agree with the Synod in the main object of its proceedings and in the main action itself, which was the condemnation of Eutyches. The Syrian Bishops before referred to, entirely approved the declaration of faith put forth by the Council, and were willing, after reading it, (they had never seen it or heard of it before,) to declare their assent to it, and also to recognize the Council, with a single salvo concerning the treatment of Dioscorus. The Syrians, I may add, receive, without any exception, the first three General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and the several minor Councils approved by the Council of Chalcedon. They have also, and use daily, the Nicene Creed, and acknowledge the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. What more can we ask?

But I must conclude. On such a subject as this my every feeling prompts me to speak with diffidence and caution. I have no wish for hurried or forced amalgamations. I have no desire to depart one step from the position—the truly Catholic position—which our Church maintains. But is there nothing in all this to inspire hope? May we not with brighter confidence look forward to the day when strifes shall be healed, and when the mystical Body of our Blessed Saviour, now rent,

distracted, torn, shall be again united in all its parts, and growing up into Him in all things, shall make its increase to the edifying of itself in love ?¹ Come, oh come, that glorious day, when animosities shall cease and faith shall revive, when the love of many that has waxed cold shall burn again, and truth, pure as she came from the Apostles' hands, shall unite us once more in the "Apostles' doctrine and fellowship."² Amen and Amen.

1) Eph. iv. 15, 16.

2) Acts. ii. 42.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Passage to Trebizond.—Credentials.—Unity of the Church.—Translations of the Prayer Book.—Their Utility.—Increase of Steam Navigation.—Its Moral Consequences.—The Conservative Influence of Mohammedanism on Christianity.—Increase of Infidelity.—Our Duty.—Trebizond.—Bouyouroutous.—Ecclesiastics.—Turkish Reform.—Mohammedan Bigotry.—The Greeks.—Relations of the Clergy to Improvement.—Their proper Position.—Greek and Roman Churches Compared.—Means of a peaceful Reformation,	13

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Trebizond.—Greek Bishop.—Timidity of the Clergy.—Monastery of St. Mary.—Monasteries in Turkey.—Their State.—Decline of Monasticism.—Character of the Monks.—Religious Retreats.—Mountain Scenery.—Parting from the Bishop.—Local Associations.—The Ancient Population.—Remnants of Christianity.—Mussulman Descendants from Christians.—Languages.—Natural Bridge.—Mountain Passage.—Company at a Khan.—Gumush Khaneh.—Its Christians.—Posting.—Routes.—Change of Route,	26
---	----

CHAPTER III.

The Road.—The Osmanlees and the Turks.—Sunset Scene.—The Ayan's Palace.—Reception.—Lesson on Hospitality.—Repose in a Village.—Kara Hissar.—Its Ancient Citadel.—Preparations for a Journey.—The Plain of Ashkar.—Ancient Remains.—The Greek Population of the Interior.—Face of the Country.—The Day's Stage.—The Armenians.—Their Dispersion.—National Character.—Their Church.—Its Changes.—Its present State.—Its Necessities,	37
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

	PAGE
The Ayan of Edrenes.—The Church of Edrenes.—Churches in Turkey.—Contrast with Mosqu —Armenian Churches described.—Altars.—The Font.—Women's Place.—Paintings.—The design of Pictures in Eastern Churches.—The Greek.—The Armenian.—Origin of Picture Worship in them.—Present State.—Their Testimony upon the Subject.—The Greek.—The Armenian.—The Syrian.—The Nestorian.—Bearing of the Testimony upon the subject of Picture Worship.—Importance of studying the Eastern Churches for the sake of their Testimony.—The Steadfastness of the Eastern Christians in maintaining their Confession of Christianity.—The Cause.—Their low Estimate of it practically.—Our Duty to them,	47

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Edrenes.—Armenian Monastery.—The Road.—Kurdish Tents.—The Occupants.—Kurdish Chief.—His Reception.—His Life.—Presents in the East.—Eastern Character.—Famine.—Espionage.—Emigrants.—Turkish Policy.—The Road.—Dangers.—How to be met,	59
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

Conflict with the Post-Master at Sivas.—Departure from Sivas.—Escape of the Guide.—The Escort.—Day's March over an infested District.—Hassan Tchelebi.—The Kizzelbashas.—Travelling by Night.—Reflections.—The Euphrates.—Evils resulting from Changes of Rulers.—Kharpout.—First Sight of the Syrians.—Armenian Monasteries.—Syrian Bishop.—The Syrian Population of Kharpout,	71
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

The Village of Merizah.—Population of Syrians —Change of Climate.—Day of Preparation.—Kharpout.—The Town.—Churches.—Fortress.—The Syrian Church of Kharpout.—The Court.—The Interior.—Pictures.—Miracles.—The Altar.—The Bishop's Chair.—The Font.—The Books.—Origin of the Church.—Its History.—The Priest.—Journey resumed.—Place of Pilgrimage.—Fish.—Incident with a Christian.—Argana Maden.—Passage of the Taurus.—Famine.—Dangers.—Preparations.—New Companion.—The Tatar.—The Monastery.—Report concerning it.—Death Abroad,	82
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

	PAGE
Departure from Argana.—Our Company.—The Desert by Night.—Meeting with Kurds.—Hostile Preparations.—The Event.—Repose on the Grass.—Famine.—First Impressions.—Scenes from the Famine.—Causes of it.—A Feast.—Hard Drinking.—Hardness of Heart.—Outrage upon the Christians.—Mussulman Bigotry.—Justice in Turkey,	93

CHAPTER IX.

Respect for Franks.—Interposition in behalf of Eastern Christians.—Greek Hospitality.—Visits from Ecclesiastics.—Relations of the Native Papal Christians with Rome.—Meeting with an old Friend.—False Reports and true Reports.—Our Company.—Kurdish Village.—Escort.—Kurdish Bey.—Polite Robbery.—A useful Lesson.—Loose Friends.—Delays.—Present State of Mardin.—Decay.—Reaction of Reform,	105
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

Preparation for the Desert.—A sad Tale.—Arab Village.—Scene at Evening.—Our Company.—The Desert at Night.—Nisibin, site of ancient Nisibis.—Its present State.—Guard.—Route over the Desert.—The Orphan.—Moral Effects of the Famine.—Indifference of the Governors.—Journey by Night.—Depredations on the Villagers.—Search for Water.—Salt Lake.—The Heat,	116
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

Encampment at Night.—Boar Chase.—Repast.—Night March.—Search for Water.—The Sinjar Mountains.—Conflagration.—Sudden Departure.—The Gazelle.—Robber's Watch Height.—Camel caught.—Road lost.—Peasants.—Their Timidity.—Its Cause.—Abou Maria.—Retrospect.—Last Day.—Reception in a Sheikh's Tent.—Reach the Tigris.—A Nap.—The City,	125
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

The English Church at Mossoul.—State of the Christians.—Divisions.—State of Learning.—The Nestorian and Chaldean Churches.—History of their Separation.—Subjection of the latter to the Pope.—The Nature of Romish Innovations,	135
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

	PAGE
The Tomb of Daniel.—The Population of Mossoul.—Syrian Villages near Mossoul.—Localities of the Syrian Population.—Reflections on my Work.—Opposition of Papists.—Their Treatment of us.—Need of a distinctive Presentation of the Church.—Departure from Mossoul.—Self-Denial in the Missionary Work.—The Pasha of Mossoul.—His Expedition against the Arabs.—Preparation for the Journey.—The Plain of Nineveh.—The Tomb of the Prophet.—The Fast of Nineveh in the Nestorian and Chaldean Churches.—Telkef.—Monasteries of Raban Hormisd and St. Matthew.—El Kosh, Birthplace of Nahum, the Prophet.—Comparison of Christians and Mohammedans.—Yezidees.—Arab Village.—Arrival at Zakho,	147

CHAPTER XIV.

Zakho.—Its District.—Taxes.—Evils of the Farming System.—Call from the Agha.—A young Syrian.—Bankers.—Presents.—Guard.—Provincial Quarrels.—Bridge over the Khabour.—Fording a River by Night.—Chaldean Village.—Reception at Night.—Sleeping on Roofs.—Hadid.—Bitouna.—The Province of Jezireh.—Its Government compared with that of Mossoul.—Harvest.—Chaldean and Nestorian Villages.—Town of Jezireh.—Reshid Pasha and his Wars.—Attack on Jezireh.—Crossing the Tigris on a Raft.—A Chaldean Host and Hostess.—Description of Jezireh.—Chaldean Bishop.—Chaldean and Nestorian Population of the Province.—Nestorian Bishop.—Syrian Bishop.—Papal Proselytism,	162
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Troubles in the Tour Dagh.—Change of Route.—The Churches of Jezireh.—The Chaldean Church.—Conversation with the Priest.—His Idea of the English Church.—Romish Falsehoods.—The Church.—Its Interior.—Quarrel in the Church-yard.—The Syrian Church.—Its School.—On the Mode of Circulating the Holy Scriptures.—Evening Prayers.—Talk in the Evening on Oppression and Proselytism.—Departure from Jezireh.—Death of a Missionary in the Desert.—Kargo.—Haznaour.—The Syrians of the Desert.—The Bigamist.—His Excommunication.—Tediousness of Travelling over a Desert.—The Church of St. James at Nisibis.—Dara.—Its Ancient State.—Survey of its Ruins.—Its Inhabitants.	
---	--

	PAGE
—Road to Kherin.—Ancient Tombs.—Reception at Kherin.— The Value of Selfish Friendship.—Departure.—Sight of Der Za- fran.—Its Position.—Arrival at its Gate,	174

CHAPTER XVI.

