

Athens, December 25th 1809-March 5th 1810

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Edited from B.L. Add. Mss. 56527 and 56529.

Athens was not a metropolitan centre in 1810; it was technically the fiefdom one of the Black Eunuchs at Constantinople, and neither Turks nor native Greeks valued it as romantic philhellenes did. It seems to have lacked any intelligentsia, other than the Frankish contingent (Lusieri, Fauvel, Galt), and neither Byron nor Hobhouse seems to have made much of a social life there, as they did in Milan, Venice, Paris, and elsewhere. Once, Hobhouse is reduced to spending three hours chatting with Fletcher!

Hobhouse, seems to get on better with the Turks than with the Greeks – until, that is, his character-forming solo expedition to Cēgrippō (modern Khalkis) on February 8th-9th, where his perception of the indifferent rapacity lurking beneath even the most grave of Mussulman fronts – plus the amount of money he's forced to disburse to his hosts – seems to turn him against the conquerors for good. His subsequent reflections on the revolutionary potential of the Dervene militia (February 10th) constitute his first steps on the path which leads to the foundation of the London Greek Committee over ten years later.

Perhaps in consequence of Athens' social barrenness, the diary for these two-and-a-bit months consists mainly of descriptions of expeditions outside the city, and there Hobhouse often skirts bathos by his tourist-guide obsession with distances, compass-points, and directions. But there are highlights. The account of the near-fatal visit to the spa cave on January 21st is only slightly marred by our uncertainty as to whether or not Byron shared it. Byron unquestionably shares both Hobhouse's awe at their visit to the plain of Marathon on January 24th, and the food-poisoning he gets that night.

The reason why the two Englishmen have to leave Athens so suddenly is unromantic enough.

My Greek being rudimentary, I'd welcome it if errors could be pointed out.

Monday, Xmas Day, December 25th 1809: Up before daylight – off at half past ten (by my watch). Crossed this plain, which is about three miles long and two broad in this place, and has now only three small villages and a spot or two of vineyard, and being once most probably the site of a large city. To the south for an hour, then got into pine woods rising on the side of the hills that terminate this vale to the east and south-east. Horses tumbling, as if by

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consent, one after the other – road south-south-east, stony paths through these woods, that are not thick. but of great extent.

As we got further, the path over high hills, passed what they call the *κακη σκαλαί* – (Europus to the north-east) and on a height in the pine-woods, which would have afforded a lonely resort enough for Timon,² had the first view of Athens³ (twenty-five minutes to three) with its citadel on the eminence in the midst, the plains, and the sea. A little farther saw the walls of an antiquity on one side of a rugged rock, rising through the wood over a deep glen – this may have defended one of the passes into Attica. The road became every moment more romantic, over steep hills clothed with more noble pine trees – till we arrived at Capha, a better sort of Greek town, where we had been recommended by Signor Strané to sleep between Thebes and Athens, four o'clock. Thence road on a plain, which appeared more like England than anything we had for some time seen, stretching out to the north-east, with a considerable town in the distance. The mosque, tipped with the last rays of the sun, not unlike a village spire, and woods closing the view with vistas in them like those I have seen in Lord Ludlow's woods in Bedfordshire.⁴ A plain extending also before us, except to south-south-east.

Turned round the corner of a little hill and saw the citadel of Athens.⁵

Road more wide, and plain through grounds cultivated with <olive> wheat and vineyards, then through olive grounds for an hour, and afterwards, for the last hour, on a broad Newmarket Road⁶ without trees. Entrance through an arch, and indeed everything in the approach to this city presents

¹: *Journey* (I 286) has ... "*Kake Scala,*" or the Bad Steps; it was a narrow and slippery crossing over a torrent.

²: The celebrated misanthrope and recluse.

³: They were alerted by a guide calling out "Affendi, Affendi to chorio!" "Sir, Sir, the town!" – *Journey* I 286.

⁴: George James, 3rd and last Earl Ludlow (1758-1842) had a seat at Cople Hall near Bedford.

⁵: The Acropolis.

⁶: H. is thinking of the stretch of straight road between Six Mile Bottom and Newmarket, which was and still is lined with trees. The characteristic way in which, the closer he gets to Athens, the more Greece reminds him of East Anglia, is replaced in *Journey* (I 286-287) by "... not Thrasylbulus himself *defender of Athenian democracy* could from these hills have surveyed his own Athens, the object of all his patriotic efforts, with more ardour and affection, mixed with a not unpleasing melancholy, than were felt by him who is now employed upon this imperfect relation".

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the notion of something superior to everything even more in Greece. The streets, however, seem as usual narrow and bad, and the house where we are lodged, Madame Theodora Macri,⁷ not so good as expected.

Bad supper. To bed at twelve.

Entered Athens this Xmas day, half-past eight, 1809.

Tuesday December 26th 1809: Up twelve. Walked out to the English Vice Consul Logotheti,⁸ who had the impudence to propose his gawky son as a travelling-companion to us. Afterwards received a visit from Signor Lusieri, Lord Elgin's painter here.⁹ He says that the French for twenty years have been attempting to procure that which Lord Elgin has got, and are now doing what they can to prevent the remainder of the antiquities from being shipped. Query? is not this a good excuse for my Lord's barbarous love for these antiquities?¹⁰

Dinner – pigeons and Scian wine, olives – not ripe yet. On the pines, nets of caterpillars.

Mr Lusieri in his manner exactly like David Baillie – – – – ...¹¹

Athens subject to a governor appointed by the chief of the black eunuchs at Constantinople.¹²

[*sketch*]

⁷: Theodora Macri was sister-in-law of Tarsia Macri, the widow of the English Vice-Consul Procopius Macri who had died in 1799. Tarsia was the mother of Mariana, born app. 1794, Katinka, born app. 1796, and Theresa – B.'s "Maid of Athens" – born app. 1797.

⁸: "Logotheti"'s real name was Ioannis Stamou Khondrodimas; for some information about him, see 22 Jan 10.

⁹: Giovanni Battista Lusieri (17??-1821) had been a painter attached to Lord Elgin's retinue in 1799-1803. He was still supervising the removal of some of the numerous artefacts which Elgin had collected.

¹⁰: Elgin's plan had been partly motivated by a desire to raise the level of architectural and artistic taste in England, by showing the nation some real Greek works; but partly by the fact that the Turks habitually ground down the marble of which the statues were made, to make lime for mortar; and partly by the fact that French agents in Greece were planning to remove as many Greek works as they could to the Louvre.

¹¹: Like H.'s friend David Baillie, Lusieri was tall and thin.

¹²: Athens was ranked forty-third amongst the cities of European Turkey; the Chief of the Black Eunuchs had lost his power over it in 1760, but regained it in 1800. Strictly speaking there was

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This Ms. finished with the adventures of December 26th 1809, and the above view of the Acropolis from two hour's distance on ye road from Thebes. --

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Wednesday December 27th 1809: Up ten. Walked out at three with Lusieri and Logotheti to call on the governor of the town¹⁴ (there is another of the Acropolis).¹⁵ Saw him, a personable man who had served in Egypt.

Came back, dined, passed the evening at home, i.e. at the widow Macri's, ye house of the former English consul here.

Thursday December 28th 1809: Up half-past eleven. At one, walked out with Mr Lusieri. Took the way to the west, walked to the temple of Theseus¹⁶ – entire, but some pillars disjointed by earthquakes. The church is enclosed by the columns with a little iron-plated door to it, pierced full of pistol, bullet, and gun holes – striking effect of the simplicity and apparent strength of this architecture – Doric. The <labours of> Lapithæ and Centaurs¹⁷ battle in *basso relievo* on the west front.

Going further on, taking the circuit to the south, saw the Pnyx,¹⁸ the steps of the tribune remaining, and the ground below being cleared away by my Lord Aberdeen,¹⁹ a tolerable notion can be conceived of this place. Here Dr Clarke²⁰ mounted the steps, and repeated a Greek speech which was well-heard at the remotest part of that which now appears to be a natural amphitheatre in the hill. Just above this place is the spot from whence they

¹³: At this point the volume now numbered B.L. Add. Mss. 56527 ends and the one numbered B.L. Add. Mss. 56529 begins.

¹⁴: the Voivode (H.'s "Waiwode": his name was Suleyman Aga) the civil city governor, and

¹⁵: the Disdar, the military governor of the Acropolis.

¹⁶: Part of the Temple of Theseus, or Theseum, had been converted into a church dedicated to St George.

¹⁷: Similar to those on the Parthenon friezes. The battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths (see *Odyssey* XXI 295 *et. seq.*) was a famous theme. The Lapiths won. See Pausanias, *Attica* 17.

¹⁸: The assembly-ground of Athenian democratic meetings.

¹⁹: See 16 Dec 09.

²⁰: Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822) English travel author, had visited Athens in 1802 and disliked what he had seen Lord Elgin's agents doing. He was subsequently Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge.

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say Alcibiades pointed out to the Athenians the prospect of the sea when he wished to persuade them to the Sicilian expedition.²¹

From this place the view is very advantageous, taking in, to the west the Piræus, and the other harbours, Munyelia and Phalerno, the line of coast which comprises them being so perfectly soft and picturesque as to leave nothing wanting to complete the *coup d'oeil*. Beyond the Piræus is the black land of Salamis,²² and on the mainland the little hill with the piece of rock on the top from which Xerxes²³ surveyed the battle of Salamis. Behind these may be just discerned the white mountains of the Isthmus. To the south of Salamis is Ægina, and behind and farther on, the hills of the Peloponnesus. The foreground to the Piræus is a flat, covered with olive groves and vineyards, with ranges of wheat ground, that in this season of the year appear as green as the verdure of an English vale.

Thence walked up the higher hill to the tomb of Phillippapus,²⁴ where all the statues want heads. From this spot, where the city in the flat below the Acropolis to the north is seen to advantage, and every point of view is taken in, Mr Lusieri intends taking two views, each of which is to have half of the tomb in it, so that the two pictures may be joined and represent the whole prospect.

Thence we walked down the hill towards the Acropolis, and passed by the Turkish burying ground where the headstones are <composed of/>of pieces of ancient small pillars, and where is the carved turban of a Mussulman²⁵ who is buried at Constantinople and at Smyrna likewise, and is said often to appear amongst the living. Passed by close under the rock of the Acropolis to the right (south) where is the cave in which Apollo enjoyed Creusa.²⁶

²¹: See Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, VI, ii.

²²: Site of the sea battle in 480 BC, in which the Greeks under Themistocles beat the Persians.

²³: Chandler's *Travels in Greece* (see 30 Dec 1809) debates on p.205 on which eminence Xerxes, the Persian King (c.519-465 BC) sat to witness his defeat at Salamis.

²⁴: The monument of Philopappus, King of Commagene in the second century BC and a major benefactor of Athens, still commands an excellent view.

²⁵: *Journey* (I 316) has "a pious Mussulman".

²⁶: "Apollo, one of its owners, deserved instead of worship, to have been tried and condemned for a rape, which, it was believed, he committed in this cave on Creusa,

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Went to Lusieri's house – got a letter from Georgi Forresti and Strané, and Byron one from his mother. Went out with Byron on horseback to the Temple of Theseus and the tomb of Philopappus – noted, on the right (north) of the Pnyx, a descent about a yard and a half, worn smooth and shining, with an excavation at the top like that of a Turkish necessary. This, Mr Lusieri told me, was a place where the women of Athens, Greeks and Turks, came to slide down repeatedly, in hopes that the operation would favour their production of male children.

From Philopapus, rode down the hill to the columns of Olympian Jupiter²⁷ – sixteen of them still, but one with the foundation stones removed, so as to threaten a fall the next earthquake – magnificence inconceivable of these to the south-south-east of the city. Thence this Adrian's²⁸ triumphal arch into the city, and round by the walls. Home to dinner in Mr Galton's²⁹ apartment. To bed one, near.

Friday December 29th 1809: Up ten. Walked out with Mr Galton to the east, through the city, to go to the Acropolis, but prevented by Mr Lusieri, who informed me that without previous communication and a present of tea and sugar, the governor of the citadel would not admit us. Turned by the eastward still, therefore and saw the Temple of the Winds,³⁰ octangular &c., on the outside only. Passed to the Lantern of Demosthenes,³¹ in a convent where one monk only resides, in a decent habitation under the French

daughter of Erectheus, who exposed in it afterwards the child, Ion, from whom the Ionians of Asia and Europa are now named" – Chandler's *Travels in Greece* (1776) p. 59. The story is from Pausanias, *Attica* 28. For Chandler, see 30 Dec 09.

²⁷: The huge temple to Jupiter, built by

²⁸: The Roman Emperor Hadrian (76-138); see Pausanias, *Attica* 18. B. has a note on the building, to *Childe Harold* II Stanza 10: "The Temple to Olympian Jupiter, of which sixteen columns entirely of marble yet survive: originally there were 150. These columns, however, are by many supposed to have belonged to the Pantheon" (CPW II 284).

²⁹: Theodore Galton (1784-1810) had greeted them at Madame Macri's house on their arrival the previous day. In a letter of 31 July 1810 H. reports to B. "Poor Galton died in circumstances of peculiar distress, quite mad and vowing that all his family were visited by God on account of some great sin" (BB 36).

³⁰: Also known as the monument of Andronicus Chyrestes; it was used by the local branch of the Turning Dervishes (see 25 May 1810).

³¹: Also known as the monument of Lysicrates.

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direction.³² In this lantern the monk has a little library – it is very small. Passed on to the south bank of the rock of the Acropolis, where are the remains, such as they are now – nothing of the Temple of Bacchus.³³ Climbed up to the two pillars above – the statue of Bacchus just removed by my Lord Elgin – here are no signs of the theatre below. Visited again, to the left, the triumphal arch of the temple Jupiter Olympius, and then walked down a little farther to the south, into the bed of the Ilyssus, where no water runs.

Passed up a short distance to the eastward (left) to the stadium, where saw the hole through which the vanquished retreated – in this hole some old women of Athens perform at midnight some sacrifices to some spirit, and leave offerings honey and flour, of which I saw evident signs. They likewise collect the foam of the sea for their magics.³⁴ Walking back from the Stadium, with the pillars of Olympus to the left, shown the small eminence of the Lyceum to the right, a short distance off – the hill to the right (east) Mount Hymettus,³⁵ not high nor picturesque, having no eminence but being a range of rock apparently. Passing over the ploughed lands, a thousand pieces of marble. Athens and its ruins is so small a space, but more striking than I conceived it could be. Returned home through the wall gate to the east – the walls in this quarter nearly upon the site of the ancient.

Rode with Byron to the Piræus. Road from ye gate round the temple of Theseus to the west partly through olive grounds. Evident marks of pieces of the long walls – Piræus a small port with a narrow entrance. Returned after seeing the chests which are Elgin's cargoes, and the Idriote ship to convey them.³⁶

³²: B. stayed at this convent from Aug 1810 to Apr 1811, making friends with many of the pupils there.

³³: Site of the theatre, sacred to Dionysos (H.'s "Bacchus") where the plays of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Euripides, and so on, were performed.

³⁴: *Journey* (I 325) has "These witches (a decrepid creature was pointed out to me as one of them), are hated and feared by Greeks and Turks, and make use of their supposed art to extort charity from the credulous and terrified females of both nations". Compare Pausanias, *Attica* 18.

³⁵: Hilly range overlooking Athens. See Pausanias, *Attica* 32.

³⁶: Elgin's remaining items were packed into fifty-three crates. Forty-eight left on 21 Mar 1809, and the remaining five on 22 Apr 1811.