Reception at Der Zafran.—Interview with the Patriarch.—Bishop Matthew.—Second Interview.—Abyssinian Monk.—Syrian Mon- asteries.—Schools.—Hours of Prayers.—Fasts.—Clerical Celibacy. —Sunday Service.—Picture Worship.—Compline.—Vespers,	194
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Visit to Mardin.—The Road.—Church of Mar Behnam.—Altars.— Baptistry.—Churches of Mar Shimon and Mar Michael.—Legend of Mar Michael.—Mar Behnam, his Conversion and Fate.— Population of Mardin.—The Governor.—Dialogue on Fasting.— Conversation on the Procession of the Holy Ghost.—The Syrian Patriarchs.—Their Number.—“Church Annals.”—Passages from them.—Topics of Conversation at the Monastery.—Misrepre- sentations of the Western Reformed Churches.—Their Source.— Character and Object of Romish Efforts among the Eastern Church- es.—Our Position with relation to them.—The Church of Eng- land.—How misunderstood.—Confounded with Errors which she rejects.—Her Proper Mission.—The Library of Der Zafran.—The Chapel of St. Peter.—Altar Stone from an Ancient Church at Antioch.—The Bell.—Conversations on the Nature of Christ.— Visitors.—Character of Discussions at the Monastery.—Our true Position.—Differences.—Our Duty,	214
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Leaving.—Change of Route.—Farewell to the Patriarch.—Ride to Mardin.—Illness.—Letters.—Popish Intrigues.—Continued Ill- ness.—Transfer of Jezireh to the Pashalic of Mossoul.—Romish Arguments.—Syrian Generosity.—Intrigue Defeated.—New Ser- vant.—Fever and Ague.—Mussulmans at Church.—The Cross, how regarded by Mohammedans.—Use of the Sign of it among the Christians,	232
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

	PAGE
First day's Journey.—Visit to the Patriarch Elect.—Regulations concerning the building of Churches in Turkey.—English Churches.—The Patriarch Elect.—Pigeon Houses.—Diarbekir.—The Church of St. Mary.—Visitors.—Fever and Ague on Horseback.—Sleeping in the Field.—A Kind Mussulman.—Trouble at the Ferry.—A hospitable Kizzilbash.—Visions of Home.—Warren Hastings.—C. J. Rich.—Sivas,	243

CHAPTER XX.

Leave Sivas.—Armenian Monastery.—Entrance to Tocat.—Trouble with a Post-master.—Expense of Travelling in Turkey.—Henry Martyn.—His Grave.—Mussulmans of Tocat.—The Mosques and Medressehs.—Mecca.—The Armenians of Tocat.—Their Church.—Other Christians.—The Jews.—Serious-minded Christians.—Evil of the Church Services being unintelligible.—Objections to translations for Public Use.—Turkish Honesty.—Effects of Disease.—Leave Tocat.—Guard-House,	255
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

Amasieh.—Incident at a Mosque.—Medresseh.—Mosque of Bayazid.—Mussulman School.—The Christians.—Population of the Oriental Christians.—Leave Amasieh.—Ladik.—Singular Sights.—How to act in Doubts.—Interposition of Providence.—Last Stage.—Arrival at Samsoun.—Steamer.—Kindness of new Friends.—Constantinople.—Quarantine.—Obligations to Dr. John Davy.—Narrow Escape.—The End,	265
---	-----

NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

Passage to Trebizond.—Credentials.—Unity of the Church.—Translations of the Prayer Book.—Their Utility.—Increase of Steam Navigation.—Its Moral Consequences.—The Conservative Influence of Mohammedanism on Christianity.—Increase of Infidelity.—Our Duty.—Trebizond.—Bouyouroultous.—Ecclesiastics.—Turkish Reform.—Mohammedan Bigotry.—The Greeks.—Relations of the Clergy to Improvement.—Their proper Position.—Greek and Roman Churches Compared.—Means of a peaceful Reformation.

I LEFT Constantinople on the 7th of May, 1841, in the Austrian steamer Metternich, Capt. Clicien. On account of delay in visiting a steamer which had run upon the rocks near Amastra, a small town on the shore, we did not reach Sinope till the 9th. On the evening of the same day we touched at Samsoun, and arrived at Trebizond on the 10th.

I had supplied myself with proper translations of the credentials which I had received from my own Diocesan, the Right Reverend Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New-York, and from the Presiding Bishop, the Right Reverend Alexander V. Griswold, D. D. By the first I was commended to the Bishops and clergy of the countries in which I was to travel, and by the second was faithfully instructed

as to the rules and principles which should govern me in my intercourse with the Eastern Christians. "In the intercourse or correspondence which may be allowed you with the Bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities, be careful to state explicitly what are our views," &c., "that we would scrupulously avoid all offensive intrusion within the jurisdiction of our Episcopal brethren, nor would we intermeddle in their Church affairs. Our great desire is to commence and to promote a friendly intercourse between the two branches [Eastern and Western] of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church; to impart to our brethren in that country any knowledge of the Scriptures and of the doctrines of Christ, which, through the Lord's goodness, we may have obtained, and gladly to receive any such light from them. We would unite hand in hand with them, in the great and noble work of extending the Redeemer's Kingdom, and saving the souls of men."

Thus wrote the venerable Presiding Bishop, now gone to his rest. May his words of wisdom sink deep into our hearts, and be as a light and beacon to our path! The reader will see, as we advance, that my constant aim has been to act in the spirit of this paternal counsel, which my own humble experience has taught me to be the words of truth and soberness.

Hardly less animating was the language of another, now holding high office in the Church,¹ with which he cheered the hour of my departure from my native land. "But who realizes this truth [of the Church's unity] in its just magnitude? Isolated in little and often hostile clusters, the Bishops of the one Church Catholic are known only as officers of their distinct communions, many almost as the winds of heaven or the climes they blow upon. . . . Yet *they are*

¹ The Right Reverend W. R. Whittingham, D. D., Bishop of Maryland.

one—as a tree is one with its thousands of leaves of divers magnitudes and colors, and many branches, some crooked and some dead, yet all parts of the same one tree, and all, as parts of it, still one with each other. The original mission, as in the tree the sap vessel from the root, is still propagated in the various branches, and though in some little or no vital juice may flow, connects them with the Fountain and makes them *one in Him*.

ONE IN HIM! *There* is the life and power of the truth which I rejoice that we are beginning in some faint degree to realize. One in Him, our invisible and ascended Head! His word made us one. His word, whether we will or no, still keeps us one. . . . Let us go, then, to seek Him and point Him out to those among the walks concealed. *Their* loss is *ours*; for while they make no returns of love and zeal to the common stock, we suffer by its want. Our faith dwindles by their ignorance and deadness. The props of our common home and shelter rot and fall away by their negligence and corruption."

With these animating counsels I took my departure. I had also with me a few copies of the Arabic translation of the Prayer Book, intending thereby, when occasion offered, to make known the doctrines, ritual and worship of my Church. And I may here say that I found it of the greatest service for the purpose, presenting as it does in a single view the order of our Ministry, the administration of the Sacraments, the Fasts and Festivals, and the daily Service of the Church.¹

¹ This translation was prepared and published at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and is one of the many noble monuments of their zeal for the cause of the Church and the truth. Other translations, in most of the Eastern languages, are rapidly following. The good which they are calculated to accomplish, in setting forth the Church in its true character, in correcting the gross misrepresentations and slanders which have been circulated with regard to it, in presenting a branch of the Universal Church Primitive in its Doctrines, its

In my passage to Trebizond I was much struck with the increase of steam navigation in these countries since 1836. There was then only one steamer to Trebizond ; there are now four, while new lines have connected the capital with Greece, Malta, Italy, Austria, France, England, Egypt and Syria, to and from all which countries the traveller can go and come the whole way by steam, and the Atlantic packets extend the line unbroken to the continent of America.

The moral consequences of this linking together of the Eastern and Western World, no human conception can fully calculate. The Ottomans behold in it an example of European activity and industry of which they had no idea. They must awake to an imitation of it, or the commerce and resources of their country will pass into other hands. The Christian population are already awake. They see in it a new bond of union with the nations of Europe. The ties of a common religion are beginning to be felt. An earnest desire for European protection every where prevails. Eastern Christians are now wishing for their nations what individuals have long sought for themselves,—the aid and oversight of foreign Christian powers. The events of the late war with Egypt, the ease and celerity with which the power of a Pasha, whose name has been as terrible in the East as Napoleon's once was in Europe, was destroyed by a few ships and a fragment of an army from abroad, have produced a deep and even an extravagant impression of European skill and power. They have created a new de-

Ministry, and its Rites, yet pure and uncorrupted, and in imparting sound and valuable religious instruction, can hardly be estimated too highly. They are the first step towards a better understanding, a deeper interest, and a holier influence. The good which they have already done, under my own observation, is an ample return for all the labor and expense of preparing them. The Society is preparing translations into the following Oriental languages—Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Amharic, or modern Ethiopian, and Armenian.

sire to have that skill and power enlisted in their behalf. The course of things is onward. European nations will become more and more deeply interested in the East by the increase of their trade, the colonizing of their people in the marts of Turkey, and the visits of their men of science and religion to those countries. Gradually, by the gentle progress of civilization and the arts, or more quickly by the shock of some sudden rupture springing out of the complicated relations of the states of Europe with the great Mohammedan power of the East, Christianity will be freed from her bondage of centuries, and the light of the West will break in upon the Oriental World. Then will the Churches of the East, remaining still in their present unprepared state, convulsed by the sudden blaze of free inquiry and unregulated knowledge, fall into pieces, of which Infidelity will seize a part, Popery a part, Protestantism a part, and a part will remain, the only surviving relic of the ancient Church of Christ in the East. The work of Mohammedanism is but imperfectly understood. Its influence is not altogether destructive; it is in a measure preservative. While it degrades Christianity, it preserves it from unbelief and schism. The Church of Rome has found in it the greatest opponent of her designs upon the Eastern Churches. The Turkish government has always looked with disfavor upon the attempts to seduce its subjects to a foreign ecclesiastical allegiance, and now secession is absolutely prohibited.¹ In like manner, the spirit of Mohammedanism is averse to the free introduction of foreign sci-

¹ About eight years ago the Armenian Patriarch obtained from the Porte a firman, requiring that every Christian should remain in the communion to which he belonged. The design of the firman was to prevent secessions from the Armenian Church to the Latin, but in a very recent instance, within my own knowledge, another community of Christians have availed themselves of its provisions, to force back certain of their members who had seceded to Rome.

ence, and thus, it has prevented those inroads of infidelity which commonly follow upon a merely secular civilization. The truth of this remark will be apparent if we look at those portions of the Eastern Churches which are already delivered from the sway of Islamism, or which, from their position, have felt something of the influence of the West upon them. Among the Christians of Constantinople infidelity has made and is still making rapid strides, while in the free kingdom of Greece its progress is truly alarming. Both there and here it is directly traceable to a European origin. It is the result of that fondness for Frank manners, the fashions and frivolities of Western life, and still more that corrupt literature which flows in through the growing knowledge of the French. If we are under no other obligations to the Eastern Christians, we are bound at least to cleanse the streams which are pouring in upon them from our Western world. If we are not ready to furnish them with a sound religious literature, we are at least obliged to provide an antidote against those corrupting works which go from us to them.¹

¹ Another cause of unbelief among the Eastern Christians is less direct, but equally effectual, and I fear even more pernicious in its effects than the other. It is, alas! in the Churches themselves. It is the ignorance, and, in some instances, the wickedness of the clergy, together with the low state of religion, both among clergy and people. "Why should I go to Church?" said a Greek to me the other day; "the priests rob me of my money. I can get nothing from them without a fee." He was a poor and ignorant man, but he had learned to look upon the whole business of public worship as a mercenary system, supported by the clergy for no better end than to sustain their own influence, and extort money from the people. This kind of practical infidelity is perhaps more deeply seated and more widely spread, than even the clergy themselves suppose. In a more enlightened mind, that is, in one better instructed in human knowledge, it takes another form. The man, feeling himself above the superstitions so common among the multitude, and seeing them but too often patronized by the clergy; observing, too, the haste and thoughtlessness, and sometimes the indecorum with which the public services of religion

But the highest argument for a deep and hearty interest in their behalf is that to which I have already alluded. They are unprepared for the light which is dawning upon them. Religious truth does not keep pace with the progress of civilization and the influx of secular knowledge. And if the time shall ever come, which seems indeed to be rapidly approaching, when the opposing power of Mohammedanism shall be removed, and the flood-gates of the mighty stream which is now rolling on from the West shall be lifted up, it will be too late to stem or guide the torrent which will burst in upon them. Eastern Christianity has not (with sorrow we say it) energy and life sufficient to purify the flood of corrupting influences which such a revolution would bring upon it. It will be broken by the force of its irruption, or it will sink beneath it.

It is not, then, by keeping aloof from the Eastern Churches, as some would seem to argue, but by a wise and active interference in their behalf, that we are to save them from schism and ruin. No one would deprecate more earnestly than I the adoption of a system either for openly subverting or secretly undermining these venerable structures of ancient days, but it is our duty as faithful servants of Christ, as members of a true branch of His Holy Church, to save them with God's blessing from the destruction which is hanging over them, to re-kindle in them the light which has become dim, and to strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die.¹

are performed ; at the same time firmly believing with all the national fervor of a Greek, that no Church is better than his own, beholding no specimen of one purer or more devout, and conceiving of Protestantism as a system which degrades both the ministry and the sacraments of the Church, comes at length to look upon all religion with contempt, as a mercenary priestcraft or an empty form, unfit to hold the sway over free and cultivated minds.

¹ Rev. 3: 2.

I spent one day at Trebizond under the hospitable roof of the Rev. Mr. Johnston, a Presbyterian missionary of the American Board. I am also indebted to the English Consul, Mr. Suter, for his kindness in procuring for me a *bouyouroultou*, or provincial firman, from the Pasha of Trebizond, the same Osman whom I have described in a former journey.¹ These bouyouroultous are available only for the province in which they are given, and the first duty of a traveller is to obtain one when he comes to the seat of a Pasha. They are worth more in the interior than a firman of the Sultan, for the people and the inferior governors think more of their Pasha than of the royal government at Constantinople, whose sway and influence they feel only remotely and indirectly. A Turk's patriotism or loyalty is generally confined to the village or province to which he belongs. It is rather a love of home than a love of country. Of patriotism in the last sense he has hardly any idea, and his language has no word to express it. The best, if not the chief use of a royal firman in Turkey, is as a means of obtaining the bouyouroultous or passports of the Pashas. They dare not refuse protection when they see the royal cipher.

Trebizond is the seat of a Greek Archbishop and an Armenian Vartabed.² At the time of my visit, there was a conspiracy to remove the latter, and a Committee had gone to Constantinople to intercede with the Patriarch for the purpose. The charge against him was that he had been guilty of mal-administration, especially in oppressing the poor, but it was said that others were secretly opposed to him on

¹ Narrative of a Tour, &c., Vol. I. p. 153, Am. Ed.

² The *Vartabeds* among the Armenians are the unmarried priests, from whom the Bishops are taken. They are almost precisely the same with the Chor-episcopi (*Χωρειπίσκοποι*) or Country Bishops of antiquity. They are properly Presiding Presbyters, occupying the seats of Bishops, but performing no offices distinctively Episcopal. They are sometimes over single churches, and sometimes over districts.

account of his opposition to the education of the people.

The Mussulmans of Trebizond are of the old school, and virulently opposed to all innovation. Though only three days distant from Constantinople, no serious attempts at reform had been made among them. The rulers said it would produce an insurrection; others said that the rulers themselves were opposed to it. The famous *Khatti Sherif*, which was hailed in Europe as the Magna Charta of Turkey, had hardly been heard of in Trebizond, and the new system of taxation, which was intended to relieve the people from illegal exactions, had never been introduced there. This was in a place only three days' sail from Constantinople. One may judge from it what has been the success of reform in more distant provinces.

One or two recent instances of Mohammedan bigotry were related to me by credible witnesses. The Greek population had undertaken to erect a Church on the site of an old one in a conspicuous situation, and had obtained a firman for the purpose. The Turks, offended, as it was said, at its prominence and elevation, took advantage of its being a foot or two larger than the dimensions prescribed in the firman, and razed it to the ground. The same population, animated by a laudable desire for improvement, had erected another building which they intended to make a Seminary for Instruction of a high order. The Turks pretended that it overlooked their houses, and pulled down the upper story of it. Perhaps there was some truth in the reason which they gave, and the jealousy, universal among Orientals, of strangers looking into their domestic quarters, may really have been one motive for the outrage. But in both cases, there was evident that radical hatred of the Christians, that jealousy of any improvement among them, that remorseless readiness to persecute them upon the slightest provocation, which is still and ever will be a feature of Mohammedan

character. Just in proportion that we see it cease in particular instances, we see the character ceasing to be Mohammedan. Where the religion has its full influence, as among the religious orders, this spirit is in general as rife as it has been since the early ages of Islamism, although its developments towards Franks are less bold and annoying than formerly,—a change which has arisen not from the decline of bigotry, but from the decline of Turkish power, and consequently the superior protection that Franks enjoy from the representatives of their own governments.

It was pleasant to see the Greeks of Trebizond, though but a small community, and laboring under the immense disadvantages to which I have alluded, still alive to improvement. This is in every situation one of the best traits in their character, and one that affords high encouragement to hope and effort in their behalf. As a people they have no prejudices against education, but the most earnest and ardent desire for it. The difficulty lies higher up among the clergy, and there indeed it is serious and urgent. I will not at present go into a subject which will draw me too far from the course of my narrative, but I may say that it is altogether a narrow and partial view of it, to suppose that the apparent indifference of the Greek clergy to the improvement of their people, arises solely from their opposition to light and knowledge. This is doubtless true of some, while of others it is the very opposite of truth.¹ Many other causes combine to produce the same result. The too general ignorance of the clergy, especially of the priests to whom the care of the people is most immediately committed; the influence of Mohammedanism in depressing the energy of

¹ The late Patriarch, for instance, was a man of just and elevated views with regard to the education both of the clergy and laity. He had in hand, at the time of his death in 1842, extensive plans of usefulness, which might have resulted in great and lasting good, if his own career had not been suddenly terminated.

the clergy and intimidating them into inaction, the want of unity and mutual confidence among the Bishops, are all powerful causes of the supineness which prevails. At the same time it must be acknowledged that there appears in some an evident unwillingness that the people should be instructed, especially in religious things—a fear that it may tend to depreciate the influence of the clergy—and a consciousness that it might strike a blow at the corruptions of the Church, which are patronized more for their lucrative-ness than for any serious attachment to them. The policy is a suicidal one; for while the clergy sleep or oppose, knowledge is coming in, mere secular knowledge unregulated by religious teaching; the people learn more and more to look upon the clergy with contempt; infidelity increases; the priests regard the new learning with aversion, thinking it to be the cause of the evil, which nevertheless their own exertions, the proper exercise of the duties of their office, might have prevented, and the people look upon them for their opposition, as the foes of learning, the abettors of ignorance and superstition. The greatest benefit that could now be bestowed on the Greek Church, would be to convince the clergy of their error, to show them the fatal consequences of the course which they are pursuing, and to lead them to some active effort for the religious instruction of the people. Many will doubt whether this can be accomplished, whether many of them are not too strongly wedded to their system to abandon it for one which will lead them into a path that can only end in the removal of the existing corruptions, in a thorough change of the spirit and practice of the Church. But it must come to this, that the clergy must take the lead in reforming abuses, or at least put themselves into a line which will ultimately bring them to it; or they must expect to see the evil consequences of their neglect, in a widely spreading unbelief on the one hand, and a deadly schism on the other. There is no other alter-

native. Knowledge will come, is coming. It will increase more and more. No human power can prevent it; and if they will not regulate it, correct it by sound religious teaching, it will overthrow them. It will be in the East as it was in the West, contentions and divisions in the Church, separations from it, the formation of names and sects.

But there is good reason to hope that an evil so great in itself may be prevented. The Greek Church is not as was the Church of Rome at the time of the Reformation. It does not hold the same errors; it is not pervaded by the same abuses, or to the same extent. It has not the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church, or of the Papal supremacy, or of Transubstantiation in a defined and settled sense, or of Purgatory, or of the Mass in the Romish sense, or of Indulgencies, or of supererogatory works. It has not the practices of Communion in one kind, or of Private Masses, or of Clerical Celibacy, nor the ceremonies of Processions, Adoration of the Host, elevating it and carrying it about,¹ which in the Latin Church are the adjuncts if not the consequences of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It does not receive the Apocryphal books as canonical, nor deny the possibility of Absolution without the intervention of the Priest, nor determine the number of the Sacraments as seven ordained by Christ, nor declare the good intention of the clergy necessary to a valid and efficacious administration of them, nor prohibit the reading of the Holy Scriptures to the people, although unauthorized, and, as it was believed,

¹ There is a *procession* in the Greek Church, during the service of the Holy Eucharist, in which the paten and cup are carried round in the church by the priest and deacon, but it is done *before* the consecration of the bread and wine; and there is an *elevation* of the sacred elements after consecration, which is done by the deacon, simply as an act of invitation to the people, and is accompanied with the words, "Draw near with faith and godly fear." Both are easily distinguishable from the Romish customs to which I allude.

sectarian translations have been, and are prohibited, and there certainly are individuals who would restrict the reading of the Scriptures to the original version of the New Testament, and the Septuagint.