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Dined with Mr Galton, who gave me as a parting present the sling lead “ΔΕΞΑΙ”,³⁷ Bed. “X . X₂”³⁸ – he had another with “Philippis” on it – see the story of “to Philip’s right eye”.³⁹

Saturday December 30th 1810:⁴⁰ Up eleven. Breakfasted with Mr Galton. Rainy night and morning. At three, rode out to the Munychia, a larger port than ye Piræus, but apparently not so secure, the shore here so shelved as to give a tumultuous noise to the waves, even in this calm day, which may have rendered it an eligible place for the practises of Demosthenes,⁴¹ as Byron said. Marshy grounds and fresh water lake there, lying south-east of the Acropolis. Returned galloping by the back (south) of the Acropolis, across the channel of the Ilyssus, which could if it always had the same bed, have been but a paltry stream.

Dined in the next house, a communication being made through the wall of the widow Macri’s into the premises of a lady with three daughters.⁴² Tea, and evening in the room left today by Mr Galton – very comfortable.

The view of the Parthenon from the road from Munychia very advantageous, as the ravages of time are at that distance not to be seen, and the traveller may consider himself paying a visit to Athens indeed ... From the road from ye Piræus you have the same flattering view of the temple of Theseus.

Vassilly, to spite ye widow Macri, is at this time sleeping out in the yard ...

³⁷: Galton’s present was a missile for use in a sling, inscribed with a message (“Take this!”) to its intended target.

³⁸: Cryptic.

³⁹: Aster inscribed an arrow to the exact spot in the face of Philip of Macedon (his right eye) which he then pierced with it (my thanks to Chris Little here).

⁴⁰: The manuscript of *Childe Harold* I has this day as its terminal date.

⁴¹: Demosthenes (c.383-322 BC) would practise his oratory, and improve his diction and projection, by rehearsing by a noisy sea-shore – sometimes with pebbles in his mouth.

⁴²: H.’s first reference to Tarsia Macri’s three teenage daughters. *Journey* (I 291) has ... *a single wall through which we opened a doorway*. B. seems to have lived in the house of Tarsia, H. in that of Theodora Macri.

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Chandler,⁴³ talking of Minerva's prohibition to the crows to approach her temple,⁴⁴ says, "Crows, I have often observed, fly about the sides of the rock, without ascending to the height of the top".⁴⁵ In the margin of Lusieri's Chandler I see put "J'ai vue des milles sur le Parthenon," and so have I ... the hill of the Areopagus well described and placed by Chandler – his statue of Isis now quite defaced.⁴⁶ Lusieri told me the water was not good in the fountains hard by – also mentioned by Chandler.⁴⁷

Sunday December 31st 1809: Up eleven. Walked out to the east of the Acropolis, to where the Ilyssus and Eridamus join.⁴⁸ Afterwards farther on, into some olive trees, to a convent and church of St Michael, one mile and a half perhaps from ye city. Two capitals of Corinthian columns in the chapel. Returned back under the hill of Anchesmus, where is the monastery of St George. Two white pillars erected by a Turk as the sign of his having made a good shot at a target from one to the other. Afterwards rode out with Byron, taking the same road, but going about four miles farther. The country plain, but stony and uncultivated, with the sweet-smelling low herb.⁴⁹ Came in sight of a town in the grounds at the front of Mount Pentele,⁵⁰ crossed up a hill north-west, and got to the other side of it into a path in olive grounds leading to Athens, having Anchesmus now on left (east) of returning to the

⁴³: Richard Chandler (1738-1810) an archaeologist who travelled in and wrote extensively about Greece and Asia Minor. H. seems to have his book *Travels in Greece* (1776) constantly to hand. At *Journey* (I 486) he writes, "Were it not for the conjectures of former travellers, and the power put into every one's hands, who is in possession of a Pausanias, of indulging in the same pleasing speculations, travelling in modern Greece would be an irksome and unsatisfactory labour".

⁴⁴: The statue of Minerva by Phidias dominated the Parthenon, which was her temple. She favoured owls over crows.

⁴⁵: Chandler, *Travels in Greece* p. 54.

⁴⁶: Chandler, *Travels* pp. 66-67. At p. 150 he reports finding a small statue of Isis ("the Egyptian Ceres") in the cave of Pan and Apollo, which B. and H. do not visit until January 9th.

⁴⁷: "On the left hand, returning from the aqueduct, is the bed of the Ilissus; and higher up, the junction of it and the Eridamus. The water of this river was so bad that the cattle would scarcely drink of it" – Chandler, *Travels* pp. 78-79.

⁴⁸: Referred to at Pausanias, *Attica*, 19. Hobhouse has been reading the book, and refers to it covertly very often.

⁴⁹: *Journey* (I 367) has "... a low sweet-smelling herb, like wild-thyme ..."

⁵⁰: Referred to with the two other Athenian eminences Hymettus and Parnes at Pausanias, *Attica*, 32.

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city, through the same gate by which we at first entered it. Fine road, comparatively.

Dined, and during dinner received a letter from ye freethinking bishop of Livadia.⁵

NB: the juncture of the Eridamus and Ilyssus nothing but a puddle formed in two rents or chasms in the soil as they appear now

Wrote this in 1810, thirty-five minutes past twelve.

The abr⁵¹ a small church just above ye juncture – – ———

Monday January 1st 1810: Up late. Walk out to Anchesmus, but the wind so high could not ascend the hill. Afterwards walked round the walls of the city at a common pace, making up for the climbing part near the castle⁵² by going a little faster than ordinary. Walking in forty-seven minutes, began where we entered, at the gate from Thebes. Saw a Corinthian capital and column – a little way beyond this gate formerly was a church, now pulled down.⁵³

No meat for dinner today.⁵⁴

The initiated in the Eleusis Mysteries⁵⁵ forbidden the eating of red mullet, which we have found the best food here. Nicias, trying to persuade the Athenians against the Sicilian expedition, tells them that news would be four months reaching them (so says Goldsmith, but I don't find it in Thucydides)⁵⁶ – the Piræus is exceedingly small in this shape. [*sketch*]

Tuesday January 2nd 1810: Up eleven. Walked out to the Academy,⁵⁷ about twenty minutes from the gate leading to Thebes – a rising piece of stony ground with no remains of any kind – the gardens of Athens beyond

⁵¹: Cryptic.

⁵²: The Acropolis.

⁵³: Chandler (*Travels* p. 97) refers to this as “a church called Great St Mary” (the name of the Cambridge University church – but Chandler was an Oxford man).

⁵⁴: Meat was scarce in Greece at this time. See *Don Juan* II, Stanza 154.

⁵⁵: Eleusis, along the coast from Athens, was centre for the important mystery cults which gave Plato, Virgil and others much food for thought and material for poetry. H. and B. first visit it on 13 Jan 1810.

⁵⁶: See Thucydides, Book VI. H. is wrong, and Goldsmith right. Nicias does stress to the Athenians the problems of the four-month communication gap.

⁵⁷: The Academy where Plato and others taught and disputed; see Pausanias, *Attica* 29 *et. seq.*

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it.⁸ Here I walked to the river Cephissus, a rapid ditch stream, twenty minutes farther over, not appearing so large, as much of the water had been turned off into the gardens and olive grounds. A large garden let for twenty-five *piastres per annum*. Olive trees watered in this way twice a year. Saw a short pillar with an inscription lying by a garden gate, where was a marble mouth to a well, worn with ropes on every side.

Pelopidas besieged Orchomenos with an army [of] 800 foot forty horse.⁵⁸
To bed twelve.

Wednesday January 3rd 1810:⁵⁹ Up eleven. Walked out to Philoppapus' monument and back by the back (south) of the Acropolis. Afterwards, rode out to the Academy past the Cephissus, and rode through olive grounds into a plain beyond, under the hills to west of Athens. Returned, galloping, over a bridge across the little muddy stream.

Dinner – woodcock and *lurdi*.⁶⁰ Wrote grammar tonight.⁶¹ Slow progress.

This Zantiote regiment the cause of rumours of wars, bungled as usual by the *Inglese*.⁶² Mr Lusieri called today – tells that Mr Fauvel⁶³ has got the body and remaining wheels of his cart.⁶⁴

Thursday January 4th 1810: Up eleven. Walked out into the town to the house of Demetrius.⁶⁵ Shown specimens of saints, one particularly, St

⁵⁸: The Theban attack on Orchomenos is referred to at Pausanias, *Boeotia* 15: but Pelopidas is not specified as commander.

⁵⁹: This is the date of B.'s long note to *Childe Harold* II 101 (CPW II 190-1).

⁶⁰: Note pending.

⁶¹: H. is attempting a Romaic grammar.

⁶²: At *Journey* (I 220) H. writes of "the attempt making in the Morea by three men in English pay, to raise recruits for the new Zantiote regiment, now called in our army list, the Greek Light Infantry", and deplores the folly of recruiting in the territories of a foreign power.

⁶³: Louis François Sebastian Fauvel (1753-1838) was French consul in Athens, having previously been assistant to Count Choiseul-Gouffier, the Ambassador to Constantinople. In respect of archaeology and sculpture they were to France – or aspired to be – what Lusieri and Elgin were to England. However, Fauvel was courteous to all Frankish visitors.

⁶⁴: Fauvel and Lusieri battled for years over a large cart, in which statuary and other remains could be transported to Piraeus for shipment home. B. refers to it in his note to *Childe Harold* II 101.

⁶⁵: Demetrios Zograffo, soon to become their travel-guide and servant. He is described at *Journey* II 530 as "a saint-maker by trade at Athens". See 17 July 1811.

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Demetrius, on horseback, for which Hope⁶⁶ offered him fifty *zechins*. Walked under the hill this side (north) of the Areopagus. Saw there a fountain – proceeded through the gate of the city to a road towards Eleusis. There saw, in a quarter of a mile, a ravine that had been hollowed to get stone for the city, a well that had been discovered about two years, a yard and a half in diameter, of brick, neatly joined, with regularly-placed holes for steps down to the water. Strolling through the city this day, amongst other remains and memorials of things that have ceased to exist.

Saw, over the gate of a house formerly occupied by the French Consul, a plaster model of Liberty, with her cap &c., and *La Republique Française* engraved round the rim.⁶⁷ Saw today, under the remains of the porch of the old market place, the city weights and measures marked on a stone as regulated in the time of Adrian. Here are two large columns – over the doors of some houses may be still seen small marbles with figures of processions. One I observed of a man in a chair of the modern make [*sketch*]. Rode out with Byron across the Cephissus on the road to Eleusis through the olive grounds.

Dined, &c. Demetrius told me today scandalous tales of Lusieri – of his living in a house with two young girls under pretence of going to marry one of them, &c.

Friday January 5th 1810: Up eleven. Did nothing this day but dine with Lusieri, who gave us some Cerigo wine, very like Cephalonian. Read Goldsmith's *History of Greece*: "all the appendages of a king are respectable except his *courtiers*".⁶⁸

To bed two. Disturbed by the Xtians knocking at the doors to rouse the folk to church tomorrow, being Xmas day old style.⁶⁹

⁶⁶: Thomas Hope. See 16 Dec 1810.

⁶⁷: A dangerous emblem to have displayed under the Ottoman autocracy.

⁶⁸: Goldsmith, *The Grecian History* (1774). Note pending.

⁶⁹: The Greek Orthodox Church still used the Julian Calendar, by now eleven days behind the Gregorian.

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Saturday Janaury 6th 1810: Up half past eleven. Called on Lusieri, who showed me his representation of Joannina⁷⁰ and one or two other sketches, most admirable and minute.

He told me a tale of Ali Pacha⁷¹ – the wife of his own Mochtar⁷² one day appearing very melancholy before him was after repeated solicitations brought to confess that the occasion of her grief was the diminution apparent in her husband’s affection towards her. Being pressed a little more closely by the Vizier, she also hinted that Mochtar had been estranged from her by the charms of certain Greek ladies of the city. Ali insisted on knowing who and how many there were. The sick lady gave him a list of fifteen, the most beautiful brides of Epirus, and the Vizier, in order to put a stop for this time to the irregularities of his son, ordered them instantly to be seized, which command was obeyed, and, each being tied in a sack with a stone round it, was thrown through a hole in the corner of the Seraglio into the lake of Ioannina.

Another fair lady, Zofremi,⁷³ was disposed of in the same manner. It was her misfortune to be the flame of Ali and his son Veli. The Vizier one day observed on her finger a ring that had been a present of his to the favorite wife of Veli. He wanted no other evidence of his having a rival, or of that rival being his son, and the unfortunate Zofremi was sacked and drowned. The inhabitants of Ioannina remark that the fish of their lake are neither wholesome nor pleasant to the taste.

But the Vizier is now growing religious and the fish will be better.

⁷⁰: Lusieri specialised (*inter alia*) in photo-realistic panoramas.

⁷¹: Lusieri’s story is used by B. in his note to the final line of *The Giaour*: “The circumstance to which the above story relates was not very uncommon in Turkey. A few years ago the wife of Muchtar Pacha complained to his father of his son’s supposed infidelity; he asked with whom, and she had the barbarity to give in a list of the twelve handsomest women in Yanina. They were seized, fastened up in sacks, and drowned in the lake the same night! One of the guards who was present informed me, that not one of the victims uttered a cry, or shewed a symptom of terror at so sudden a “wrench from from all we know, from all we love”. The fate of Phrosine, the fairest of this sacrifice, is the subject of many a Romaic and Arnaut ditty” (CPW III 422-3). See also *The Giaour*, lines 374-87 (CPW III 52). The “guard” referred to in the last sentence but one was their Albanian servant, Vassilly.

⁷²: Mouchtar Pasha was Ali’s eldest son.

⁷³: H. reverses the consonants of “Phrosyne”.

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The rich men of Ioannina do not even dare to take an airing on horseback without leave, lest it should be suspected that they are going to decamp with their treasures. From Alexis the son of the Greek who was most instrumental in assisting the entrance of the Vizier into Joannina, Ali takes yearly 250 purses [of] *piastres*, 500 each.

Lusieri also mentioned a singular superstition of the Greeks. They consider that the antique statues in Greece are men and women enchanted by some magician, and that they will at some future time recover their pristine form. Some men employed in loading my Lord Elgin's marbles a few days past, refused to put one of the chests on board, saying that it was an *Arabin*,⁷⁴ or had a spirit within, and some Greeks who conveyed two busts to Captain Leake declared they heard the *Arabin* groan and scream most piteously within them. Some of these statues, they say, have been heard to bewail at leaving their friends and fellow marbles in the Acropolis.⁷⁵ In the well of Lusieri's house there is also an *Arabin*.

“Dio mi guardia dei Dragomani – io mi guardero dei Cani.”⁷⁶

– *Proverb Constantinopolitane*.

Cold with a little rain.

Sunday January 7th 1810: Up half past twelve. Rode out about two miles on ye road to the south-east by south, passing by the pillars of Jupiter Olympadus,⁷⁷ crossed the bed of the Ilyssus, came in a quarter of a mile to where the bed of another river joins it – is this the Eridamus?⁷⁸ Came in half a mile to the bed of another torrent coming from Hymettus, which is now covered with snow, as are also all the mountains, particularly Parnes,⁷⁹ that over which we came from Thebes. The winter has set in apparently about five days, the cold being miserable, but perhaps only comparatively so, even in the middle of the day. Returned. See in Pausanias that Calippus has

⁷⁴: The word, used thus, has not got into the OED.

⁷⁵: Reported at *Journey II* 529. A heroic version of the idea informs *The Curse of Minerva*, B.'s anti-Elgin satire of 1811.