We may hope, then, that the Greek Church will rise from its depressed condition, without the necessity of a violent reformation. It certainly may so rise, if the clergy do not set themselves in opposition to knowledge, and a purer practice, if they do not commit themselves to floating abuses, and gather them up and weave them into a system, and fasten them by creeds and canons upon the Church, as Rome has done with her corruptions. It is encouraging to know that there are many, even among the higher clergy, who long for better things, and their influence will be the more felt, the work of restoration will be sooner and better done, if we of the West do not by our hasty zeal hurry it into a rank and premature growth. If there has been on the one hand much of painful opposition, there has been on the other as much of injudicious action. Let us not be high-minded, but fear.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Trebizond.—Greek Bishop.—Timidity of the Clergy.—Monastery of St. Mary.—Monasteries in Turkey.—Their State.—Decline of Monasticism.—Character of the Monks.—Religious Retreats.—Mountain Scenery.—Parting from the Bishop.—Local Associations.—The Ancient Population.—Remnants of Christianity.—Mussulman Descendants from Christians.—Languages.—Natural Bridge.—Mountain Passage.—Company at a Khan.—Gumush Khaneh.—Its Christians.—Posting.—Routes.—Change of Route.

I LEFT Trebizond on the 12th of May, and reached Jevizlik, a small hamlet on the road, in six hours. On the way we overtook a Greek Bishop, mounted on a slow-paced horse, and preceded by a servant carrying his silver-headed staff. His white beard and venerable appearance attracted my attention, and I entered into conversation with him. From my dress he seemed at a loss to determine who I was, and answered my salutation with evident shyness. When I told him that I was a Christian, he began to speak more freely, and at length run on with all the garrulity of age. He had supposed that I might be a Mussulman, and hence the timidity of his first greeting. I have often witnessed the same among the clergy of the interior, and have as often been grieved by it as a sign and token of their state of bondage. True, they are generally ignorant, and so far as personal qualities are concerned, one can seldom find much pleasure in their society. But who can forget that they are the representatives of Christianity, and that they are what

they are for their religion's sake? Who can avoid a feeling of indignation and sorrow when he sees their servile and cringing demeanor—of indignation at the tyranny which has reduced them to such a condition, and sorrow at the low estate of Christ's holy Church in the land of its captivity? Alas! when shall the day of its rising and shining return?

I soon proposed to leave the aged Bishop, because he rode too slow for us. But he demurred, and said that he would exert himself a little for the sake of our company. I soon found that he was the Superior of St. Mary, a monastery a few miles south of Jevizlik. He had been absent some time in Russia and was just returning. I afterwards learned that he was returning from *exile*, having been banished by the late Patriarch, and now restored by his successor.

St. Mary's is only one of three monasteries in this vicinity, and I remember having heard of another near Trebizond. St. Mary's has fifteen monks; a year or two before, it had about forty; another, called Hedrilez, has twelve; and a third, called Khavan, has, I believe, none. All these monasteries are immediately subject to the Patriarch at Constantinople, and of course independent of the Archbishop of Trebizond. The same rule, so far as I have observed, holds with regard to all the monasteries, Greek, Syrian, or Armenian, in the Empire. They are independent of the Bishop of the Diocese, excepting when he himself is resident in one of them, and in this case he is the Superior. The number of monasteries in the Empire is greatly diminished in late centuries, and seems to be still diminishing. The causes have been war, famine, civil oppression, the increasing poverty and decreasing population of the Christians. There is also much less zeal than formerly for the monastic life. There are fewer disposed to enter it, and the people are less disposed to sustain them in it. This arises chiefly from the

decline of learning and piety. The monasteries are no longer the chief seats of knowledge, and the fame of their sanctity has departed. The people are alienated by the idle and sometimes by the wicked lives of the monks. But this picture is not universally, I am inclined to believe not generally, true. Some of the monasteries are in better repute both for piety and learning, though none of them are distinguished in the latter particular. The monks are often simple-minded and innocent men, but almost always narrow in their views, their thoughts and their feelings, grasping no wide range even of theological knowledge, and profoundly ignorant of the world. They say their prayers, till their grounds, eat, drink, and sleep. A few of the monasteries have a great reputation for sanctity, not from the character of their inmates, but from the possession of some relic which makes them places of vast resort. These and a few others are rich. Some of them have valuable endowments of lands, which are looked upon as the patrimony of the Church, and a considerable portion of the revenues of the Patriarchs come from them. Thus the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople receives from the monasteries of Wallachia alone, the sum of 1,500,000 piastres, or about £15,000, annually.

There seem to have been in former times favorite localities, chosen either from the nature of the country, on account of the abundance of a neighboring population, or for some religious association, where monasteries were erected in great number and where the lonely ascetic built his retired cell. Such is the country south of Trebizond. Abounding in the gifts of nature, covered with the wildest and sublimest scenery, presenting here and there lofty heights interspersed with fruitful vallies, it was once the abode of hundreds of those who had retired from the world to seek in contemplation and prayer, and secret toil, a nearer access to God. The traveller still descries here and there, besides the distant

monasteries whose place alone is visible, marked by some towering height, solitary chapels perched on rugged points of rock and looking like the retreats of world-forsaking hermits. We noticed three of this description during our first day's ride, and the Bishop pointed out to us a mountain-peak covered with snow, behind which, he said, was the monastery of St. Mary. The others lay, one to the north, and the other to the southwest from Jevizlik.

Turning short to the right when we reached this hamlet, we entered the valley of the Yer Keupru (Earth Bridge). There are two roads, one leading to the left over the barren heights of Kara Kaban, the other to the right through the valley,—one the summer, the other the winter road. As the mountains were not yet open, we chose the latter, which soon led us amidst scenes of great natural beauty. The forest trees were putting on their new dress, and the rays of the sun darting through their thick foliage revealed to the eye their fresh and lively green. Sometimes the lofty overtopping mountains could be descried through the openings in the woods, and at others we plunged into cool and shaded thickets, enlivened by the music of numberless rills gushing from the mountain side.

Our venerable friend, the Bishop, parted from us at Jevizlik, where our roads separated. I felt for a moment an emotion of sadness as I thought of the different ways before us. Ere nightfall he would be reposing in the quiet of his monastery; while I was just starting upon a long and tedious journey, little knowing the things that should befall me, or whether I should ever return. Basil, my Greek servant and the only companion of my journey, begged the good man to remember us in his prayers. He promised to do so, and commenced his kind offices by giving us his benediction as we parted.

We spent the night at the little village of Campanos, or perhaps it was only a cluster of Khans, for we arrived too

late and left too early to survey the place. More than arises from the beauty of Nature's scenery is the interest which this region excites in the traveller's mind from its association with the famous retreat of Xenophon, and the romantic dukes of the Comneni driven from the imperial throne of Constantinople, and founding a new monarchy on the farther shores of the Euxine. Hardly less is the interest which one feels in it as an ancient home of the Greeks. After enjoying all the day the thought of winding through the same vallies by which the leader of the Ten Thousand conducted his gallant band,¹ I could not but inquire within myself, as we sat down upon our carpets at night before a roaring fire in a smoke-blackened khan, whether the two or three rough fellows who were preparing our coffee or waiting to partake of it, were veritable descendants of the Greeks of former days. My interest in them was a little dampened by our guide's coming in and announcing that one of the children who had been employed to lead about the horses, according to the eastern custom after a journey, had run away with the bridle. I told his father, who was one of the men present, of his misdemeanor, and saw with surprise the coolness with which he received the information of his youthful son's delinquency. He thought it strange, very strange, that the boy should carry away the bridle, but really he did not believe that we could find him if we should hunt for him.

It was some consolation for the loss of the bridle to know that the thief and the thief's father were Mussulmans, for though dishonesty does not look well in any one, it always grieves me most to see it in a Christian. It is a common saying among the Persians, that it is right, lauda-

¹ The identity of the route with that of the Ten Thousand was first suggested to me some years ago by James Brant, Esq., H. B. M. Consul at Erzroum, who well said, that as the army of Xenophon passed in winter, it could only be by this road, which is the only one by which Trapezus (Trebizond) is accessible at that season.

ble, and religious to cheat a Frank, because that in this way an unbeliever is injured and advantage comes to a follower of the true faith. Whether it was by some such logic as this, that the Mussulman at Campanos satisfied his conscience for the possession of our bridle, I do not know, but as he appeared sufficiently intelligent in other things, I gave him a cup of coffee instead of driving him away, and gradually drew from him all that he knew about the country. The people, he said, are not of the *Laz* race, although they are often called by that name. This appellation properly belongs only to a distinct people farther to the East, who have a language peculiar to themselves, and are heathen. Their tongue is not understood by the people hereabouts, whose language is Greek and their religion Christianity or Mohammedanism. The majority in this immediate vicinity are Christians, but we may judge from their having the same language with the Mussulmans, that the latter also are descendants of the ancient Greeks. The change in their religion is owing doubtless to the persecutions which the Christians formerly endured from the Mohammedans, to escape which some abandoned their faith and embraced the religion of their masters. The same is true of the Mussulmans in many other parts of the country; they are descended from a Christian ancestry, who forsook their religion in times of persecution. Mussulmans of this sort often retain not only a traditional recollection of their ancestors, but even a respect for the religion of their fathers, which they sometimes carry so far as to practise its rites. Thus the Mussulmans of Mesopotamia, many of them, acknowledge themselves to be descendants of the old Assyrian or Chaldean Christians, and retain to this day a reverence for the ancient faith.¹

¹ There is also a district east of Trebizond, where there are one thousand families of Mussulmans, who are descendants of Armenians, and still speak their language.