⁷⁶: “God protect me from travel-couriers and interpreters; I'll protect myself from dogs”.

⁷⁷: The Olympeion, ruined temple in Athens (my thanks to Chris Little here).

⁷⁸: The junction of the Ilyssus and Cephissus is described at Pausanias, *Attica* 19.

⁷⁹: Pausanias, *Attica* 32.

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written a history of the Orchomenians.⁸⁰ It seems to me to give a certain magnitude, amongst other circumstances, to the notions we have of Grecian affairs, that their distances were reckoned by *stadia*, eight of which make a mile.⁸¹

By Pausanias it should seem that there was a river called Dirce.⁸² Wheler talks of travelling up the Tromenus to its fountain;⁸³ this the Thebans call Dirce, and is really only ten minutes walk from the city.

Monday January 8th 1810: Up twelve. With Mr Lusieri, paid a visit to the Acropolis. The *propylæa* or gates, five of them seen at entrance, but filled up with stones the gate of entrance now. Just where it was anciently, pillars of the Parthenon double with *relievos* on the frieze, above capitals of the second row. This before you get into the temple – in the temple you see the door entering it, but not so large as formerly, the ancient marble pavement with pillars to the right (south) but all thrown down to the left. Immense masses of columns scattered about.⁸⁴ On the right, the fading vestiges of the daubings of the Greek church.⁸⁵ Come to the mosque in the middle, then ye place where was the altar of the ancient Greek church, then the columns of the other front of the temple, from the east side of which Lord Elgin has pulled down the relievos.⁸⁶ All in ruins, but the immense Doric columns that still stand (specimens of the [] of the marble lying about).

When the Turks want lead, they disjoint a part of the marble structures and find the object of their search in the juncture of the marbles. During the

⁸⁰: Pausanias, *Boeotia* 29.

⁸¹: John Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary* gives 100 "English paces" as the equivalent to a *Stadium*.

⁸²: Pausanias, *Boeotia* 25.

⁸³: Sir George Wheler (sic: 1650-1723) *A Journey into Greece* (1682). The reference may be to his description of the fountain of Callirrhoes at p. 379.

⁸⁴: "Such scattered fragments will soon constitute the sole remains of the Temple of Minerva" – *Journey* (I 338).

⁸⁵: "Faint marks of the painted saints, with which the Christians disfigured the interior of their Pagan edifice, are just visible on the walls of the south side of the cell" – *Journey* (I 342 - 343).

⁸⁶: "... by means of a ruined staircase ... I managed to get on the top of the colonnade, and by leaning at full length over the architrave, had a sufficiently close inspection of the work to be convinced, that this sculpture, though meant to be viewed at a distance of forty feet at least from below, is as accurately and minutely executed, as if it had been originally designed to be placed near the eye of the spectator" – *Journey* (I 341).

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time that Lusieri was away, on account of the short war, nearly half of the south wall of the temple of Erechtheus [was] pulled down.

Passing to the north side of the temple of Minerva, came to the remaining pillars of the temple of Erechtheus and Neptune.⁸⁷ The most beautiful Ionic on a smaller scale, but in high preservation – one has been taken whole by Lord Elgin. At the south back of this, the pillars, on the same scale of Minerva Polias, but between the pillars filled up with stone, a powder magazine being made of the inner part. Coming round this temple, a powder-house on the west part. Again see statues of virgins in the wall. Lord Elgin has one of these. The place filled up with white plaster on the west side of Minerva Polias. On the plaster wall, this scrawl:

*quod non fecerunt Goti –
hoc fecerunt Scoti*⁸⁸

This part, though not so stupendous as the Temple Parthenon, more exquisitely striking. Beautiful views all round from the Acropolis. From the back of Minerva Polias, on the Pollogame, the best of the present city, which seems as in a picture beneath. From a battery to the west, a view of the fine plain and olive grounds to the Piræus. The day particularly favourable, being bright sunshine and all the mountains round capped with snow, the plains green, and the sea calm.

Visited the young governor⁸⁹ in a shabby room in the Acropolis. Learn that the pay of his soldiers, or castriotes, is ten piastres per annum, and he himself, to whom we had before sent a present of tea and sugar, if we are to

⁸⁷: “All that was left of the sculpture on the eastern porch, the contest between Minerva and Neptune, has been carried off by the same person [Lord Elgin]. The marks of the separation are still very apparent. Ignorant of the cause, I pointed them out to Mr. Lusieri himself, who informed me of the fact, and showed the places in the pediment whence the two female colossal statues, the Neptune, the Theseus, and the inimitable horse’s head, still remembered and regretted by all at Athens, had been removed” – *Journey* (I 340). Pausanias describes the Erechtheion at *Attica* 26.

⁸⁸: “The Scots succeeded where the Goths failed”: B.’s theme in *The Curse of Minerva*.

⁸⁹: The Disdar. He took his orders from the “Waiwode” in the city. In a long note to *Childe Harold* II B. refers to his garrison as “... the most ill-regulated corps in the ill-regulated Ottoman Empire” (CPW II 199).

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trust to Lusieri, is a poor beggar,⁹⁰ asking another present for the approaching Bairam.⁹¹

In the Acropolis, 120 soldiers and twenty-seven cannon, about seven serviceable.

Rode afterwards with Byron to the stadium, which appears larger on a second inspection.

Tuesday January 9th 1810: Up eleven. Walked out. Visited the cave of Pan⁹² in the north side of the hill of the Acropolis, small and not deep. Walked up into the castle yard on the south side the theatre of Atticus Herodes,⁹³ preserving its shape with some few rows of seats on the West side. The diameter on the chord of the arc eighty-two paces in breadth – the remains not marble. This is just on the right hand, going in to the first gate of the castle – refused admittance at the inner gate before the *prophylaea*, so walked down again towards the Olympian temple, where waited for horses and Demetrius. A Turk shepherd explained to me the use of the many flat circular pieces of pavements to be seen in Greece – they are used for the treading out of corn, which is done by eight or ten horses in a row, the innermost being tied with a cord to a stake, which is driven into the centre of the circle, and the whole being driven over the sheaves as they lie on the ground – this I have seen in Spain. Most of the wells in Athens are hot in winter and cold in summer, but the water of many is unpleasant, having a smack of salt – see what Chandler says about this,⁹⁴ and the well of the Acropolis at certain times giving the sound of the waves of the sea.⁹⁵

Rode out over the country towards the sea to the south-west. A down, with the low, sweet-smelling plant, to a house in ruins, where are bee stands, and a lion in marble. Turned towards Munychia, and returned to Athens through the vineyard. At several points from this point towards the sea, all

⁹⁰: His pay was 130 *piastres* (£8) p.a.

⁹¹: The feast with which Rhamadan terminates.

⁹²: *Journey* (I 336) has "... the cave of Apollo and Pan ...". The name is from Chandler's *Travels*, p. 59.

⁹³: *Journey* (I 333) has simply "... the Odéum ...". The reference is to the theatre built in 161 AD by the Graeco-Roman art patron Herodes Atticus.

⁹⁴: See 30 Dec 1809.

⁹⁵: Pausanias refers to this phenomenon at *Attica* 26.

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the pillars of the Parthenon appear in a line, the angle not being seen, and the rock not appearing, you may imagine yourself approaching old Athens.

After dinner, wars and rumours of wars. The marbles seized, and Fletcher frightened.⁹⁶ To bed, one.

Wednesday January 10th 1810: Up as usual. Called on Lusieri, who is determined not to stir abroad in the sun for twenty-five days.⁹⁷ Rode with Byron to the Piræus. Insulted by a renegado Spaniard⁹⁸ on our way over to the *Idriote* ship.⁹⁹ Returned without going on board, and immediately complained to the Waiwode of our Spaniard, who was afterwards bastinadoed with about fifty strokes on his feet in Fletcher's presence.¹⁰⁰ The man flung his shoes in some bystander's face, but afterwards roared most abundantly and shit his breeches.¹⁰¹ The Waiwode continued smoking his pipe most calmly, in spite of music and stench.¹⁰² His master, for he was a slave, wished to kill him, but was prevented, but the man is to be sold outright. Both feet are bastinadoed at once, the man being thrown on his back and his feet bound together to a pole fixed upright in the ground. A captain who had been employed in the bastinado (done with sticks about three parts of an inch in diameter, one man having a bundle of them in his hands), came afterwards and took a pipe and a present with us. To bed two. Fine weather.

Thursday January 11th 1810: Up ten. Had my head shaved most judiciously by a Turkish barber, and put on a black velvet cap and a handkerchief over, it turban-fashion. Walked to Lusieri's. Rode to Piræus

⁹⁶: It is hard to work out what happened after dinner, but see 27 Oct 1809 – where Fletcher is merely “alarmed” – and 3 Jan 1810.

⁹⁷: Perhaps after the events of the previous evening.

⁹⁸: No-one knows what the insult consisted of; but the Spaniard must have regretted making it. BL.Add.Mss. 56528 12v seems to indicate that they paid 19 dollars 20 to get him punished.

⁹⁹: This is the ship waiting to convey hence the Elgin marbles (see next two days' entries) in which they hope to make a tour of the Greek Islands.

¹⁰⁰: B. and H. evidently felt that for them to be present would be undignified; though as the Waiwode did not feel so inhibited, squeamishness on their part may be suspected. They obviously asked Fletcher all about it.

¹⁰¹: Detail not mentioned elsewhere.

¹⁰²: Compare the chief Pasha of Ismail at *Don Juan* VIII Stanza 121.

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again with Byron, and went on board the *Idriote*, a large fine-built Italian ship with a good cabin, thirty-five men. Returned, dined on woodcocks, of which, and red mullet¹⁰³ here, there is great quantity. Lusieri called in the evening. To bed one. Fine sunshine weather.

Friday January 12th 1810:¹⁰⁴ Up very late. Called on Lusieri. Rode out with Byron to the Academy and the Colonnus Hippius,¹⁰⁵ the site of these two being two little eminences not far from each other across the Cephissus, or a little one-arched bridge and some way on the road to Thebes by which we came. About a mile beyond the bridge, the view of the extensive plain to the north and north-east opens upon you. Returned dined, &c., and had presents of sweet cakes made of sugar and almonds and rose water brought in, this being New Year's Eve, by Theresa, the girl of twelve years old but, quite *nubila*, from ye other house.¹⁰⁶ The *Idriote* afraid to take us in our projected tour to the Islands. Fine warm weather in the middle of the day, but the snow on the hills. I learn that generally in this time of the year there are three weeks about of fine weather after the falling of the first snows.

Saturday January 13th 1810: Up eleven. Went out on horseback with Byron and Signor Demetrius. Took the road leaving the Academy to the right, through the olive grounds, then up the ascending plain under the low range of hills north and south to the west of Athens, till we got into the road through these hills, and then, in a short time, turned to the left a little (ye south), coming to a monastery, romantically situated with a high rugged hill on ye left (south), and groves of fine trees. The vista straightforward, opening upon the sea or Gulf of Eleusis, with the mountains of [the] Peloponnesus in the [distance]. Passed over (twenty minutes) downwards close [to] this narrow vale to the water side, and then turned directly to the right (north), coming full upon a large circular basin of sea, looking like a lake, with Eleusis opposite to the west, at the other end of the cord of the arc.

¹⁰³: Compare B.'s letter to Francis Hodgson of 20th January 1811 (BLJ II 36): "... I feed upon Woodcocks and red Mullet every day ..."

¹⁰⁴: On this day B. wrote the four-line poem *Kind reader! take your choice to cry or laugh ...* (CPW I 279).

¹⁰⁵: Where Oedipus ultimately found sanctuary.

¹⁰⁶: Teresa Macri eventually married an English officer called James Black, who died at Missolonghi in 1864.

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The entrance from the sea not being easily discovered, Salamis closing up the mouth of the Gulf (lying west and east). Crossed the short passage of stony road at the foot of the rocks close to the water, called *Kake Scale*,¹⁰⁷ then passed on the sand by the enclosure of salt water made by a low wall th<at> vents turn two miles at a little distance from each other. Passed over several streams of salt water (see about these – called Rhiti)¹⁰⁸ that come from and flow to this gulf.

Passed on, at a further distance from the water through a fine level plain, till turning to the left by degrees, came to Eleusis,¹⁰⁹ situated in a noble spot not quite close to the sea, with a little hill behind it, on which are the remains of a tower, wall, and some bits of ancient wall. Standing on this hill with your face to the east, towards Athens, you have the fine plain extending to your left with olive groves to the north-west, on the brows of the sloping hills that lead to Megara, and one small village peeping through the trees. On the north side, behind, are the mountains of the Isthmus, now covered with snows) - to the right is the gulf or bay, enclosed by Salamis in the mouth of it, with a little island close before it, and to the south-west the mount of the

¹⁰⁷: The second place they have encountered with this name: see 25 Dec 09.

¹⁰⁸: *Journey* (I 373) has “two or three rivulets of brackish water, oozing through the sand, which Wheler and Chandler have called the Rhiti, or Salt Streams, the ancient limits between Athenians and Eleusinians, consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine ...” See also Pausanias, *Attica* 38. It is to these rivulets that Augustus Darvell refers in the prose fragment which B. wrote on June 17th 1816, and placed at the end of *Mazeppa*: “On the ninth day of the Month at Noon precisely – (what month you please but this must be the day) you must fling this ring into the Salt Springs which run into the bay of Eleusis – the day after at the same hour you must repair to the ruins of the temple of Ceres – and wait one hour / “Why? – / “You will see ... (CMP 62). The tale is set in the ruins of Ephesus: see 13-14 Mar 1810, and notes.

¹⁰⁹: Site of the shrine to Demeter (Ceres) from whence she was supposed to have embarked on her search through the underworld for Persephone (Proserpine). It was the centre of a cult which worshipped her as harvest goddess, and offered its initiates the hope of resurrection. The English Platonist Thomas Taylor (1758-1835) believed in the Eleusinian cult, and had written about it in *A Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries* (1790) which B. may have read in 1816. He used Taylor’s 1794 translation of Pausanias as a source-book for the demonology of *Manfred*: see BLJ V 74 and 80 – also BB 228. It was partly at Eleusis that Julian the Apostate – a hero for B. and H. – was initiated: see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* Chapter 23: “His [Julian’s] residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primeval sanctity ... in the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm ...”

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Peloponnesus. Before you is the low range of hills, across which is the road to Athens, and the back of Xerxes' seat.¹¹⁰ Eleusis now is a small Albanian village, thirty houses, with no remains but some immense and entire fragments of fluted marble pillars and walls, the site of the temple, in the middle of the village close to which is the spot where the Cambridge Ceres was dug up.¹¹¹ There fragments lie in a small space. I observed part of one immense marble vase, and a piece of marble with the *basso relievo* of a Triton on it.

In the wall of the church there is also the capital of an Ionic pillar. Two inscriptions were also shown us, one a small stone in a house, and another on a piece of marble that appears to have been a pedestal. The first I had copied off by a man on the spot,¹¹² and have got the paper.

The sacred fountain, if such it has been, is but small.

This must be a good place for digging, from the specimens to be seen above ground. In the plain extending from the village to the waterside are small upright stones standing, and crossing the plain in many pieces from the north-west hills are the remains of the aqueduct. At this place got some coins. Returning by the salt mills and dam, saw a cave (Antiope),¹¹³ but without a water and small. Returned by moonlight.

N.B. It is generally reckoned between four and five hours to Eleusis, though the road, except from the monastery to the port of *Kake Scale*, is

¹¹⁰: See 28 Dec 1809. They have decided where it was that Xerxes sat to see his greatest humiliation. See *The Isles of Greece* (Don Juan III 707-12):

A King sate on the rocky brow

*Which looks o'er Sea-born Salamis,
And Ships by thousands lay below,
And Men in Nations, All were His;
He counted them at Break of Day –
And when the Sun set – where were They? –*

¹¹¹: In November 1801 Edward Daniel Clarke – against violent local opposition, for the peasants thought that the theft would instantly dry the harvests up – had excavated a two-ton statue of Demeter from Eleusis. She went down off Beachy Head, but now, labelled *Caryatid from the Inner Propylæa at Eleusis*, stares facelessly over the Greek section at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Chandler describes her *in situ* at *Travels* 191.

¹¹²: Probably Demetrius Zografio, who was literate.

¹¹³: Antiope was seduced by Zeus disguised as a satyr (see *Odyssey* XI 260-2, or *Metamorphoses* VI 110): the reference to her cave is at Pausanias, *Attica* 38.

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good, and the plain of Eleusis most noble; but we performed the route there in one hour and a quarter, leaving the *Surgee*¹¹⁴ behind, and whipping on the horse of the ham-y-galled Demetrius, who cried, and swore, and threatened, and petitioned in vain. Coming back, we were a little longer, the horse of Demetrius tiring,¹¹⁵ and he being obliged to mount that of the *Surgee*.

At the monastery, which I take to be about half way between Athens and Eleusis, turning in to the pass of the hills and coming back close to *κακη σκαλη*, we saw a marble pillar in [a] wooden trough, placed here by ye English for conveyance from thence.

Dined, and afterwards went to Byron's house for dancing and buffoonery, where there was a Greek fiddler and a tambouriner, monotonous Greek music, and slow dancing, the long false hair in their braided tails of the women coming over their own, combed down their backs. Their pellice of satin and fur their money, bracelets, their zones clasped below the navel coming loose over the hips with immense circular pieces of worked silver - they having at the same time a waist in the Frank fashion under the breasts (N.B. this is an ancient custom).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴: The "postman", or horse-keeper.

¹¹⁵: Not surprisingly, given their ill-treatment of it.

¹¹⁶: There are several echoes here of the feast given by Haidee and Juan in Canto III:
Afar, a dwarf Buffoon stood telling tales ...

... an unhallowed, Earthly sound of fiddling ...

And further on a Groupe of Grecian Girls,

The first and tallest her white kerchief waving,

Were strung together like a Row of Pearls;

Linked hand in hand, and dancing; each too having

Down her white neck long floating auburn Curls

(The least of which would set ten poets raving)

Their Leader sang, and bounded to her song

With choral step and dance the Virgin throng.

Her hair was starred with gems; her Veil's fine fold

Below her breast was fastened with a band

Of lavish pearls, whose worth could scarce be told;

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Sunday January 14th 1810: Up twelve. Rode out with Byron to the monastery of Daphne¹¹⁷ where we were on the road yesterday. Nothing to be seen there, but the situation, which is picturesque in the extreme, with the very high hill in the distance, and the forked hill sighted just over Eleusis. Road west-north-west. The range of hills which we crossed from Thebes (Parnes) and a continuation of which we go through to Eleusis running north-north-east and south-south-west. In this only one despot¹¹⁸ resides, and he was at Athens, or, as the peasant who had the key said, “εις Το χορτο”.¹¹⁹ Here is a church with a cupola rather higher than ordinary, on the concave of which is a large Jesus Christ with his eyes put out by bullets.¹²⁰ From the wall of Daphne, Lusieri got two fine Ionic columns.

Came back, dined. &c. Fine sunny day.

Monday January 15th 1810: Up eleven. Rode out by the road to Aigios Asomatos, the monastery which I had seen before, and continued going on to

*Her Hair's long auburn waves down to her heel
Flowed like an Alpine torrent which the Sun
Dyes with his morning light, and would conceal
Her person if allowed at large to run,
And still they seem resentfully to feel
The silken fillet's curb and sought to shun
Their bonds, whene'er some Zephyr caught began
To offer his young pinion as her fan. –*

Note / This is no exaggeration there were four women whom I remember to have seen who possessed their hair in this profusion – of these three were English – the other was a Levantine. – Their hair was of that length and quantity that when let down it almost entirely shrouded the person – So as nearly to render dress a superfluity. – Of these only one had dark hair – – the Oriental's had perhaps the lightest colour of the four. – – – –

¹¹⁷: According to *Journey* (I 371) it “contains nothing worthy of observation”.

¹¹⁸: “Master”.

¹¹⁹: “He's gone to town”.

¹²⁰: *Journey* (I 371) has “... the Turks ... frequently make it [the monastery] their baiting-place, as may be seen from the disfiguration of a Mosaic picture of our Saviour on the cupola of the church, the eyes of which figure are perforated with bullets”. Chandler describes the same damage at *Travels* 185.

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the village, Perivole or Angelo Kipos,¹²¹ where there are some houses and gardens. Then on the road to Mount Pentele to the village not far from ye foot of the mountain (Callandoge) where we turned to the left, and rode across towards the hills of Parnes, so as to cross the foot of the range of Anchesmus. Going about two miles over heath and scantily [] land, came to what appeared the bed of a river, and then to some remains of an aqueduct or bridge, with no inscription and entirely ruined. Passing along by the side of the bed in a half mile, came to a similar remain, and soon afterwards to olive trees and a village, where we crossed over a water (perhaps Cephissus), on a narrow one-arched out bridge but trough full of water, looking more like a river than anything in this country.¹²²

Athens being again in view, rode on through olive grounds for some little way, and then came in to the plain before the city. (Byron shot a dog in the hinder parts.)¹²³ I do not know the distance of these places, as we went very fast and performed the whole circuit in about three hours. (Sixty olive presses in and about the city.) The range of olive grounds extending from the village, where we were near Pentele to the west of the Piræus. Watered by the Cephissus. Pentele east-north-east from Athens.

Not going in this *Idriote* today,¹²⁴ The sky being clouded and the snow melted from Hymettus, but no rain.

Tuesday January 16th 1810: Up one. Rode out with Byron to the monastery of St Cyriani,¹²⁵ reckoned about one hour and a half from Athens.

¹²¹: Angelo Kipos was the name of the village. Perivole unidentified.

¹²²: In a letter to Leigh Hunt of 30th October 1815, B. takes Wordsworth to task for his description of Greece in *The Excursion*: He says of Greece in the body of his book – that it is a land of

*“rivers – fertile plains – and sounding shores
Under a cope of variegated sky”*

The rivers are dry half the year – the plains are barren – and the shores still and tideless as the Mediterranean can make them – the Sky is anything but variegated – being for months and months – but “darkly – deeply – beautifully blue.” (BLJ IV 325; the final quotation is from Southey’s *Madoc*.)

¹²³: Dog’s offence unexplained; perhaps it “insulted” them, as the Spanish renegade had on 10 Jan.

¹²⁴: They do not go in the Hydriote ship at all: but obviously it was a close haul.

¹²⁵: It “had nothing worthy of notice” - *Journey* (I 389).

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The road to it is across the bed of one river (Ilyssus), eastward to the chasm of another (no water), on the banks of which you continue to ride, ascending a little, then passing a lonely farm and coming to olive grounds but a few trees. Crossing the chasm and getting on the slope of Mount Hymettus, ascending till you come to the monastery enclosed by a sweep of the mountain to the north, and by the hill itself on the east, the ravine of the river, with olive trees lying in the chasm or dell beneath. This monastery is about as far from the top of Hymettus as it is from Athens. There is nothing to be seen in it but a church, supported to its dome by four marble ancient pillars of the ¹²⁶ order.

Walked up a little above the monastery to an artificial grotto in the side of the hill. Arched five feet wide, twelve deep and eight higher. At the end in the side is a niche, and on the right the foundations, covered nearly into a stone, containing the water that works the miracles yearly on the feast of Panagia,¹²⁷ when, as my companion the monk told me, two doves descend from heaven and play round the water (see Chandler, who says one dove).¹²⁸ A priest in the monastery, he affirmed, had seen it. Both below and above this grotto is a fountain in a large stone trough, the water most excellent (Cephalos and Procris).¹²⁹

From this spot is an extensive view, but Athens is not seen. Walked along the side of the hill to the west to a ruined chapel of St Marco,¹³⁰ where the monks of the monastery are laid, i.e. buried, from whence is the most advisable spot for a view. Athens with its plain above and its plain below, its ports Salamis and Aegina the mountains of Morea, the long range of olive groves, and the hills to the west of the plain, all appearing as in a picture,

¹²⁶: Ms. gap.

¹²⁷: Pentecost. "Our conductor told us that once a year, on the feast of Panagia, many of the Greek females of Athens repair to this grotto, light up the niche with small wax tapers as offerings to the Virgin, and then drink and wash in the spring, which eases the pains of child-birth, and is annually blessed from above by the descent of two doves, who play round the fountain, and re-ascend to heaven" - *Journey* (I 390).

¹²⁸: Chandler, *Travels*, 146.

¹²⁹: Two of Ovid's more obscure lovers: see *Ars Amatoria* III 687-4 for H.'s immediate reference (borrowed from Chandler, *Travels* 145). They are rendered immortal in Pyramus' line to Thisby, *Not Shafalus to Procrus was so true*, and Thisby's counter-line to Pyramus, *As Shafalus to Procrus, I to you (A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V i 197-8).

¹³⁰: *Journey* (I 391) has "a ruined chapel of St. Marc ..."

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whilst the foreground is furnished out most picturesquely by the *collines*¹³¹ of Hymettus to the right and left ...

Returned. The weather today warm with a little rain, the sky cloudy, the snow melted from the nearer mountains.

Wednesday January 17th 1810: Up late. Rode out with Byron and took the ride of Monday last, except not going quite, only setting out as far as Callendri¹³² as we returned, and returning as we set out, by Angelo Kipos and Anchesmus to the right. This day saw other remains of the antiquity mentioned in journal of that day, which, it seems is an aqueduct of Adrian's for the new city of Athens; but there appears to have been two branches to the north end of it, as two of the remains in the bed of a river are nearly parallel, one being about a half mile above the other. The line of the water was from the north end of Mount Pentele to the west end of Anchesmus.

Rain hard all last night, but this day most warm and sunshiney. The range of Hymettus is from west-north-west to east-south-east, turning towards the shore more to the east ...

This and the two preceding days have been the Bairam (ye second in the year)¹³³ of the Turks, and there has been firing of guns from the castle, and fireworks the first day besides drumming, &c., and a squeaky kind of pipe. Today also ye Xtians are fiddling for the Epiphany,¹³⁴ and doubtless the modern, like the ancient Greeks, would find life too long and burthensome were it not for their religious festivals, which are celebrated much in the same manner - with music and dancing ...

Thursday January 18th 1810: Up ten. Read a poem of Byron's.¹³⁵

¹³¹: "Hills" (French). See 29 Dec 1809 for H.'s surprise at the height of Hymettus.

¹³²: *Journey* (I 356) has "Callandri".

¹³³: See 8 Jan 1810. Rhamadan being a moveable feast, there could well have been two Bairams (for the previous one, see 9 Nov 1809 – though that was in the previous *Christian* year).

¹³⁴: A festival to celebrate the Magis' mission to Bethlehem. Dated thus in the Julian calendar. By the Gregorian, it is kept on January 6th.

¹³⁵: "Poem" hard to identify. *Childe Harold* I is complete by now, and *Childe Harold* II started. A more likely candidate is the eight-line and gloomy *Written at Athens January 16, 1810*, which starts *The spell is broke, the charm is flown! / Thus is it with life's fitful fever* (CPW I 279-80).

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Rode out with said Byron to the Piræus, but took the path over the hill just above the monastery¹³⁶ to the east of the harbour, and went completely round the promontory which contains Munychia and Phalerum, following the walls, of which here is scarcely ten yards, but some large stones appear. In making the circuit of the Munychian walls at a quick foot pace I was about one hour, and in going round the promontory including the Phalerum, one hour and twenty minutes. The entrance into the inner harbour of Piræus exceedingly narrow, with the remains of the pier (a circular) on each side. Two small rocks besides are above water in this narrow mouth. The harbour is north-west to south-east, the line across the narrow mouth, west to east. Going round to the eastward, on the promontory there are four small bays. Above the second (which is opposite to Egina) are many barrows - the eastern side of the third has the most perfect remains of the wall, the fourth has a precipice surrounding it. The port Munychia¹³⁷ is of a circular form, several remains of walls running into the water, and two pieces of pier at each end of the arc, the cord of which is very small. The direction [is] south to north. I could not trace the walls except down to the eastern pier of Munychia. The land above Phalerum is high and rocky, and going to it on the cliff between it and Munychia is a curious excavation in an upright stone with a porch, and the facings of a door and cornice, but fading fast away. Phalerum is of an arch form, the remains of the piers at the narrow entrance being also apparent.

One solitary skiff was moored under the hill,¹³⁸ its direction is from east to west, the length of the oval being from north to south. There is high land on the north-east side of this port till you come to the fine sweep of the bay stretching to the north-east, on which we rode till we came to that part of it where the sea comes nearest to Athens, and then turned up amongst the marshy grounds through the olive trees, and so home.

¹³⁶: "A little beyond this place ... we were shown, on the left hand above, the seats of a small amphitheatre cut in the rock" – *Journey* (I 363).

¹³⁷: "If the harbour [of Munychia] once contained four hundred ships, each vessel must have been a wherry" – *Journey* (I 364). Herodotus (Book VIII) gives 378 as the number of Greek ships assembled before Salamis.

¹³⁸: "One solitary skiff was moored ... under the hill, instead of the fifty ships of Menestheus, appointed for their voyage to the shores of Troy" – *Journey* (I 365). H. alludes to *Iliad* II 556.

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Tis was a most delightful ride, and the opposite side of the large bay is of a lovely green, with a lovely church. The part of the sea nearest to the city is south-south-east from it. Looked for the tomb of Themistocles.¹³⁹ In Munychia (which by the way is rocky in the extreme) on the west above the port is a remain some large stones in a small square with a piece of large pillar.

[large sketch map]

Friday January 19th 1810: Set off with Vassilly, Demetrius, two baggage horses, two led horses and two *surgees*, for a tour in Attica. At half past eleven, took ye road directly south, crossing the bed of the Ilyssus. In an hour, came to a few regularly placed large stones, and barrows (perhaps Lyceum).¹⁴⁰ In another hour, after turning a little more to the left (east), came to more large stones and barrows and a well, Hymettus, which diminishes in height towards the sea, running south-south-east for the last hour. The road to the east-south-east through uneven, stony ground, thinly covered with firs and pines, the promontory formed by Hymettus stretching out to the right about three miles. Arrived at three o'clock at Vary, a farm (*metochi*),¹⁴¹ belonging to the monks of <Pentopolus> Agios Asomatos (near the ancient site of Venus in the gardens). Here are five houses, at the best of which lives the occasional *caloyer*.¹⁴²

Hence we set out to visit the cave of Archidamus,¹⁴³ where we arrived riding through woody knolls and climbing a hill, near the top of which is this curiosity northwards from Vary. It is not very easy to find. You descend into it by means of three tree branches on the first landing-place in the cave two apertures, one to ye left a little precipitous, ye other to the right down an

¹³⁹: 523-458 BC. Athenian general and statesman; victor of Salamis and enlarger of the walls B. and H. spend part of this day tracing. His tomb "... is not very observable. It is a sepulchral excavation in the rock, without any covering, at the point of a craggy tongue of land, on the right hand as you sail into the Piræus" – *Journey* (I 363).