The mass of the population between Trebizond and Gumush Khaneh, appear to be of the same sort,—descendants of the Greek stock, though now divided into Mussulmans and Christians. The effect of persecution is singularly visible in some parts of the region, where those who profess to be Mussulmans, adhere in secret to the religion of their fathers. There are several hundreds of this description in the city of Trebizond, where they are commonly called *Croomlees*, from the district whence most of them come. Though classed as Mussulmans and practising circumcision, they baptize their children, receive the sacrament of the Eucharist, and entertain priests in their houses. All this, however, they do secretly, while in public they wear the white turban of the Turks, and call themselves Mussulmans. Their demeanor, by which they are most readily known, is said to be even more timid than that of the Christians, living, as they do, in constant fear of detection and punishment. Their prevarication in openly professing Islamism, while they secretly deny it, is not to be so severely condemned as such an act would be among us, for if, on the one hand, it is, in any circumstances, a fearful sin to hold the faith of Christianity and yet not to confess Christ before men; it is, on the other, matter for wonder, that Christians so destitute of instruction should retain, at an imminent hazard, even the least vestige of their religion. Besides, the priests who administer to them the Sacrament, allow them to remain in this state of delusion, and therefore their own sin, we may hope, is less, if, indeed, they have any consciousness of it. Are there none among ourselves who, denying, as they now do in their lives, the Lord that bought them, would, in such an hour of temptation, fall entirely away? It is not for me to judge, but it were well for such to reflect, whether at the last shall receive the greater condemnation, the unenlightened Christian on the shore of the Euxine, or the worldly-minded Christian on the heaven-illuminated soil of England or America.

It was for a time doubtful who was our host, for there were several of the villagers present, all eager to render their services. But when the coffee was ready, and each had had a thimble full of it, after the fashion of the Turks, they suddenly lost all interest in us, and retired, one by one, until we were left alone with the master of the khan, who proved to be our informant, the father of the young thief. He had no sooner told us that he himself was of the Greek race and his language Greek, than Basil began to try him in that tongue. But their communication was of little avail, for while one spoke the language of Constantinople and the other of Campanos, they only understood each other imperfectly. The latter pronounced strangely, and used words occasionally which were neither Greek nor Turkish—they may have been Laz. They soon gave it up in despair, and returned to Turkish.

Our road the next morning still wound amidst mountain scenery of the most magnificent description. Rocks piled upon rocks, and crowned with lofty pinnacles, met the eye on every side. Again and again I gazed long and doubtfully, to discover whether some solitary column, rising above the highest point of a mountain, was the remnant of an old castle, or a playful work of nature. We ascended for more than two hours across tumbling streams and through hardwood forests, until we reached a height where other mountains, still covered with their wintry mantle, appeared in the distance, and the cold snow-wind came howling by. From this we descended more rapidly than we had gone up, too rapidly, indeed, for ease or comfort, the descent resembling in some places a flight of stairs. As our poor horses smelled their way and dropped their feet from step to step, we had abundant time to look down the steep declivities close at our side, and calculate the consequences of a single stumble in performing the manœuvre. One of them gave out, and we committed him to the care of the first

peasant that we met, with instructions to leave him at our last night's lodging-place. To reward the man for his service our guide told him that he might ride when he was tired,—an arrangement from which he was likely to derive but little benefit, as the animal would hardly go with leading. The guide himself, however, had no better alternative, as he was compelled to go all the rest of the way to Gumush Khaneh, twenty-five miles, on foot.

We got through the operation of going down stairs in safety, and pursued our way to Zohana, a cluster of khans, where after much ado we obtained a breakfast of coarse bread and *yo-oort*.¹ The place was abandoned by all but a few old stragglers, who lingered there until the route over the mountains should be opened, when this valley road, being somewhat longer, is deserted for the summer. We wished to have stopped here, but as the winter stock of fuel was exhausted, and we were drenched to the skin by a shower of rain which we had encountered in the mountains, we were compelled to move on to Adaseue, two hours farther on our way. Here, instead of a group of khans, was only one, and that was crowded by a throng of hungry men and horses driven in by a fresh shower of rain, in the midst of which we arrived. There was nothing to eat, but fortunately there was a little fuel left, with which we made a fire, and then seated ourselves to dry. The rest of the company, who seemed never to have thought of so simple a way of accomplishing the object, took advantage of it when it was made, with all the alacrity with which men avail themselves of a new idea. To finish our breakfast begun at Zohana, we prepared our coffee, and, as is usual on such occasions, every one who thought himself respectable enough drew near to partake of it. My custom at such times is to be lib-

¹ I write the word as it is pronounced; the thing is sour curd made from milk—a wholesome and refreshing food for travellers.

eral, as the gift of a cup of coffee in a company of this sort is a sure way to make friends, and entitles one to the privilege of asking questions. But, unfortunately, the number of those who thought themselves respectable was very great, and our coffee-pot held only two Turkish cups full, one of which Basil brought to me, and the other, which I supposed was going to a Mollah opposite, he poured down his own throat, in consideration of his having, as he afterwards said, the first right after his master. Before the mighty coffee-pot could be replenished the fire had gone out, and there was no more wood. The expectant company waited till they saw the apparatus going back into the saddle-bags, when they arose and dispersed as silently and solemnly as they came. We made no friends at the khan, and instead of the showers of "God give you prosperity," and "May your journey be propitious," which would have followed a cup of the favorite beverage, we mounted our horses and rode away in a dead silence.

The rest of the way to Gumush Khaneh was along the side of a stream of the same name. We lodged at a khan on the road and reached the town the next morning. About three hours from the place we passed a monastery situated in the hills above the route we were travelling, and was told by the people that there is another fifteen hours to the S. W. We saw also two more chapels like those before described, and discovered some real ruins of old fortresses perched on almost inaccessible heights.

Gumush Khaneh looked better than at my first visit in 1837. The gardens below the town were gay with all the luxuriance of an early vegetation. Among the trees I noticed the pear, the apple, the almond and the walnut, and the lilac among its flowers.

I had nothing to detain me in the place but the tardiness of the Governor in providing horses, which he said were always ready, but which, in our case, did not make their

appearance till the next morning, and then were taken by force from some poor villages near the town. For being always ready in this remarkable manner he proposed to charge treble for the horses, which I consented to do if he would find it in the post-order. ¹

There are four Greek churches and one Armenian in Gumush Khaneh, but no Bishop resident. The place belongs to the diocese of Trebizond. Most of the Christians are miners, and as the mines have nearly failed, numerous families are reduced to a state of utter destitution.

¹ Post-orders (*menzil emri*) are given to travellers in Turkey, who choose to travel with post-horses. Those issued at Constantinople bear the Sultan's cipher, and specify the number of horses that the traveller requires, and sometimes the post-rates, which were formerly fixed, but now vary from one to two and a half piastres, in different parts of the empire. The traveller pays in advance at each post-house from one to two and a half piastres (two pence to five pence sterling) for each horse per hour, the hour being a measure of distance, about three miles.

CHAPTER III.

The Road.—The Osmanlies and the Turks.—Sunset Scene.—The Ayan's Palace.—Reception.—Lesson on Hospitality.—Repose in a Village.—Kara Hissar.—Its Ancient Citadel.—Preparations for a Journey.—The Plain of Ashkar.—Ancient Remains.—The Greek Population of the Interior.—Face of the Country.—The Day's Stage.—The Armenians.—Their Dispersion.—National Character.—Their Church.—Its Changes.—Its present State.—Its Necessities.

FROM Gumush Khaneh we crossed the mountains to the south of the town. The road was hardly yet open. Heavy drifts of snow were lying in the hollows, and in one or two instances we were compelled to go half a mile out of our way in order to get round them. The view from the heights sometimes revealed to us prospects of richly wooded vallies, and at others we passed under towering rocks where the eagle sat upon his aerie, and watched us with his fierce glancing eye as we went silently on our way. Thence we descended to the village of Keklit through vallies and along hill-sides covered with pine and spruce. Keklit itself is on one of those beautiful plains which abound in Turkey, where every thing that nature can give of rich and well-watered soils is found, and nothing seems wanting to make it the abode of perfect happiness but a moral beauty, whose absence is more deeply felt where nature has been so lavish of her gifts.

From Keklit to Sheiran the road lies over an undulating country, much of it covered with oak shrubbery. We were

advised at Keklit to take a guard on account of a recent robbery on the road, and did so; but instead of meeting with blood-thirsty men, we were regaled all the way with the songs of myriads of nightingales. I thought I could see as we advanced westward the gradual change, which is more evident at long distances, from the rough and original Turkish character which prevails in the Eastern provinces, to the more humane traits of the Mussulmans of Asia Minor. The contrast in this respect between Erzroum and Tocat is very striking, but whether it arises from a radical difference of races, or from those farther West being more affected by the somewhat civilizing influence of the capital, I cannot say. Certain it is that the races are different, and that of the Osmanlees appears to be superior to any other. The contempt which they have for the Turkish races to the East shows their own sense of this superiority.

At sunset on the second day we found ourselves about eighty miles from Gumush Khaneh, in the midst of a fine lowland country and near the habitation of the *Ayan*, or governor, of the district. Our guide told us that he had from fifty to sixty villages under his control, and spoke so largely of his hospitality that I determined to partake of it. His house was a prominent object in all the country around, standing alone upon an eminence in the midst of the vale, and looking like a palace in comparison with the log-cabins which we had every where seen since leaving Gumush Khaneh. The day was declining, the herds were coming in over the lea, the boys and girls about the villages were letting loose the lambs that had been kept in confinement at home, now to meet their dams and to receive their evening repast. It was pleasant to see how every little one went bleating about till it found its mother, and how every mother seemed grateful and happy when she recognized her young. And then what capering and frolicking and shouts of laughter, when the youngsters of the village attempted to separate them for

the purpose of returning the lambs to the fold and driving back the flock to the pasture. Nothing was to be heard besides their merry laugh and the distant baying of dogs. The air was calm and still, and the smoke went straight up from the chimney of the Ayan's palace, giving promise of good cheer within. It was that quiet repose of nature which sinks so gently into the traveller's heart, and repays him at sweet eventide for the toil and labor of the day. How often have troubled feelings been soothed and loneliness cheered by sights and sounds like these! And what stores of pleasant pictures have been treasured up to beguile weary hours with grateful recollections of the past!