¹⁴⁰: The school where Aristotle disputed (my thanks to Chris Little here).

¹⁴¹: "Farm".

¹⁴²: "Monk".

¹⁴³: The Grotto of the Nymphs: Archidamus was said to have created it, and its votarists manifested all the signs of nympholepsy ("enthusiasm for an unattainable goal").

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easy descent. Here the fire is lighted – above this place are letters. On ye left hand immediately is what looks like a lion's head, carved rudely and disfigured: going downwards you have petrifications¹⁴⁴ of all sides, but one representing a small entire pillar supporting the roof on ye right hand peculiarly striking. [The] cave turns to the left, but at the bottom is a small spring of water. You turn upwards to the left aperture, and on ye left, on the side of the rock, see the rude base relief of a figure large as life, apparently looking one way and walking the other

[*large sketch*¹⁴⁵]

Above this figure, and on ye right side of it, are large carved letters (write my name and Byron's just above the nose,¹⁴⁶ where saw "Hamilton"¹⁴⁷ in pencil). Going upwards towards the entrance, an oval niche with small steps to it, but on the right a headless statue in a chair (Ceres)¹⁴⁸ considerably mutilated, with writings on the stone between it and the niche – several petrifications formed into more natural figures than those artificial representations. The peasant who conducted us in this place pointed out another inscription, which, upon looking, I found to be "Fauvel" – "Foucherot,"¹⁴⁹ cut very deeply into the stone above the Ceres. The peasant thought them antiques. Got out through the left aperture by some artificial steps, returned through the fine pine woods, crossing the bed of a torrent a view of Cape Zoster, the Cape formed by the projection of Hymettus, and the Cambo Nisia or "Button Islands". Also to the left, at the utmost distance, another promontory, Katapheke, with an island high land close to it, Gaidaronese.

Returned. Dined on lamb – delightful. Moonlight night. Walked out on the long corn floor constructed on a terrace just above our cottage, the island seen at a distance that of St George. Drizzling rain today, but warm.

¹⁴⁴: There were stalagmites and stalactites.

¹⁴⁵: The sketch is reproduced at *Journey* II 404, with several inscriptions from the cave not mentioned in the diary.

¹⁴⁶: H. records his vandalism nowhere else.

¹⁴⁷: The Earl of Aberdeen. See 16 Dec 1809.

¹⁴⁸: *Journey* (II 403) has "Isis, the Egyptian Ceres".

¹⁴⁹: For Fauvel, see 3 Jan 1810. Foucherot unidentified.

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Saturday January 20th 1810: Walked out towards the bay a little below the village over some cultivated land, till got amongst bushes, where saw the evident remains of a town. Three small marble columns without capitals, in a triangular disposition, and large marble or circular trough (basin) and marble fountain. At Vary, by the small church, is the battered remain of a marble lion with the legs of a man astride him on two marbles, with carving above them on each side of the church door these letters:

HNINΠΙΟΣ
ΑΙΠΠΙΟ

ΠΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΙ
ΒΟΥΛΑΡΧΟΥ¹⁵⁰

Went into ye church and took thence a staff on which the worshippers lean, in lieu of making use of chairs during their long service [*sketch*].¹⁵¹ Left Vary at a little past twelve. Road for an hour south-south-east through pine woods, then entered the hilly grounds. Turning east-south-east through pine woods in half an hour (meeting large droves of small oxen belonging to the farm at Vary),¹⁵² came to where was a large plain extending to the northwards and Ennea pyrgoe (Anapplytus). Ruined square towers a mile out of the road. Went there and found nothing. Saw the large village of Marcopoli, on the slope of rising ground before. At some distance rejoined the baggage at a small village, Xalima Konvara; direction then south-east. No trees, but cultivated plain. In half an hour, came to the head of a large plain, a village, Kouvara, being on the hill to the left. Mountains, called Parne, running parallel on the right, and at three, another half hour, arrived at Keratea, a town of Albanian[s] with about 150 houses, where there are two or three rich peasants, they being themselves the possessors of the soil and not renters, as at Marathon and many other places, paying half their profit to their landlords.

Before dinner I ascended on foot some height up the hill behind the village. Had a view of the old Euboea. Long Island Macronise, and other islands to the south-east. Coast of Attica runs north-north-west to south-south-east, Hymettus east-north-east to west-south-west. Attica very narrow

¹⁵⁰: Sepulchral inscriptions. H. does not translate them.

¹⁵¹: Neither church, nor theft, recorded elsewhere.

¹⁵²: *Journey* (I 408) has "... they were of a kind smaller than the Scotch cattle, and generally black".

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here, and stony, indeed, the general returns of grain in Attica give five and six, never more than ten for one, whereas in the Negroponte, twenty is often procured.

Lodged in the Cogia Bassa's, a large arched mud-floored room. Fine day.

Sunday January 21st 1810: Bad weather – up late. Walked¹⁵³ out, with Demetrius and an old fellow as a guide, up the mountain Parne. Came to a cave¹⁵⁴ in ye south side of it near the summit. Lighted fir torches and entered – choice of paths to the right and left. Emerged at once, after creeping through a narrow hole, into a splendid dome of crystals, very high, divided into several chambers by pillars of spar.

Wandered from one to another, till we came to a fountain of pure water. Loitering by this spring in admiration of the magnificent scene, determined to make the best of the way out, as the torches began to waste, but after exploring this labyrinth again a short time, found ourselves again at the fountain side, where the old guide confessed that he had forgot the intricacies of these caverns. However, just as the last fir stick was consuming, we saw light,¹⁵⁵ and taking a baton that I observed in the ground, I laid about our conductor's back,¹⁵⁶ and returned thanks for our exit from this cave, where we must have perished, as I find on enquiring at the village that there are within it a thousand chambers with suites of subterranean apartments which they believe to extend through the centre of the mountain to their village. Let this be as it will, it certainly is so large and curious that

¹⁵³: Both Borst (100) and Marchand (I 228-9) assume B. to have been on this famous, near-terminal expedition, and quote as evidence Galt's recollection of the jovial way he spoke about it afterwards. But the pronouns at *Journey* (I 411) seem to stress that the decision to go and investigate the place was H.'s only: "... I took the opportunity of a few hours' sunshine, to climb up the mountain Parné in search of a cave, of which we had heard many wonderful stories from our host. Demetrius, the Athenian, and an old man as a guide, accompanied me".

¹⁵⁴: The cave had "not ... been mentioned by any traveller and was the haunt of wolves: ... we were advised to carry our pistols in readiness for a rencounter with one of these animals" – *Journey* (I 413). See 24 Jan 1810.

¹⁵⁵: *Journey* (I 413) builds up the tension more: "We were in this situation, roaming through ranges of the cavern, and now and then climbing up narrow apertures, totally ignorant of our position, for many minutes, and the last strip of fir was consuming, when we saw a ray gleaming towards us ..."

¹⁵⁶: Punitive violence against inferiors not recorded elsewhere. Compare 7 July 1815, and 30 July 1816.

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you can hardly fail to lose yourself in five minutes. From this cave some persons (called *Inglese*) have taken home loads of spar.¹⁵⁷

Returning down the hill, as it rained very hard, went into a monastery, or rather farm with a church to it, dedicated to St John. Here saw a cave with a fountain in it, the water distilling in perpetual drops from the cell of the grotto. (From this Mount Parne may be seen, Colonna, and the next western promontory, Katapheke.)

Dined on pig, sucking roasted whole. Very good, but Fletcher had forgot to put up any mustard into the canteen – thus it is!! “medio de fonte”¹⁵⁸ &c.

Monday January 22nd 1810: My friend Byron’s birthday – “πολλοι γυ ευδουχοι.”¹⁵⁹ Rained without ceasing all day, so did nothing but listened to some tales and songs of Demetrius. I asked him how he came to be able to talk Albanian,¹⁶⁰ and he told me that in his youth, about fifteen years ago, there was a tyrannical governor of Athens¹⁶¹ who by his exactions (in the which, by the way, he was much assisted by Signor Logotheti,¹⁶² his sole friend) caused a recession of almost half the population of Athens to the villages of the country, where, like the plebeans on the Aretine hill,¹⁶³ they continued for three years (at least he did) till this Aga was removed, to Rhodes first, and then afterwards Constantinople, where he was beheaded. This man built the large house in the gardens and planted the thick olive ground, near the site of the ancient academy.

To bed, after seeing dancing by the several females of the family.

Tuesday January 23rd 1810: Up before sunrise. Set out half-past nine for Cape Colonna. Took first of all the road south-south-east from the village, but then turned the foot of the hill running from behind Keratea (Parnes) to

¹⁵⁷: *Journey* (I 413) has “The spar, with which it abounds, is of the purest white; and they told us, that some travellers had carried away several horse-loads of it”.

¹⁵⁸: Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, IV 1224: *medio de fonte leporum surget amari aliquid* (“from the very fountain of enchantment rises a drop of bitterness”).

¹⁵⁹: Note pending.

¹⁶⁰: It is only possible to gather circumstantial answers to the question from Demetrius’ reply.

¹⁶¹: The tyrant’s name was Hadji Ali Chaseki (*Journey* I 295).

¹⁶²: See 26 Dec 1809.

¹⁶³: Note pending.

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this place. Barren, uncovered ground. Here two paths, one south to Therico west-south-west to Katapheke. Continued by the back of Parne, taking direction more to south-west and south-south-west, over woody eminences, till we came to a plain, terminated by a bay with a cape and a small island to the west, marshy with a torrent course.

Turning south-south-east, with the sea a short time in sight, went over many a rocky hilly path till came to Katapheke, a village of a few huts, giving the name to the promontory. Reckoned four hours from Keratea, but we were, and forty minutes.¹⁶⁴ Only road afterwards over woody hills, a *metochi* in the midst of the wildest scenery. High, precipitous wood-covered hills running east and west (here ought to be Laureum). Turning more southward along the course of a dried river, got near the seashore – eastward again, and climbing a small precipice, had the first view of the columns and the cape. Continued riding up, and from the uneven coast above the sea – here till reached Colonna,¹⁶⁵ twelve o'clock. Just before coming to Colonna, path along a bay with a rock in the west side of it. Sea a little swelled, tumbling on the shelves of rocks which compose it with a loud murmur.¹⁶⁶

Pass up to the site of the columns by a steep but not very long ascent. First you see a piece of ancient wall, a row of fourteen in height large stones, and then come to the temple of Minerva Sunias,¹⁶⁷ which almost occupies the whole level ground on this promontory. The remains are nine columns of white marble¹⁶⁸ (Doric order), twenty-seven feet high, besides the capitals fronting the sea west-north-west to east-south-east. Three towards the land

¹⁶⁴: Text obscure.

¹⁶⁵: See the last verse of *The Isles of Greece* (Don Juan III 779-84):

*Place me on Sunium's marbled Steep,
Where nothing save the Waves and I
May hear our mutual murmurs sweep;
There, Swan-like, let me sing and die –
A land of Slaves shall ne'er be mine –
Dash down yon Cup of Samian Wine! –*

For B.'s description of a later trip to the Cape, in which his party were in danger of attack from pirates, see letter to H. of 26th November 1810 (BLJ II 30-1).

¹⁶⁶: *Journey* (I 415) has "On this rock the waves burst, though it was nearly calm, with a loud murmur, and covered the shelving sides with white foam".

¹⁶⁷: Not until 1898 was it discovered that the temple at Sounion had actually been dedicated to Poseidon.

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on the north, and three, one being square, next to the corner column, to the sea on the east side. Between the columns the distance is a little more than five feet. One column only is wanting to complete the eastern front, which is on a line with the eighth column of the south front. The columns are in circumference two yellow handkerchiefs. On the east we saw Macrones close to the land running south-south-west to north-north-east. Beyond this sea, then Thermia. then Siphos, all low land.

Lying in a line southwards in the sea, at [a] distance, was isle St George, and to the west, very near the promontory of Katapheke and the rocky island Gaidaronisi. The view on the land side is terminated very soon by high and abrupt mountains. Coloni is a rock precipitous, but not inaccessible nor very high. It bears a singular resemblance to the picture in Faulkner's *Shipwreck*,¹⁶⁹ though to be sure that is but a fancy piece in Boccage's view for Anacharsis.¹⁷⁰ The temple is just wrongly placed. There is another craggy steep neck of land stretching out to south-south-east from the east side of the promontory.

Staying in this cape an hour and a half, set out northwards by the eastern coast of Attica, not keeping quite close to the sea, but going over woody and hilly road. However, came near to a bay or port, passing by the wells called, as is the port, Passa Pegathia,¹⁷¹ and in an hour to Gaidaromandra, a large double port with horns projecting far on each side. The largest, most southerly port, has direction south-west to north-east. The small one, whose entrance is only a few yards, over a sandy bar east to west. The hills come near the sea. From this port in a short time (three miles perhaps) we came to Panormia, between which place and Gaidaromandra are the shafts of the ancient silver mines¹⁷² in a small shrubby plain. This port is large and open

¹⁶⁸: "The whiteness of the marble has been preserved probably by the sea vapour, in the same manner as Trajan's triumphal arch at Ancona ..." *Journey* (I 416).

¹⁶⁹: William Falconer's *The Shipwreck* was published in 1762. It is often adduced as a source for the wreck in *Don Juan II*; but is rather too solemn for that.

¹⁷⁰: For Anacharsis, see 11 Feb 1810.

¹⁷¹: "The Pasha's Fountain".

¹⁷²: *Journey* (I 417-18) expands: "One or two of the shafts of the ancient silver-mines, for which this mountainous region was so celebrated, have been discovered in a small shrubby plain not far from the sea, on the eastern coast; and a specimen of ore, lately found, was shown to me at Athens". See Pausanias, *Attica* 1.

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mouthed, the southern cape extending farther into the sea than the northern, and behind it is a salt marsh. Its direction is east to west.

In half an hour or little more, came to Therico, not passing close to the sea (and not seeing a port there is called Agastirachia). Also a large open port, direction east-north-east to west-south-west, and having opposite to it, as indeed have all the aforementioned ports, Macronise. From this port we struck into the plain stretching on the west north-west and north, and saw, in some bushes, large fragments of marble pillars, and on a little stone eminence to the north near them, a piece of ancient wall. Went north-west. Came to a village of a few huts, then went north-north-west through a pass in the hills, and came to some extent of ground covered with cinders (see Chandler).¹⁷³ Went on till arrived again at the foot of the hill of Keratea, by the path which we had left to our left in the morning, and got into the same road by which we had set out, for the last half hour, arriving at the village [at] half-past four.

The circuit we took this day is accorded twelve hours – and in this large tract of country we saw only three small villages and one solitary farm – in all, not thirty houses. On the mountains, before we arrived at Colonna near Katapheke, observed a great quantity of marble, white.

Pig for dinner. At night, after we had been some time in bed, our old host entered with lights and wine, very drunk and ridiculous. His wife soon followed with the *Surgee*, also tipsy. The house was soon raised, and all the family set dancing for some hours. I had a rash and could not sleep, even after they were gone, for itching.

Fine day. Sunium is called by Euripides¹⁷⁴ Σουνιον, the rich rocks of Sunium.

Wednesday January 24th 1810: At twelve (by my watch) set out for Port Rapti. between which and Therico there are these ports (as my host told me) from Therico: first Vrisaki – then Turkolimima, three, Thascalio, four, Kakethalapa. Inside of these the Peloponnesian fleet anchored (Lib 8 and

¹⁷³: “At the edge, near the port, the rock is shelving, and resembles the cinder of a coal” – Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 7.

¹⁷⁴: Euripides, *Cyclops*, 293.