We approached the Ayan's house, rode up the little hill on which it stood, and stopped before the door. The building was not so imposing at close view as it had been in the distance. The walls were of earth, after the fashion of the houses in Persia, and the only opening in them was the door before which we stood. I sent in Basil with my *selam*, and a respectful request for a night's lodging. He soon returned with the information that the house was full. The guide whispered that such an excuse was never made when the guests were acceptable, but that doubtless the Ayan had no particular desire to accommodate strangers and Christians. Basil added that the answer was conveyed to him in a very angry and unbecoming manner. I did not like the tone of it, and still less the act which almost immediately followed. While we were considering what was to be done, a young man came out, whom, from the style of his dress, I took to be the Ayan's scribe. He stood at the door and began to abuse the guide for bringing guests to the house. The poor fellow did not answer a word, and I undertook to reply for him by a lecture on hospitality. The young man listened in silence, and I went on to tell him that the language which he had used was dangerous for the Ayan, that

I had in my pocket a bouyouroultou from his master the Pasha of Trebizond, with which I could compel him to admit me if I pleased. At this the young man lowered his tone, and humbly protested that the house *was* full, that if I pleased I might enter and examine every room. I told him that I had no wish to intrude, and that if he had given me a civil answer in the first place, I should have gone on my way without saying a word. He then went in and immediately returned with a bit of paper with the Ayan's seal upon it. This he gave to the guide, telling him that by showing it in the next village, we should receive every thing that we needed for man and beast. As night had now set in, and the guide did not know the road, I asked for a servant from the Ayan to show us the way. The young man demurred, but I insisted upon it, and told him that if he gave me any more trouble, I would report the matter to the Pasha. This brought him again to terms, and he ordered a servant to accompany us.

It was now quite dark; the evening was chilly; we had been in the saddle ten hours without dismounting, and had been drenched by one of those afternoon showers which are of almost daily occurrence at this season, and which pour like a torrent upon the traveller. Our way was over a low meadow ground, cold and damp, and the village, which the young man had said was close by, proved to be nearly an hour distant. I attempted to beguile the way by talking with the servant about his master, and I was not a little surprised and amused to find that the young man whom I had taken for a scribe, was the Ayan himself. Perhaps I should have been more sparing of my advice if I had known it at the moment, but as he was a very young man, and evidently had not yet learned good manners, doubtless it was best that he should hear the whole, and his age at least gives hope of improvement.

Every body was abed when we reached the village. We called up the *kiahya*¹ and showed him the seal. He began to protest that there was no fodder for the horses, no accommodation for us, and seemed inclined to push us on to the next village. But this would not do, for I was now stiff with cold, the night was dark, and the guide having left the post-road to reach the Ayan's house, did not know how to regain it. I told the *kiahya*, therefore, that if he would make no trouble, I would not use the seal, but would pay him fairly for every thing which he might bring us. This simple proposal changed at once the aspect of things. The village, only a moment before entirely destitute, was by the magical sound of money converted suddenly into a granary of barley and straw; there was a nice room ready for us, wood for a fire, and plenty to eat. The gruff, sleepy *kiahya* became all activity and cheerfulness. Even his wife rose at the sound, and recommenced the culinary operations but just now suspended. A fire was soon blazing in the apartment, carpets were spread, and master and servant and guide were stretching themselves to dry. I would not suffer the Ayan's boy to go back, but made him sit down and partake of our cheer. His master would repent, he said, of having sent him, for he had not another like him to present the pipe and play the fiddle. According to his report the Ayan spent a great part of his time in hunting. Two noble hounds had accompanied us from the house, and were now comfortably crouched at his side looking over their paws at the fire. The host's reception verified his promises, and my requital the next morning verified mine. He was a Mussulman, and his green turban marked his descent from Mohammed. Yet we conversed kindly and parted fair friends, with many wishes that we might meet again. It is some-

¹ A village officer, part of whose business it is to provide lodgings for travellers.

thing to conquer the prejudices of a Mussulman, and to make him think better of Christianity by making him think well of a Christian.

The approach to Kara Hissar, fifty miles from Sheiran, is one of extraordinary beauty. The town stands on an elevated ridge or neck, extending from the mountains on the right, and terminating in a tall, solitary rock on the left of the town. For miles Eastward the slope is covered with the richest gardens abounding in every kind of fruit suited to the climate—the apple, the pear, the peach, the walnut, the mulberry, and plums of various sorts. The town contains about 1000 houses, inhabited chiefly by Mussulmans, but the Armenians and Greeks are sufficiently numerous to have each a Church. On the summit of the rock, which on one side towers above the town, and on the other looks it over the valley below, stands the ancient fortress which gives the place its name. It is evidently one of those old structures supposed to belong to the middle ages, and which were erected by the Genoese when their trade penetrated the far East, and lines of fortresses were built for the security of traffic. I found in one part of it the remains of a Church, and in others wells and cisterns, intended evidently to supply it with water. The old wells were nearly gone, but the gateway remained, and over it was the device of the two-headed eagle. In another part was a subterranean room, called by the people the Dungeon.

When I left Gumush Khaneh I had intended to strike down from Keklit to the Euphrates, but the country to the South of Keklit was infested with predatory Kurds who had risen in rebellion, and had ravaged the country to the very gates of Erzingan. I was therefore compelled to turn off Westward to Kara Hissar. Here I made another attempt to go Southward, but was again defeated, the Governor of Kara Hissar declaring that he would afford me no aid for such a journey. He advised me rather to go direct to

Sivas, though that route also was accounted dangerous. But here he was very prompt and kind in providing every security in his power for my journey. He ordered a Kavass¹ to attend me to Edrenes, the first town on the road, and gave me a letter to the Ayan of that place, requiring him to furnish two armed men to conduct me to Zara, the first town in the Pashalik of Sivas. To this he added another letter addressed to a Kurdish chief under his jurisdiction, living in the mountains six hours beyond Edrens, directing him to provide two men more, to accompany me with the others as far as Zara.

We started on the 18th about noon, and arrived that day at Gheuz Keui, (Eye village,) on the border of the great plain of Ashkar, five hours from Kara Hissar. The next morning we crossed the plain to Edrenes, which lies on the opposite side. This plain is another of those broad levels extending among the hills, which give support to a large population, and are the sources of plenty and wealth to the neighboring districts. That of Ashkar is twenty miles in length, and is marked by no less than seventy-five villages, under the government of the Ayan of Edrenes, who is subject to the Mutselim² of Kara Hissar, who is subject in his turn to the Pasha of Trebizond, who is subject again to the Sultan. Below this long line of officers are the Aghas, or chiefs of villages, who have also under them, Kiahyas, or chiefs of quarters, and even these have their deputies. The plain of Ashkar seems to take its name from a place East of Edrenes, where the people say once stood a great city. I had not time to visit it, but from their description of the remains, I judged it to be another of the Genoese fortresses, an outpost probably of the great route above. The people

¹ An officer attending upon Turkish Pashas and Governors, and European Ambassadors at the Porte, and Consuls.

² Governor of a city and its dependencies. He is generally below the rank of Pasha.

said that there were massive ruins still to be seen, and graves sixty *asheun* long.¹ The place is still occupied by a few poor families. In Gheuz Keui there were ten Greek families; but not so many more in the whole district. The Greek population almost entirely ceases South of the latitude of Erzroum, and East of the longitude of Tocat. It is confined for the most part to Asia Minor and the coast of the Black Sea, where were also its ancient homes. There is only one Greek Bishop beyond the same limits, and he resides at Ergin on the Euphrates, in Western Kurdistan, and sometimes at Kabban Maden, on the road from Tocat to Diarbekir. His jurisdiction extends over all the country from Kara Hissar to Bagdad, and from Kaisariyeh (Cæsarea in Cappadocia) to the borders of Persia, and I presume that in the whole of his diocese there are not 5000 Greeks.

The inhabitants of the plains of Ashkar are chiefly Armenian, and those of Edrenes exclusively so. Here they have a Church, and a population of about 500 souls; and, probably, their whole population, upon the plain alone, is not less than 4,000. This singularly industrious and frugal people are to be found in all parts of the empire; from the Caucasus to the Nile, and from the Danube to the Persian Gulf; and every where they are the same, with those variations only which differences of occupation, of climate, and of local government, tend to produce. Simple and industrious; quietly bearing the yoke which the Greeks are so restive under; given to the honest and useful arts of life, seeking gain wherever they are, and, for the most part, carefully preserving it; docile and sober-minded; they are much more akin to the Turks, both in character and manners, than any other of the Christian races. Driven out from their patrimony, or enticed from their ancient lands by the

¹ An *asheun* is about 30 inches. The graves would then be 150 feet!

desire of gain, they are to be seen in almost every district and every city; in Asia Minor, in Kurdistan, in Mesopotamia, in Syria, in Egypt, in Turkey in Europe, in the provinces North of the Danube, and beyond the boundaries of the empire, in Austria, Russia, Persia, and Hindostan. Every where in Turkey they are the great producers, whether they till the soil or engage in traffic. They are the bone and sinew of the land—at once its most useful and most peaceful citizens. Were they removed from Turkey, the wealth and productive power of the country would be incalculably diminished.¹

No less interesting are they in their ecclesiastical character, by which I mean their moral dispositions, and the state and character of their Church. Separated from the Greek Communion by their rejection of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, they have retained in some respects practices peculiarly primitive; while by their commingling with so many different nations, they have, in other respects, singularly departed from their own ancient standards.² No communion of Eastern Christians has been so much affected by changes from without; and in none has so large a schism been created, unless we are to except the Chaldean Church of Mesopotamia, which has almost entirely acknowledged allegiance to the Pope. But the whole number of members in this Church does not much exceed one-third of the Ar-

¹ Their character and habits are thoroughly Oriental, but in their industry and spirit of acquisition, they present rather a contrast than a resemblance to the Turks.