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95).¹⁷⁵ Road east and north-east over a cultivated plain for half an hour, then turned north-east amongst hills, and in an hour, view of port Raphti through a vista formed by high and woody mountains. Wound down the steep hills, till came to a torrent bed and a few huts made with boughs. Keeping on by this torrent through pine woods, came to the sea in a little less than two hours.

Raphti is a double port called the little [Raphti] the first you come to, and [then] the great Raphti. On the south extremity is a peninsular neck of land, with a high hill just above that, which may be seen at a great distance. Very clear at Marathon. Towards this side also is a rocky high island with a colossal figure upon it, which we saw very plain.¹⁷⁶ The direction of this little, or rather lesser, Raphti is east-north-east to west-south-west, and towards the northern side of it is also a small green low island.

We rode along the shore, and saw a large dun wolf galloping slowly through the bushes to the left.¹⁷⁷ A little fishing boat that was under a small range of rocks dividing the two ports, mistaking us for Turks, put to sea, but Demetrius halloed them back, we dismounted, and fried some fish, staying there for half an hour. Here ate a dried fish with eight legs in rings (octopodes).¹⁷⁸ Set out again, passed along part of the shore of the larger Raphti of oval [*sketch*] shape and very large, then left [from] the sea and took the path north-west through grounds, beautifully wooded, with intervals of cultivation, having much the appearance of an English park or *ferme ornée*.¹⁷⁹

Then we came into the plain which we had seen on our way to Keratea, where is Ennea Pyrgoe and Marcopoli, that has got a marble antique lion, and in an hour came to a small village, Kata-Vraona, belonging to ye

¹⁷⁵: This overlineation is in a different ink from the rest of the entry. The reference is to Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, VIII, where the fleet “rounded Sunium, and came to anchor between Thoricus and Prasiae” – (tr. Rex Warner, p. 545).

¹⁷⁶: The Colossus of Porto Raphti (my thanks to Chris Little here).

¹⁷⁷: *Journey* (I 425) has “As we were passing round the shore of the lesser port, we heard the barking of some dogs, and a shout from a shepherd, and looking about us, saw a large dun-coloured wolf galloping slowly through the bushes a little to the left of us”. For B.’s reference to the wolf, see 22 Oct 1809.

¹⁷⁸: Last word in pencil. *Journey* (I 426) has “This fish is the sea-polypus, about the size of a small lobster, and has eight legs in rings, on which account it is called octopodes by the Greeks, though the Lingua Franca name is volpe”.

¹⁷⁹: *Journey* (I 426) has “... an English park, or ornamented farm ...”

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monastery of Pentele, and shortly after to another, Apano-Vraona, in the same fine country, with Hymettus ranging on the left the high tops of Ozea (Parnes) in the distance, and Pentele before us.

Turned north, coming into the very extensive plain of Sultan Spatha, a village which we saw to our left, and passed through another village belonging to it, and inclining north-north-east, struck into woods again, Pentele to the left and a range of rocks to the right. Direction some time north-east, then north. When ascending some hilly ground, had the first view of the plains and coast of Marathon.¹⁸⁰

Five o'clock, travelled under the range of Pentele at some distance from the shore, through barren ground. From this entrance the plain appears be largest under the hills to the north, and the promontory of Rhamnus stretching out towards you forms a very fine bay to this northern part of the plain, which immediately strikes you at a distance as having been the scene of action. Indeed, not knowing the situation, I travelled on to the village directly before us with that idea, and was quite ignorant that we were then riding over the spot we had come to see.

We saw two ranges of miserable huts, one in the level on the left, with a ruined tower, and the other on the right, on a brow of a small eminence. We crossed *the* river and went to the latter twenty minutes to seven, together with our baggage, which we had overtaken, though it had gone the direct

¹⁸⁰: Scene of the battle in 490 BC in which a smaller Athenian army under Miltiades outmanoeuvred and defeated the Persians, thus preventing them from invading Greece. A soldier named Pheidippides is said to have run the twenty-two miles to Athens, to have given the news of the the victory, and dropped dead – hence the famous race (but see 26 Jan 1810). B. wrote about the site at *The Isles of Greece* (*Don Juan* III 701-6):

The Mountains look on Marathon –

And Marathon looks on the Sea,

And musing there an hour Alone

I dreamed that Greece might still be free,

For standing on the Persian's Grave

I could not deem myself a Slave. –

... *musings there an hour Alone* might indicate that B. did not think the thoughts with H. present: but the song is not sung by him.

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road from Keralea by Marcopoli. Here we were both ill¹⁸¹ and went to bed dinnerless.

Before I went to sleep, read the little that Anacharsis says of the battle¹⁸² and Pausanias of the place.¹⁸³ Was not disturbed by the neighing of his spectre horses nor the clashing of arms nightly heard in his time on the plain.¹⁸⁴ Fine day.

Thursday January 25th 1810: From a hillock a little before our range of cottages, took a fresh view of the plain of Marathon, and found by looking into Anacharsis that the scene of action was in the plain that runs south and not in that ranging from east to west on my left. This plain is of a narrow appearance, but long, perhaps ten miles, or it may be better called a strip of coast, bounded by a range of Mount Pentele, that extends south and north from the south end nearly to within a mile and a half of the village.

Looking from this hillock the only large object in the plain is a single barrow¹⁸⁵ directly south, and nearly forming an object between the distant abrupt running of the mountain of Port Raphti and the village. Directly it takes a turn, however, before you, and flows west-north-west till it is lost in the marshes near the seashore. Just across this river is a low rugged hill, direction north and south, about a mile and a half in extent, and under this hill, five hundred yards from your position, is a piece of village with a ruined tower, also called Marathon.

On your left (east) you have hills running east and west, the shore and the promontory of Rhamnus (called Stome) appearing covered with woody grounds. The large lake that extends near the promontory on the eastern plain cannot be seen from this situation, and even here the plain on this side seems more suitable for the engagement than the other. It is no wonder then that the Persians ran into the marsh endeavouring their escape, as the nature of the ground cannot be seen. Behind you is a narrow flat vale between the

¹⁸¹: Perhaps their fish meal earlier in the day disagreed with them.

¹⁸²: See 11 Feb 1810.

¹⁸³: Pausanias, *Attica* 32.

¹⁸⁴: "Here every night you can hear the noise of whinnying horses and of men fighting. It has never done any man good to wait there and observe this closely, but if it happens against a man's will the anger of the daemonic spirits will not follow him" – Pausanias, *Attica* 32, tr. Peter Levi.

¹⁸⁵: The barrow containing the Greek dead. See Pausanias, *Attica* 32.

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small hill above-mentioned and the mountains to the east, with the Charadrus running through it, and in what seemed to me three-quarters of a mile is another Marathon, a village with some Turk gardens, directly north, with mountains at the back also.

In Anacharsis, the plan puts the Grecian camp in the field consecrated to Hercules directly on the west (right), of any hillock; but here is no field, but the river, and the little rocky hill. The army also are placed here where there is no position for them.¹⁸⁶

Mounting horse from this village, proceeded into the plain to the barrow, about thirty paces in circumference, fifteen feet high, part of it cut away.¹⁸⁷ Got upon it, then saw a flat valley running north-west from the large plain between Pentele and the small hill that I had observed close to the village. At the west end a small village, Vraona. This must have been the sacred portion of Hercules, and the position of the Greek forces.

From the barrow went onwards towards the seashore, and in less than a mile came to a piece of ground formed into an island by the stagnation of the torrent into a marsh. Not large. Close to the sea here were five pillars standing half buried in the earth, eight feet and a half long, five feet two inches in circumference, with no inscriptions. Also a piece of square carved marble with a capital, looking like a pedestal. Mr Fauvel¹⁸⁸ has discovered many sepulchral relics digging here. In a pool also in this island are the mutilated remains of an exquisite marble figure sitting in a chair, without a head.¹⁸⁹ Chandler mentions nothing of all this!!¹⁹⁰ The name of the torrent forming this marsh was Erasinus – Vraona – Brauron.

Returning from this place towards the northwest valley, passed by remains of a church. Then took to the north again to our village. Passed by it and the houses on ye left, crossed the river, which is considerable for

¹⁸⁶: *Journey* (I 428) has “The plan of the battle in Anacharsis, places the Greeks too much to the north, and in a situation where it is impossible they should have been drawn up in the closest order. But the position of the armies is to be looked for lower down, and in the narrow strip of plain which has the sea on one side and the range of Pentelichus on the other quarter to the west ...”

¹⁸⁷: *Journey* (I 429) adds “such a relic might surely have been spared!”

¹⁸⁸: *Journey* (I 431) has “... a gentleman of Athens ...”

¹⁸⁹: *Journey* (I 430) has “... the headless statue of a female sedent, of fine white marble, and exquisitely wrought”.

¹⁹⁰: *Journey* (I 431) has “I find no mention of them in Chandler”.

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Greece, kept along its banks for ten minutes, and came to the larger Marathon of the three, where the river winds westward. This most probably was the site of the ancient town, as on the east side there is some room for its extent. It looks down a vista formed by low hills on ye west (right), and higher hills on ye left, the river running straight down nearer rather to the west (right) side. There is a view of the barrow, and beyond in the utmost distance the promontory of Cynosura, and the hill above Raphti. Here are two pieces of ancient arch.

Passed on westward, crossing the river again, but inclined a little northwards out of the path to Athens to see the cave of Pan. Came to it in twenty minutes from the east of Marathon, and found it in the side of a low stony hill, with two narrow mouths close to each other. Went in at the right-hand hole, but soon came out, as I understood I must go on my knees, and as the hill itself was not so high as one of the vaulted chambers in the cave of Keratea.¹⁹¹ A little below this are large stones,¹⁹² and a strong spring bursting out beneath them, which turns a mill and then flows into the Charadrus.

Left this river, which flows between two high red rocky craggy mountains away to the north-west, and began ascending hills, most steep and rough. Course west-south-west through woods of evergreens.¹⁹³ Came in an hour and a quarter to Stamata, a small Albanian village with a little cultivated ground near it. Road still very rough, but not quite so hilly. South-west, a range of Pentele running directly facing us, north-west to south-east – Ozea (Parnes) to the right with woody knolls between us and that mountain – then, turning the point of Pentele, kept more south-south-west,

¹⁹¹: The Cave (or “Sanctuary”) of Pan is mentioned by Pausanias at *Arkadia* 54, and by Chandler at *Travels in Greece* 167-8. Chandler enters the cave on his stomach, his Albanian guides carrying pistols for fear of wolves, and exits, dirty and choking, but triumphant. It is another spar cave. *Journey* (I 434) does not admit that, whether from a sense of dignity, or fear (remembering Chandler, and his own experience in the spar cave at Keratea four days previously) H. failed to investigate it, but simply says “... though mentioned as a curiosity by Pausanias, it has nothing in it to detain the traveller for an instant”.

¹⁹²: Quoting a legend collected by Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, 166-7) H. relates (*Journey* I 434-5n) that the stones were said to have been the sheep of the lady whose headless statue they had just seen, turned stone by Providence when she boasted of her good fortune.

¹⁹³: *Journey* (I 435) has “... through woods of evergreens, and amongst shrubs of myrtles, oleander, and laurel bushes”.

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and arrived in an hour through evergreen woods and better road at Cevrina, which has a mosque, plentiful water, a large tree with two broad stones, on which the Turks had cut the square of a draft board.¹⁹⁴ This village is one of their favourite summer retreats, three hours from Athens (see Chandler).¹⁹⁵

Anchesmus prevents you in this place from seeing Athens, but you have a view as indeed for three miles before of the lands of the Piræus, through olive grounds to another village, and over the plain to Athens, where I found Byron had arrived about half an hour, with the baggage, having been six hours and a half on the road.¹⁹⁶

Eucles, who ran with the account of the victory to Athens,¹⁹⁷ must have had a most painful task to perform. Ascending the hill from Kranea the distance is perhaps one hour less, but in no point is less than eighteen miles from Athens, the field of battle – more than half being up hills. Dined at Todurula's¹⁹⁸ again and to bed as usual.

Friday January 26th 1810: Up late. Rode out with Byron to the promontory, Colias where a church called Tres Pyrgæ occupies the site of the temple of Venus. Rode all along the bay of Phalerum, two miles, and returned over the marshy ground between this and the road to Piræus, and by that road home.

Dined – to bed, after Byron's dressing up in female apparel and my dancing with Demetrius.¹⁹⁹

Saturday January 27th 1810: Rode to Cyriani, the same road as before,²⁰⁰ but returned climbing between the split on the hill of Anchesmus. Coming

¹⁹⁴: *Journey* (I 436) adds "... round which the Turks are seen sedately smoking, or engaged at their favourite pastime".

¹⁹⁵: "It has a mosque, and is still frequented, chiefly by Turks of Athens, who retire at that season to their houses in the country" – Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, 159.

¹⁹⁶: *Journey* implies by its use of "we" when speaking of the abortive excursion to the Cave of Pan, that B. accompanied H. there. Evidently he couldn't be bothered.

¹⁹⁷: It was Pheidippides, not "Eucles", who ran, from Athens to Sparta, not from Marathon to Athens, to ask for help *before* Marathon (so says Herodotus in Book VI, although legend has made his role more dramatic: see 24 Jan 810). Eucles was the son of Herodes Atticus – see Wheeler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸: An Athenian innkeeper. For his opinion of B. and H., see 24 Mar 1810.

¹⁹⁹: It being the Carnival. B. seems rarely to have indulged in cross-dressing.

²⁰⁰: See 16 Jan 1810.

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down the west side, the sun himself being hid from you by the rock of St George on your left, you have the most beautiful effect from the <gilding> shadows made by him amongst the long range of olive grounds and the green plains before you. Dined – nothing – to bed. Fine day.

Sunday January 28th 1810: Up ten. Wrote an elaborate note to Mr Fauvel,²⁰¹ who answered it by a very polite *billet*, concluding with perfect consideration, and rode out with Byron to Xerxes' seat, a hill not very hill[y], called Corydallus, running down to the sea opposite Salamis. A narrow neck of land projects from it, with a ruined tower upon it, overhanging the sea from Athens.

You take the road to the westward of the road to Piræus, and, striking into the olive grounds, continued some time riding through these groves, which are here thickly planted, and well-watered by the streams of the ²⁰² – turned into several trenches. You then go over a plain, ascending a little, and leave a little eminence to the left hand. See then large stones and wells – *παλααιο*.²⁰³ Onwards to the point of land. We did not ascend the hill, nor go to the tower, but turned by a well round towards Piræus – continued over a cultivated plain, passing by some rising ground with a few trees on it, and immense stones of an ancient wall, till came to Port Draco (Piræus), in forty minutes. Returned by the road of Piræus. Hot fine day.

Might it not do to write an Athenian guide like a Tunbridge directory,²⁰⁴ with all the fine rides about, &c., in the true style?

Monday January 29th 1810: Up ten. Went with all our retainers, Fletcher mounted,²⁰⁵ to visit the Castle again. Disdar down in the mouth, &c.

Rode out to the Colian promontory, Fletcher in company, and after keeping by the seashore, which is shallow and rocky someway, got into the wood to Colonni by ascending the bed of a torrent. and returned to Athens.

²⁰¹: Contents of note unrecorded.

²⁰²: Ms. gap.

²⁰³: Note pending.

²⁰⁴: Note pending.

²⁰⁵: One suddenly realises how few of their expeditions involve Fletcher.

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Fletcher wished to have the Parthenon in England, decrying my Lord Elgin's rapacity at the same time, saying "That he should wish for no better thing than to make his fortune by the marbles."

(There are no two pillars of an equal thickness in the Pantheon at Rome, says Mr Parrault Nov 8. 1811.)²⁰⁶

Tuesday January 30th 1810: Up eleven. Walked out with Demetrius to the Acropolis ... twenty-nine pillars of the Parthenon standing in all.

Being a very hot fine day, found all the females of the town in their coloured cloaks swarming in the hills above Pryn in Coelæ,²⁰⁷ and over the corn-grounds towards the olive gardens and the academy. Walking over the rocky grounds there, saw many tombs opened by Signor Lusieri, and a goat in the rock, where Demetrius told me he supposed some philosopher had chosen to study.

Returned, and, talking horse, rode out with said Demetrius to Xerxes' throne. Ascended that hill, where left a memorial of piled stones on the top, as there is no visible remain, and nothing on the spot to lead to conjecture, we may suppose the king anywhere, though on the first hill he has got a sufficient view of the straits. Half-way down the second eminence he might see everything, and [any] distance.

Climbed onwards up the ridge of these stony hills, and coming to that which appeared to me the highest, had a view of Athens (east), Piræus (south-east), Ægina (south), Salamis, its bays &c., diminished towns distinctly (south-west), Megara lower down in the gulf (west-south-west), and lastly Eleusis (nearly NW, with the gulf of Eleusis and the Spriasian plain). Besides these, the more distant prospect took in the capes of the Peloponnesus, the mountains of the Isthmus, and all the hills of Attica, together with the long northern promontory that stretches into the sea next to Colonna.

Descended from this hill with some difficulty and detriment to one shoe, and galloped home, the sun setting behind Salamis.

On this hill saw more <ruind> states than the friend of Cicero,²⁰⁸ who, sailing in the Gulf of Aegina, besought his great patron to consider the

²⁰⁶: This note is added later.

²⁰⁷: Note pending.

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<ruins/>destiny of kingdoms which he had seen in their ruins, and to grieve no more for his private loss.

Yesterday saw a woman sliding down the rock for male heirs.²⁰⁹ On a rock nearby, behind Prynix, is some curiously coloured stone, which has been conveyed abroad.

Wednesday January 31st 1810: Up ten. went with Demetrius on horseback to the ferry of Salamis, which is about a mile above the tongue of land projecting from Coridallus, Xerxes' throne. A large boat with only two men. Went above the hill after landing, and descended to a little village, eighty or a hundred houses, in Salamis – Amphelaki. Houses there more clean, &c., than on the mainland. Exceedingly hot and dry rock soil, without trees. Inscriptions on stones there are particularly perfect: ΔΙΟΝΙΣΙΟΣ,²¹⁰ son of, &c., a Salaminian. Over the churchyard door porch. a leg – *basso relievo* – filling up niche in a wall of a churchground, as also a stone full of inscriptions, lying horizontally.

Left this town and proceeded westward for half an hour to the capital, Colouri, situated at the end of a bay at the other side of the island. This a more considerable town with a few shops, and saw there a most pretty tall girl,²¹¹ who is chosen as a spouse to a man whom she is to marry in two years. Her cap of *paraws* was well covered with a rim of Turkish *zechins*. Cheated here by a boatmaster, who promised ten men to convey us in a boat to Egina, but after receiving ten *piastres* for victualling, produced only six. This fellow, a Greek, finding that I would not go, in the most unmoved polite manner bid me “Thank ye and good evening.”

We were accompanied on foot by one madman²¹² who requested Demetrius, after calling him aside, to do him the favour to plate his Madonna for him, as she being now only of wood had five times proceeded

²⁰⁸: Servius Sulpicius to Cicero, mid-March 45 BC: *Epistulae ad Familiares* IV v, section 4.

²⁰⁹: See 28 Dec 1809.

²¹⁰: “Dionisios”.

²¹¹: “... that I did not myself see any very pretty Greek woman during my tour, I may safely assert” – *Journey* I 496. “Safely”, as no-one was there to read the diary.

²¹²: The following story is told, with more elegance, at *Journey* II 530, where it enables us to place Demetrius as a sculptor and painter of wooden saints.

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from her place and throttled him with her crown on her head (this *he* told *me*) requiring to be cased in silver by him, or threatening his suffocation. This avaricious Panagia he had in a bag with him, which Demetrius had on his horse and remonstrated with him for giving to his charge, being a saint so difficult to manage.

Returned and got into the ferry-boat at sunset. Were nearly an hour going over the strait. Going through the olive-ground going home, saw the fires of the men sent to water the olive trees, which is done three times a year. In the summer the water is bought of the garden keepers at three *paraws* a tree.

Got home half after eight – starlight night – [end] to a very fine hot day. Found two Englishmen²¹³ were here. This evening Vasilly slaps Antoni in the chops, to the scandal of all present.

Thursday February 1st 1810: Up ten. Rode out with Byron to the monastery of Pentele,²¹⁴ between east and east-south-east from Athens, reckoned a journey of three hours. Situated monastically in a niche, well-wooded and watered, in the mountains. Large, with a gilded church; entrance as usual by a small iron-plated door. Eat eggs,²¹⁵ &c. there. Set out with a servant from the convent for the marble quarries,²¹⁶ at which arrived in about forty minutes over a stoney and many places a steep path, northwards from the monastery.

You come upon them suddenly – they are situated at the bottom of a precipice which has evidently been cut into its present form, that of a smooth perpendicular, two sides of a square. The cavern is at the angle formed by these two sides. Going into the cavern, you have immediately two small stone sheds with apertures to them [*sketch*] like an oven. These are ancient, but the purpose to which they were applied does not appear. On the right of

²¹³: Englishmen unidentified.

²¹⁴: It was "... the most wealthy in Attica" (*Journey* I 392).

²¹⁵: In fact "... a repast of eggs, dried olives, and honey, with a wine of an excellent flavour, and a palatable rossoglio; yet they [the monks] called themselves poor, and seemed afraid lest we should suppose that they were in a flourishing condition. Such a report might increase the tax which they pay to the Porte for protection" (*Journey* I 394).

²¹⁶: "... the marble quarries of Pentelicus, which supplied not only Athens, but many other parts of Greece, with the precious materials of their temples, stadiums and statues" (*Journey* I 392).

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these is a flight of three steps into two chapels cut in the rock – Xtian. The ivy overhangs them, and from one of the windows you have a view of the extent of country beneath.

Going down the cavern, which is wide but not very high, water distils from the roof, which is of marble of the most beautiful tinge, a faint rose colour.²¹⁷ Going on the right, the cave becomes more singular and picturesque, pillars and curious shapes being formed by the crystals. At the bottom of the first part of the cave is a hole which travellers enter on their knees with a light. This we did, and continued sliding downwards some time till we came to a flight of two steps, and got to where many names of visitants are carved on the stone.²¹⁸

Below is a spring of water, and nothing curious or worth this trouble. The cavern is not so large or beautiful as the one near Keratea.²¹⁹ On a scale of the left precipice as you enter the cave is a small stone house, the former dwelling of an ascetic,²²⁰ to which now you can neither ascend nor descend the steps apparently, for there is a vestige of two or three at the bottom, having fallen off from the rock. This hermit had a fine view of the plain of Athens to the sea, Hymettus, and the large plain on the east of that mountain. The side of the hill Pentele itself is clothed with evergreens. There is still something like a road to the quarries, but over very steep and unequal ground in many parts. Two immense fragments of marble, apparently cut into the circular shape they still maintain – useless.

In the path, returned to the convent, where gave a *zechin* for want of change. Athens at sunset. The road to Pentelichus is through a country bare and stoney. It passes first through Angele Kipos, and afterwards through the village of Callandri, then by a water-course to the beginning of the mount of the hill Pentele ...

²¹⁷: It was also "... fretted with a thousand petrifications" (*Journey* I 396).

²¹⁸: The names were "scored and traced in smoke upon the stone" (*Journey* I 396).

²¹⁹: See 21 Jan 1810. This cave, together with that at Keratea (supposing he entered the latter: see 21 Jan 1810) may have served B. thirteen years later as model for Neuha's cave at *The Island*, IV 6-7.

²²⁰: "Chandler supposed [it] a station for the centinel at the quarries, but ... the modern Greeks believe [it] to have been the abode of an ascetic, and, as it seems to me, with more probability; for the masonry appears of a much later date than would correspond with the conjecture of the traveller" (*Journey* I 395: the reference is from Chandler's *Travels in Greece*, 170, as is the spelling "centinel").

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Xenophon (l. 5 descrip Greece)²²¹ places Athens in the middle of Greece, and Greece in the middle of the world – but this has been said of Delphos also.

To bed two, talking three hours with Fletcher,²²² after fine day.

Friday February 2nd 1810: Up late. Visited by Mr Fauvel and a Mr Roque,²²³ who said that Athenians today were the same *canaille*²²⁴ as those in the times of Miltiades and the other heroes whom they maltreated. Rode with Byron towards Parnes through the olive grounds by the Academy, which has still a grove in its vicinity, notwithstanding the sacrilege of Sylla.²²⁵

Yesterday a church of St Nicolo was discovered, and all the women went with tapers in their hands to the inspection of it ... Cold day, but no rain.

Saturday February 3rd 1810: Up very late. Rode out with Byron to the olive grounds belonging to Murasse, a village on the road to Cevridia. Turned round the foot of the mountains (Anchoresmus) and came home by the ruins of Adrian's aqueducts, the same ride as we took before one day. Warm day, but rain in the evening.

Tauric Chersonese produced thirty for one in grain (Strabo Geography 1311.)²²⁶

Sunday February 4th 1810: Up late. Went a walk with Demetrius to the newly-discovered church of St Nicolo. Found, at one aperture in the earth, several candles burning. At another hole, saw a man entering. Gravely told

²²¹: Note pending.

²²²: Deprived of B., who is either writing *Childe Harold* or being sociable with the Macri sisters, H. has only Fletcher to turn to for company. What the two found to talk about for three solid hours is a question which will tantalise us forever.

²²³: Mr Roque is the husband of Theodora Macri and father of Marianna ("Dudu") Roque.

²²⁴: "Scum".

²²⁵: Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 BC) Roman politician and general, enemy of Marius and notorious mass-prosciber and -murderer. When campaigning in Greece between 87 and 84 BC, and in need of timber, he cut down the sacred groves of Athens and the woods of the Academy and the Lyceum. See Plutarch's Life.

²²⁶: The reference is to Strabo, *Geography*, VII 4, 6. "Tauric Chersonese" is the Crimea. Why H. drags the statistic into his diary is mysterious.

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an old woman, who asked me the question, that the one where were the candles was not a church, but that the other certainly was. We had gone only a few paces before we saw the <dwelling> lighted place dark, and the hole, before deserted, crowded with tapers.²²⁷ It appears this church was revealed by the saint to a woman who was conducted by him in broad daylight to the site of his holy dwelling,²²⁸ “Where,” said he, “I cannot live without light, so order all good Xtians to excavate the earth, and give me air”. The hem of this woman’s garment is now kissed by all who see her.

Called on Mr Fauvel. Saw his numerous curiosities, but one most singular of a Flora whose petticoat full of fruits is supported by an enormous penis, by which it appears that the ancients were acquainted with the sexes of plants. He has also a most perfect sepulchral marble, containing two figures of the last adieu as usual, which is [done], as with us, by a shake of the hand. With one line containing the name and father, and the trade, which is not customary, of the artist, and two lines of poetry under with an eulogy. This was found at Piraeus. Another little sepulchral curiosity he has – a Silenus supporting his cup of wine on his penis. This was found in a tomb. He showed me also, on a vase, the figure of Charon ferrying two souls over in a boat, of exactly the same figure as the small boats, called²²⁹ so used at this day at Constantinople. A polite, obliging man, Signor Fauvel.

²²⁷: *Journey* (II 531-2) elaborates: “... whilst I was present, a sort of controversy took place as to the respective merits of the two apertures, one of which was at last deserted, and all the tapers were burnt out before the other opening in the ground. An old woman most earnestly appealed to me to inform her which was the real church; when, as gravely as was in my power, [last phrase cut from *Travels* I 476] I told her that they were under a sad mistake, and that the cavity which they had deserted was, in fact, the true church of St. Nicholas. The intelligence was immediately spread amongst the crowd, that the Frank had decided in favour of the other spot; and immediately the tapers were carried off to the deserted place, and all the crossing, bowing, and praying, were directed to the cavity which had been before neglected. The Greeks had listened to my decision; for Franks are thought by them to possess a preternatural, but by no means an enviable, degree of knowledge, communicated to them by the Evil Principle, their master and guide”.

²²⁸: She was “... accompanied by a large party, consisting of the most respectable Archons and Priests ...” *Journey* (II 531).

²²⁹: Ms. gap.

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After dinner, saw a woman wedded, walking to her husband's home with a high large cup studded with gold coins, looking, as Fletcher said, like the Fool on Plough Monday.²³⁰

No rain, but warm and cloudy. Epaminondas had but one cloak. Cornelius Nepos vita Epaminondæ.²³¹

Monday February 5th 1810: Up late. rode with Byron to the coast beyond the promontory of Colias. He bathed near a cave perforated by the sea.²³² The stone here a sandstone. Fine warm day. Bad toothache, and no operators here, but a man who uses a pair of pinchers and extracts by force.²³³

Tuesday February 6th 1810: Up eleven. Rode out with Byron to the low range of hills continuing from Parnes to the coast opposite Salamis – by the side of them for an hour, barren, rocky – thinly cultivated, till got into the road from Thebes to Athens, by which returned to Athens.

This day saw that the high ridge of hills properly called Parnes (Ozeia), runs east-north-east to west-south-west. There is a valley, in which is the village of Castia, between this range and the other, of low stony barren hills, runs over north-north-east to south-south-west to the sea: M Benithia is a large village a little farther out of the mouth of this valley, and between Benithia and Cevrichia, which is easily distinguished under Pentele. The only one with a mosque is a small village in the midst of trees – Koukouvachi.

Attica has two large plains, this in which we rode today, and that on the other side of Hymettus (the plain of Spatha). The ridge of rocks beginning

²³⁰: Plough Monday was the first Monday after Twelfth Night, the day on which ploughing and other farmwork was resumed after the Christmas break. A plough was dragged about the village by mummers, including a Queen called "Bessy", dressed in white with ribbons and trimmings – the "fool," whom the bride here resembles. Fletcher had, before he became B.'s valet, been, among other things, a ploughman. I am grateful to Ralph Lloyd-Jones for the information in this note.

²³¹: Just as "Suwarrow" has only two shirts (see *Don Juan* VII 43, 5). The echo would be apt if Cornelius Nepos ever referred to the quantity of Epaminondas' cloaks: but H. is recollecting the *Life of Cimon* IV, where Cimon is said often to have given his cloak, St Martin-like, to a poor man – an anecdote implying that he had several.

²³²: But H. did not bathe. See 9 Mar 1810.

²³³: H. does not have his tooth out until 15 May.

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from Mount Anchesmus (St George's rock) makes, however, a division of the west plain of Attica, but it terminates three miles about before Cevrichia and the range of Pentele.

Fine warm day, though cloudy in the morning ...