² One instance of an ancient custom of the Eastern Churches, which no other has retained, is the observance of the Nativity and the Epiphany of our Saviour on the same day, the 6th of January. An instance of departure from the ancient standards is seen in the practice of counting seven sacraments, which is common among their clergy, whereas their Church does not recognize seven, and for one at least, extreme unction, has no rite or service whatever.

menians who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope.¹ The schism is greater in the Chaldean Church in its ratio, but less in its aggregate.

The peculiar docility of the Armenians, and their disposition to learn, lays them open to influences from without, and makes it more easy to inculcate either good or evil among them than among any other body of Eastern Christians. They have also received from Rome most of their religious literature for many years past, and this has gradually infused the taint of Romish theology, so that many of their clergy speak in the language of Rome, without understanding that they contravene the standards and practices of their own Church.² The antidote were as easily applied as the poison. What they most need is a sound religious literature, presenting doctrine in a primitive manner, and not after the speculative and scholastic modes which prevail among us; recognizing thoroughly the primitive institutions of the Church, and turning them to their proper use; not condemning practices which are ancient, but relieving them of their abuses; cheerfully inculcating duties which are now performed, but restoring to them their religious sense and life; making what is perfunctorily done, by the blessing of God a living means of grace; setting forth the duties of the Christian life, its interior graces, its self-denial and its perfect obedience. Such a work were worthy of our labors and our prayers—but who is there to perform it? It is needed to save the Armenians from schism, to strengthen the things that remain, to build them up in their most holy faith.

¹ "The Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory," a Roman Catholic publication, under the supervision of the Roman Catholic Bishop in Baltimore (U. S. A.), states the number of Chaldeans conjecturally at 15,000 and the number of Papal Armenians at 40,000.

² Most of the doctrinal and religious books which have an allowed circulation among the Armenians are from the Armenian presses of Venice and Vienna.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ayan of Edrenes.—The Church of Edrenes.—Churches in Turkey.—Contrast with Mosques.—Armenian Churches described.—Altars.—The Font.—Women's Place.—Paintings.—The design of Pictures in Eastern Churches.—The Greek.—The Armenian.—Origin of Picture Worship in them.—Present State.—Their Testimony upon the Subject.—The Greek.—The Armenian.—The Syrian.—The Nestorian.—Bearing of the Testimony upon the subject of Picture Worship.—Importance of studying the Eastern Churches for the sake of their Testimony.—The Steadfastness of the Eastern Christians in maintaining their Confession of Christianity.—The Cause.—Their low Estimate of it practically.—Our Duty to them.

THE Ayan of Edrenes was in bed when we arrived early on the morning of the 19th of May. He repaid us, however, for the delay by a good breakfast after he arose. He was himself so much like an Armenian that I could hardly believe he was not one, until I reflected that it was a thing unheard of under Mussulman rule, for a Christian to be Governor of such a district. His servants told me that he was a genuine Mohammedan, but I must still think he was descended from a Christian stock. His looks, his manners, his whole appearance was Armenian. He received us very kindly and even deferentially. I thought that perhaps his constant intercourse with Christians (for his was the only Mussulman family in Edrenes, and very few of the people of the district are of that religion) might have given him something of their temper. He interested himself in my affairs, and while he was making arrangements for my de-

parture, I went out to see the Church. Unfortunately a Mussulman servant accompanied me. When I reached the door no one was there, and the people in sight disappeared at our appearance. There was no one to unlock the door, and the key was not to be found. We inquired at the neighboring houses, but every body evaded our questions. At length I bethought me of a secret spring, and told them that I was a Christian and had only come to see the Church. The key was instantly produced, and a priest made his appearance from one of the houses. The poor people had been frightened at the sight of the servant, and thought we had come with some evil intent towards their sanctuary. The priest, who had the same timid and cringing demeanor that is so common among the clergy of the interior, conducted us to the Church, a plain building of humble exterior, and, like all the Churches I have seen in the East,¹ without steeple or tower. Within, it had all the parts usually seen in an Eastern Church, the porch, the nave and the sanctuary. On the roof of the porch was a thick plank hung between two upright posts. This is the bell, which is beaten with mallets to call the people to Church. I was surprised to see it in so conspicuous a situation. It is generally in the Church yard, if there is one. Within the Church there are three altars, as there always are in an Armenian Church. In the present instance, as is often the case, especially in the country, only one is used, namely, the middle or great altar. The others were in a neglected and disrobed state. The three stand in a line at the East end of the Church. Near the Northern altar was the baptismal font, a rude stone hollowed to the depth of a foot, and supported by as rude a pedestal of stone and mortar. The

¹ Excepting one or two in monasteries, which had low towers. Several of the mosques which were formerly Christian Churches have towers still standing, which would seem to show that before the days of Mohammedanism, such appendages were not uncommon.

Armenian Churches in the cities have generally a chapel on each side of the main building, entered by a door from the chancel of the Church. In each of these chapels is an altar, and in the Northern one the baptismal font, generally on the Northern side of the chapel. There are often one or two altars in the porch also, or in adjoining chapels at that end. On feast days in the great Churches, and especially on the day of the Saint for whom the Church is named, the Holy Eucharist is celebrated at all the altars, (sometimes six or seven in number,) and at all at the same time. The pavement on which the great altar stands is elevated from one to three feet above the chancel-floor, and this last is generally a few inches higher than the nave, and separated from it by a heavy rail. Not only the Bishop and clergy but the lay-superintendent of the Church and other considerable laymen sit within the rail, and oftentimes, at great festivals, the chancel is crowded with people.¹

The Church at Edrenes had most of the parts which I have described. A large curtain hanging to the floor concealed the great altar, and without it, but within the chancel, stood two forms, one for the reading of the Gospel and the other for the Lessons and Responses. At the Western end of the Church was the females' division, screened from the rest of the nave by a paling of lattice-work. Almost always, in the East, this division (which so far as I have observed is every where found among the Eastern Christians) is at this end of the Church; but in a few Churches I have seen it at the sides. The custom of separating males and females in public worship is in accordance with the habits of the East, and, under existing circumstances, I have no doubt it is best. The females' place is sometimes on the lower floor, and sometimes (especially in city Churches) in

¹ But the presence of any part of the congregation here the Armenians themselves acknowledge to be an irregularity.

a gallery above. In only one instance have I seen a Church exclusively for females.¹

The Church of Edrenes contained a dozen pictures in a very rude style, hanging in different parts of the edifice. The priest was unable to inform me whom or what most of them were intended to represent, and from this I inferred that no great use is made of them. It is not to be supposed that whenever paintings are found in an Eastern Church, they are necessarily intended for worship. They are often no more than portraits of Saints and scenes from Scripture, representations of martyrdoms, and such like, which are hung in the Church to adorn the edifice, and are placed in an elevated position, as if with the express design to avoid the danger of their being worshipped. The distinction between the Greek and Armenian Churches in this respect is very remarkable. While in the former the walls are almost covered with paintings, and these paintings are almost exclusively representations of *persons*, (which alone are ever worshipped, for no one would dream of worshipping a picture of the crucifixion or the resurrection for instance, or any mere representation of *events*,) and moreover these are hung low and are expressly prepared for worship by having attached to them fac similes in miniature intended to receive the kisses of the people, and thus save the more costly originals from injury; in the Armenian Churches the pictures are few, and most frequently they are representations of events. These are hung high in the Church, often nearer the ceiling than the floor, and are not worshipped. Such was probably the ancient condition of the Armenian Church, that is, the same use of pictures that is known among us, merely as decorations of the Church, and instructive representations of events which live in the history of Christianity. But when the

¹ Connected with the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople are three Churches, two for males, and one exclusively for females.

practice of some portions of the Armenians became corrupt, (which has been chiefly through the influence of Rome,) and pictures began to be used for worship,¹ those already in the Churches were not turned to this purpose, (being, as representations of *events*, unfit therefor,) but others were brought in, chiefly pictures of the Virgin, which were placed, as the custom still is, not in the nave of the Church, but in the porch or at the door, thus as it were indicating their extraneous character and the modern origin of the use of them. Accordingly it sometimes happens, in remote Churches in the interior, that the traveller will find no pictures of this latter description, and consequently none that are worshipped, the evil never having entered there; while in others he will see, besides the ancient paintings, a single portrait of the Saviour or the Virgin, before which no lights are burned nor any worship paid.²

The Eastern Churches, indeed, when rightly viewed, present one of the strongest arguments against picture-worship. Its establishment in the Greek Church is matter of history, and we know it to have been as late as A. D. 787.³

¹ This would seem to have been later than the 12th century, when, as Nicetas Choniates writes, the worship was forbidden among the Armenians. The passage is quoted in Palmer's Treatise on the Church, (P. IV. Ch. X. Sect. iv.) to which I am indebted for it. It reads as follows: 'Ἀρμενίοις γὰρ καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκότων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται. 'For the adoration of images is forbidden alike by the Armenians and the Germans.' Among the Armenians it has arisen chiefly within the last century, and almost entirely, I believe, within the last 150 years.

² In Constantinople the pictures in the porch have lamps burning before them, and such of the worshippers as please buy tapers at the door, which they light at the lamp and attach to a frame in front of the picture. But all do not practise it.

³ By the deuterio-Nicene Council, under the Empress Irene. This Council is recognized by the Greeks as the 7th General Council, but was formally rejected by a large part of the Western Church, including that of England, in the Council of Francfort on the Maine, A. D. 794.

In the other Eastern Churches, which were separated from the Greek Church about the middle of the fifth century and three hundred years before the deuterio-Nicene Council, in which of course they had no participation, things remain theoretically very nearly the same as at the time of their separation. Picture-worship has never been formally recognized among them; it has never been established by Councils or Canons, and so far as it is practised, it is a false appendage, an unauthorized usage, a comparatively modern corruption, gradually and partially introduced according to the relative proximity (locally) of these Churches to the Greek and Latin communions, and according to the active efforts at inculcating it which have been made from without. Thus, in the Armenian Church it has prevailed more extensively than in either of the others, Syrian or Nestorian; and in the Armenian Church, it prevails most where the members of that Church are nearest to the Greek and Latin Churches, and most affected by intercourse with them, as, for example, at Constantinople. Hence arises the difference between the Armenian Churches on the seaboard and in some parts of the interior, especially those parts which are least connected with the capital. The fact that there are constantly to be found in Constantinople some 40,000 Armenians from the interior, who come for purposes of gain, and after a time return to their homes, is enough to show how wide an influence the Church in the metropolis must exert upon almost every part of the country. Yet there are numerous districts from which few, if any, of the people resort to the capital, and those will always be found the most free from picture-worship and other modern corruptions.

The Syrian Church has still less of connection with Constantinople. Its Patriarch does not reside there. The source of ecclesiastical rule and influence in it is not in the capital. It is separated both by space and language from

the western parts of Turkey. The evil influences that it has received have come to it chiefly through Syria. Its practice, therefore, is purer than that of the Armenians, and very much purer than that of the Greeks. This is true of morals as well as of worship, for the influence of the capital is at present every way deleterious. But our attention is now confined to the use of pictures. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak more particularly of it in relation to the Syrian Church. Suffice it at present to say, that in some few places, and, so far as my observation has extended, uniformly those which have been most affected by intercourse with the capital, picture-worship is known, but this in a more limited degree than among either Greeks or Armenians, more limited both as to the number of those who practise it and the extent to which it is carried. I cannot, for example, recall an instance in a Syrian Church, though I will not positively affirm there is none, in which lights are kept burning before a picture during the intervals of service. But this practice is, I believe, universal among the Greeks, and not uncommon among the Armenians. And as to the number of those who practise picture-worship, the distinction between the three Churches is equally marked. Among the Greeks one seldom enters a church without kissing one or more pictures, and bowing and crossing himself before them. In the Armenian Churches many enter and depart without taking any notice of the pictures, where there are any. In the Syrian Church I have never seen one perform this sort of devotion either on entering or departing, although I would not deny that instances of the kind may in some places be seen.

If we go one step farther into the interior we shall find the climax of our argument—a Christian community among whom not a trace of picture-worship is to be found. The Nestorians of Kurdistan have remained in a remarkable manner secluded from all other Churches since the early

ages of Christianity. No Christians practising picture-worship have ever penetrated, until these latter days, into the stern recesses of their mountain homes. They remain, in point of religious usages, the same that they were fifteen centuries ago; while in point of intellectual activity and learning, little or nothing has survived. We might conceive of corruption creeping *in*, in an age of ignorance, but not of its creeping *out*. If it had ever been in, the ignorance which has so long enveloped the Nestorian Church would have preserved and strengthened it, or at least it would have remained, amidst the extinction of learning, in a stagnant and unchanging state, like flies preserved in amber. Had there been life, and movement, and theological inquiry, subtle reasoning might have marshalled in the error. But ignorance is obstinate, and stands upon custom and tradition and established usage. It preserves error, or if it gives birth, it is only to creatures of darkness. It does not originate reform. Hence it is impossible that the Nestorian Church should have lost the use of picture-worship if it had ever existed, besides that history has recorded no such change. The time has never been when it was in vogue. The universal testimony of the Nestorians is, that their Church was never defiled by it, and no one, I believe, pretends that it has ever been known among them. The testimony which their Church bears, is the testimony of the earliest ages, since which they have been shut up in their mountain fastnesses, unchanging within and unchanged from without. Interesting as it is in itself, it is of the greater value as showing the ancient practice of the Church, and combined with the evidence from the other Eastern communions, it presents a solid and immovable argument against the antiquity and lawfulness of picture-worship. I quote it, moreover, as one instance out of many, which shows the importance of studying the Oriental Churches ecclesiastically, for the evidence which they pre-

sent concerning ancient forms and practices. It will generally be found that where any corruption has been introduced among them since the rise and prevalence of Mohammedanism, it is either the progress of changes which began before, or it has been introduced from without. One may even venture to affirm, that if the Greek Church had been subjected to the sway of Islamism at as early a date as the Syrian, picture-worship would never have been established by an Eastern Council, nor would the other great delinquency of that Church,—the idolatrous worship of the Blessed Virgin,—have ever come into existence. They are both the results of a freedom protracted after the age of purity had departed, when the life of primitive holiness had declined, and the ears of many had been turned away from the truth and turned unto fables.¹ The course of that Church from the seventh century onward was one of deterioration, until the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century sealed the fate of the Eastern Empire and placed the Church in a state of fixedness. This event occurred at a time when the Greek Church seemed nearly prepared for the adoption of errors which would have determined its character for centuries. Had its independence survived another hundred years, it would have had its Reformation and its Council of Trent. Mohammedanism had at least this beneficent effect—for which, under the guidance of the Great Head of the Church, it may have been intended—of saving the Mother Church of the East from committing itself by the decisions of a Council to manifold and grievous errors. This happy result was realized at a much earlier date among the other portions of the Eastern Church which were severed from Catholic communion about the middle of the fifth century, and fell under the sway of Mohammedanism within two centuries afterwards. It is to

¹ 2 Tim. 4: 4.

them, therefore, that we are to look for the truest exhibitions of primitive usage and discipline. Nor are we to be turned aside from surveying them by any suspicion of their heterodoxy in that matter of faith upon which they separated from the Orthodox Communion. Even admitting that they hold a heresy with regard to the nature of Christ, (which I do not,) this surely does not invalidate their testimony upon any other point, since in nothing else does it appear that they have departed from the faith or practice of the ancient Church. As we proceed we shall find that this testimony is of great importance and value.

I was struck at Edrenes with the demeanor of the people towards me after they once found that I was a Christian. Till that moment most of them avoided me, and ran away when I called them. But as soon as they learned my real character, they became very communicative and clung to me, as if my presence conferred a favor. I have often observed this feeling among the Christian peasantry of the interior. The voice of sympathy and kindness is so strange to them, that when they hear it from the lips of a foreigner, whom, because he is a Frank, they imagine to be respectable and powerful, they seem as if they could never have enough of it. They feel a kind of security in his presence, a pleasure mingled with surprise at meeting with one who is a Christian and yet free from the bondage and oppression which in their minds are inseparably associated with the profession of their religion. Why is it that these poor, oppressed men, uninstructed as they are in the faith and duties of Christianity, do not seek a relief from their burdens by embracing the religion of their masters? I believe that the true reason is to be found in the preservation among them of one of the ancient traits of Christianity, viz., the value which they put upon Baptism as the introduction to the Christian covenant, to the privileges and hopes of the Gospel, the belief which they have that they were made Chris-

tians in this Holy Sacrament, that they were sealed and confirmed in the faith of Christianity almost from the hour of their birth. Mingled with this is another feeling not uncommon among them, and derived like the other from the ancient Church: I mean a fearful, though, in their uninstructed state, a vague view of the horrid consequences of apostacy and excommunication. They think that the state of no man, Mohammedan or Pagan, is so dreadful as his who forsakes the faith of Christianity; that for him there remains only a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation.¹

These feelings are sufficient to make them contented with their religion; but the sanctifying influences of that religion are so benumbed, that it does not make them contented with their lot. Hence it is that they (I speak of the peasantry of the interior) are generally unhappy, grumbling and repining at their state, instead of bearing it with holy fortitude, cringing and despondent, selfish and inhospitable. They deserve, however, our pity more than our blame, our sympathy rather than our scorn. The reason why they are thus degraded in character is that they have persevered in the faith of their fathers. It is because they are Christians

¹ Heb. 10: 27.—I may here add that in Constantinople, where infidelity and neglect of the ordinances of religion abound, this fear of apostacy prevails less than in the interior, and consequently conversions to Mohammedanism are not unknown, though by no means common. In every instance which has come to my knowledge, the motive was notoriously a mercenary one. But, on the other hand, I may say that I have also in mind cases of a very different character—cases in which Christians have been accused before Mohammedan magistrates of having *promised* to become Mussulmans, and have shown either the falseness of the accusation or their penitence by submitting to repeated torture and finally to death rather than abjure their religion. There have been at least two instances of this kind in Constantinople within six years, one of them the last year (1843). Both the sufferers were young men and Armenians. The first case was in 1838.

that they are so ground to the dust, for no one can fail to observe how different in general is the treatment of the Mohammedan peasantry, though *they* also suffer severely. It is because they are Christians, that they have endured the weight of oppression for centuries, and it is this oppression which has gradually destroyed in them manliness and energy of character. Never was there a people to whom, even for the life that now is, the joys and consolations, the strength and peace of religion were more necessary; never was there one who seemed as a body more destitute of these legitimate blessings of Christianity. And yet I would not deny that there are some among them who suffer with a higher sense of the dignity of their calling as confessors for Christ, who rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer shame for his name, and who are sustained by the cheering hope that, if they are faithful unto death, their reward will be great in heaven. I believe, I know, that there are men of this character among them. Let us not then despise these little ones, though they be as babes in Christ; but let us rather pray for them that their faith fail not. Let us strengthen them by our timely sympathy. Let us impart to them of our fulness. Let us make known to them, by legitimate modes and efforts, the true nature of the faith in which they stand. Let us restore to them, if the Lord will deign so far to bless our means, the joy and hope, the fulness and strength of the Gospel.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Edrenes.—Armenian Monastery.—The Road.—Kurdish Tents.—The Occupants.—Kurdish Chief.—His Reception.—His Life.—Presents in the East.—Eastern Character.—Famine.—Espionage.—Emigrants.—Turkish Policy.—The Road.—Dangers.—How to be met.

FROM the Church I returned to the Ayan's house, and found every thing ready for my departure. He had provided for me two stout mountaineers, who, with their guns slung upon their backs, trudged smartly on before us as we started. I had requested that they might be mounted, but no horses were to be had, and the event proved that it was unnecessary, for they kept in advance of us most of the day. Shortly after leaving Edrenes, we passed near a place called Sis, where we observed some more ancient fortifications. Close by is an Armenian monastery, which time would not allow me to visit. For a while we travelled among the hills along the base of Keuse Dagh, or Bald Mountain, so called from its barren summit, where the Kurds in summer pasture their flocks. It is one of three mountains on the South side of the plain, and gives rise to the Kizzil Irmak, or Red River, the largest and longest stream of Asia Minor. We then plunged into interminable pine forests, and soon after came upon a group of Kurdish tents pitched in a little green nook at the foot of the mountain. The Kavass, instead of avoiding them, led the way directly towards them, and dismounted before the principal tent. We followed his example, just as the old man, the Patriarch of the tribe, came out to meet us.