Wednesday February 7th 1810: Up eleven. Called on Lusieri. Sent to Monsieur²³⁴ for his plan of Attica &c., and had some excuse. So find he is going to write a book, which to be sure might have been guessed before.²³⁵ Demetrius is a sad booby, and is praised by everybody, his talents being envied by no-one.²³⁶

Thursday February 8th 1810: Set off for Oegrippo nine o'clock.²³⁷ Road for two hours after leaving the city a little through olive grounds, then passed Koukouvaones, a village. The deep chasm formed by the larger Cephissus, which takes an abrupt turn in this direction from Cevrisa. Road for two hours more through low grounds, heathy and shrubby, then ascended the hills enveloping the plain of Athens on this side for an hour, till came to Tatoë, a fountain on a hillock in the midst of hills. Athens, its plain and ports, are seen from this five hours distance, the Acropolis exactly south-south-west from it. On a hillock above is a bit of wall. It is four miles from Oropo and perhaps may be the Decelia of the antiques.

For an hour and a half continued through hills – precipices with wood – till got to the north of the high range of Parnes (Ozea), round the lower hills of which it appears we had been winding. A solitary church. St Macaurea. Go on, more northwards, down the hills, till getting to their foot directed ourselves directly north-west to a high ruin in view, in a plain reckoned four

²³⁴: Fauvel.

²³⁵: Fauvel appears never to have written any books.

²³⁶: But see 17 Aug 1811.

²³⁷: B. did not accompany H. on his journey to "Oegrippo" (Negroponte: modern Khalkis). At *Journey I*, H. writes, "Lord Byron was unexpectedly detained at Athens; so that any additional defects in the narration of this short tour must be attributed to the absence of a companion who, to quickness of observation and ingenuity of remark, united that gay good humour which keeps alive the attention under the pressure of fatigue, and softens the aspect of every difficulty and danger". Marchand (I 230) conjectures that B. was too busy with *Childe Harold*; indifference and/or Teresa Macri may also be suspected – though the trip could have been dangerous, and was expensive (see next entry).

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hours from this point, bounded, on the south side, by Cithæron, a range of mountains having many names, mixing with Parnes (Ozea) to the east, and separated from it by the valley of Seonitta [*sketch-map*] and on the north by low hills. cultivated in parts with spots of evergreens as usual.

Going on northly for an hour and a half, crossed the Cephissus, a muddy torrent. In a short time, came to where the road forks for Oegrippo and Thebes, first going north. The other, near the river north-west, one hour more, keeping road to Thebes, then parting till come to the tower on the north (right), of the road to Thebes situated on a hill. Look at this, which is not antique, but certainly composed of stones used for some ancient building – the brick used here. Took a view of the plain (that of Tanagra, I think), Thebes lying behind low hills in the middle as if north-north-west, the river flowing west-north-west.

Came to a village (Oenoe), go northwards, and [in] one and a half [hours] arrived at Schimitari, a village, eighty houses, of Ali Pacha's – five hours from Thebes, three from Oegrippo. Near it is a track of wheat ground, lying on pleasing swellings of the plain and a broad path leads to the village * * *
* * * * * + + + + + +²³⁸

Bought a pig at a bargain!! Four shillings for two – twenty-seven pounds. Had as a second table guest²³⁹ a man who for holiness' and distinction's sake had made a tour to Jerusalem – going by sea to Jaffa in a day, and from thence to Jerusalem in twelve hours – expense coming and going, 1,000 *piastres*, and dear – called “Hadji” for his pains.²⁴⁰ This folly is not uncommon. I saw another at Agrios Meliteos, the monastery in Cithæron, and at Athens there are ten or twelve who have been there.

This man of Schimitari, as well as the monk indeed, seemed more liberal than the rest of the world – the more he had seen the less he believed. I was talking about the distance to the sun. the *Surgee* innocently said, “ωοσαις οδατο ειναη”. I answered “δωδενα νυ μεση μελ αξουα.” – “Yes,” said the hadji, “With the horses of the prophet Elijah.” (“μελ

²³⁸: This elongated hieroglyph may simply be H.'s way of signalling the end of his dull but dutiful itinerary-section.

²³⁹: I do not understand whether or not there was a “first table guest”.

²⁴⁰: Pilgrimage being seen as an Islamic habit, he was given an Islamic nick-name.

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αξζοουα λεου αξοφηλου Ελξα”).²⁴¹ He was but a common fellow, miserably dressed, and sleeping in the same room with his beasts, as is common in Greece, not in Albania.

To bed eleven, sick of pig – having drunk *rachee* as a corrective, which made one worse. Rain part of the day.

Friday February 9th 1810: Up nine. Set out for Oegrippo.²⁴² Misty morning. Road, north over uneven downs, at first cultivated ... then cross heaths with ravines. In sight of the Gulf of Oegrippo, and a plain under the high hills of Oeubea covered with olive trees. Turned to the left, passed over a ravine or bed of [what is] called the river of Vathy, from a neighbouring village through which we passed. Get to the shore, and deep winding along by the side of the water by a bad road. Oegrippo not appearing for some time on account of its situation on the north-east side of a broad flat peninsula, which makes the windings of the Euripus²⁴³ here look like inland lakes, and diminishes the astonishment that would otherwise arise from the view of the smallness of the strait at the bridge of Oegrippo. Came to the north-east side of the hills of Boetia, seen from our village – road bad, and tumbles,²⁴⁴ the first in my travels.

Got to the bridge connecting the island with the mainland, which [is] on an eminence, just above, commanding the castle of Oegrippo [which] has a whitewashed fort – called Carababa – pass over – first a small narrow wooden bridge,²⁴⁵ about fifteen paces in length, to a stone tower with guns in this shape [*sketch*] then through this, where is a large-bored thin cannon,²⁴⁶

²⁴¹: *Journey* (I 466) refers to “Hadji”, and to his pilgrimage, but not to the discussion about travelling to the sun with Elijah’s horse.

²⁴²: Oegrippo was a heavily fortified town on the south coast of the island of Euboea. Commanded by a Pasha of three tails, it was regarded as sensitive militarily, and few Franks went there.

²⁴³: Part of H.’s curiosity lies in the strange habits of the river Euripos, which changes direction at unpredictable intervals.

²⁴⁴: That is, H. fell off his horse.

²⁴⁵: They dismounted before crossing the bridge, for fear of looking too confident.

²⁴⁶: *Journey* (I 446) has “... the mouths of immense cannon appearing through round embrasures, about the upper rim”.

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then on another bridge over the principal stream (for a stream it is) about the same size, into the castle on²⁴⁷ the island.

Go on some way through the street of the buildings of the castle, then over the larger wooden bridge of the castle, past a broad reedy marsh, into the town – a Turk Town – the greater part Turks, of whom many savage things are said: the *Surgee* who was with me was himself a witness to a piece of unpleasant waggery on their part. An Englishman who had a *firman* came into the castle: passing the gate to go out, the captain of the guard asked him for his *firman* – he showed him his *firman* – “Have you no other?” said the guard – “No,” answered the visitor, “Well,” replied the Turk, “I see here a licence for you to go in to the castle, but none for you to go out” – and so shut him up for some days as a fright and warning to him.²⁴⁸ The same story is told of Candia,²⁴⁹ with the addition that the Englishman was killed. It is a saying, “As bad as the Greeks of Athens, the Turks of Oegrippa and the Jews of Salonica.” Franks are not often seen here, and are not used well; i.e. they are followed and screamed after by the boys in the streets.²⁵⁰ I had a letter from the commandant of Athens to an Aga, and to the Pasha Bachir, a vizier of three tails.²⁵¹ Delivered both. The Aga not at home but put up at his house.²⁵²

Visited by a Frank physician,²⁵³ a greasy butcher-like looking fellow, a Timiot imperial²⁵⁴ who complained of the Turks liking the Oelo²⁵⁵ &c.

²⁴⁷: *Journey* (I 446) has “... a large castle, where several Turks, bristling with arms, were lounging about ...”

²⁴⁸: To discourage him from spying on the fortifications again.

²⁴⁹: Crete.

²⁵⁰: *Journey* (I 447) has “... the boys scream after, and follow him, and the men abuse him, and call him Dog and Infidel. This was all the inconvenience I experienced ...”

²⁵¹: How H. managed to obtain two such commissions from the Turkish authorities in Athens is a mystery.

²⁵²: “The Waiwode of Athens had given me two letters, one to the Vizier, Bakir Pasha, another to a rich Aga, at whose house, though he himself was not at home, I put up during the short time I remained in the place, and was treated with every attention, by the people of his household” – *Journey* (I 447).

²⁵³: Before this man turned up H. was visited by the Pasha’s Greek secretary.

²⁵⁴: “A Greek of the island of Tino ... He had been a merchant under the Imperial [Austrian] protection, but failed, and then turned physician” – *Journey* (I 447-8).

²⁵⁵: Note pending. The word implies homoerotic practices.

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“Which,” added he, “would be well enough in a *bel giovane* of fifteen years”.

Took with the said a walk round the east of the town, which is on this side surrounded by low pales (Cervantes says the characteristic of a great man is having servants as well drest as himself).²⁵⁶ Coming on the northern eminence, you have a view of the high mountains of the island covered in the perpetual snows, from the summit of which, as a Turk told me, Athens, Megara, and the whole of the south of Greece appears as in a map laid out below. (“*Vesti gratia*” and “*Deo libera*”, the physician’s phrases, who said he was not a slave but was kept eighteen months against his will by the Pacha.)²⁵⁷

Walking through the town, trapped in to [a] visit with the Sub-Governor.²⁵⁸ Well received, with ceremony by the Turk, a little-eyed, pleasant man. Whilst talking with him he shuffled off to see the Vizier himself, who was holding a divan, as I was told, on purpose,²⁵⁹ in a little room crowded with splendid Turks. The side-sofa on which the Vizier was sitting being empty on which I sat down,²⁶⁰ after having pulled off my boots, and being advised to kiss his foot, which I did not do,²⁶¹ but stayed, and stood till told to sit down, every compliment paid. Told three times at intervals, that seemed strange to me, that I was very welcome.²⁶² (This is, I hear, [the] custom.) Pipe, coffee, sweets, sherbet and perfume.²⁶³ Attempted to go, but desired by Vizier to sit down again. Asked me if I was an

²⁵⁶: Note on Cervantes pending.

²⁵⁷: Though he could not leave, he was allowed a pound and a half of meat daily, and “some piasters at the end of the year”.

²⁵⁸: “As I was walking through the town ... several grave Turks, apparently in office, with the Greek Secretary at their head, approached me, and said that the Vice-Governor of the place desired me to visit him. I excused myself for some time, but was at last obliged to comply” – *Journey* (I 449).

²⁵⁹: *Journey* (I 449) has “No excuses would do – the Vizier was holding a *divan on purpose!!*”

²⁶⁰: He did not sit down until the Vizier gestured him to.

²⁶¹: H. was told he had to enter without his boots, and to kiss the Vizier’s foot. He refused and turned to go, whereupon the condition was revoked: but as his boots were muddy he exchanged them for yellow slippers out of politeness.

²⁶²: The welcome was repeated three times without any intervening comments.

²⁶³: Rosewater was an additional item. All were offered three times.

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Englishman, having a black velvet cap with mustaches,²⁶⁴ shuffled off my visit to his castle,²⁶⁵ where he told me there was nothing to see, and called two men tall, bearded and grave, who bowed and made obeisances as he spoke, desiring them to show me the water of the Euripus,²⁶⁶ which I had seen before to be sure.

Going out, poor silly frightened Demetrius was robbed, as it appears, of eighty *piastres* by these fine-dressed men, who stretched out their hands to him for money. He had thrown away fifty-four before, at the sub-commandants, and a knowing man would have called out for the pipe-bearer, the coffee-bearer, the sherbet-, the perfume-bearer, and given them each five *piastres* – for with these no ceremony or decency is necessary.

Walked with a crowd, and the grave conductors, who were saluted most profoundly fifty times in their passage, with all my suite, to the bridge.²⁶⁷ Looked over the rails for half a minute and said I was satisfied, so returned to the Aga's house with all the company, mob, &c. at which I had put up, and there gave these great men twenty shillings between them, for the receipt of which they bowed as gravely as ever, and left me.²⁶⁸ Soon after, the scrivand Greek brought me a letter from the Vizier to the commandant of Athens, and I departed, going over the bridge, and almost minded to throw myself in, as Aristotle [had] done,²⁶⁹ for the loss of my money in viewing this natural curiosity.

Of this water, I could get no fixed account. The doctor told me that “By God he had never been to see it, but that if anyone had told me that it

²⁶⁴: See 11 Jan 1810, first sentence. H. did not look like a Frank, though he certainly must have smelled like one.

²⁶⁵: It was the Vizier, not H., who “shuffled off” H.’s visit.

²⁶⁶: “... when ... I added, that it was the stream of water under the bridge to which I alluded, the visages of all in the room put on an air of astonishment, mixed with a certain smile, chastised by the gravity of their looks, altogether indescribable” – *Journey* (I 451).

²⁶⁷: “The passengers and surrounding crowd perpetually questioned my attendants as to the object of the procession, and were told that a Frank was going to look at the water. I could hear the Turkish words signifying ‘Water, Water,’ a hundred times repeated” – *Journey* (I 452).

²⁶⁸: After they took his money they “returned slowly to the palace, walking, as is the fashion of the higher orders in Turkey, with their toes turned inwards” – *Journey* (I 453).

²⁶⁹: Aristotle was said to have drowned himself in despair at his inability to solve the mystery of the currents in the Euripos (my thanks to Chris Little here).

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changed its flowing more than twice in twenty-four hours they had told me a lie". He had lived there eighteen months. A Greek told me it changed seven times in twenty-four hours. A Turk, who was a guard at the gate, five times, for which number it was easy to account when he mentioned that it was not long that it had been thus strange, for, said he, a certain holy Turk being confined in the prison²⁷⁰ that overlooks the water, and not knowing when to pray, begged of God to send him some sign – which was immediately given by the water flowing and reflowing five times *per di*. If not, another man told me that the changes were irregular, which seems to me most natural, and depending on the quarter of the wind – the channel is very narrow and very shallow, four feet at the lowest, and whatever tide there is in these seas must show itself there. The two arms of the sea are very large, particularly that to the north. When the wind is ²⁷¹ the change is four times only in the twenty-four hours. When east and violent over the mountains of Eubea, the alterations are more frequent²⁷² and at the full of the moon attended with extraordinary turbulence, and eddies near the bridges. The water flows through the bridges with violence, and strong eddies are made about a hundred yards above the bridges on the side where the tide is to change, which I saw; but this current is not perceived on either side of the bridges for any length, or distance.

Returned, in a rage I shall never forget,²⁷³ by a shorter road, crossing a cleft in the hill to Scimitari in two hours and a half. It is reckond three hours. Waiting for my dish of cold pork from yesterday's pig, saw a dead woman carried in a rug to be buried. She had a thin rag, just enough to cover her, and after [the] service, performed by [the] resident *caloyer*²⁷⁴ in a hasty manner, was put into a trench, not deep, sandles tied on her feet and a stone

²⁷⁰: He was confined there "when the Infidels had the place" – *Journey* (I 454).

²⁷¹: Ms gap.

²⁷²: In *Journey* H. is able to arrive at no conclusion as to the cause of the strange fluxious irregularities in the Euripos at Negroponete, but states every conflicting opinion impartially. In fact the river changes direction anything between four and twenty times a day, an effect still not fully understood, but thought to be owing to the interaction between the tide, and pools of stagnant water.

²⁷³: His rage occasioned by the humiliating amount of money he and his attendants have parted with, for no great intellectual profit.

²⁷⁴: The local monk. See *The Giaour*, 787.

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with the sign of the cross on her breast. No-one wept, or seemed sorry.²⁷⁵ I asked the reason, and was told she was an orphan – of sixty years old, and how could anybody care for her? The service was said over her body in the little church, and afterwards she was carried to the grave.

I went afterwards to see a beautiful woman with a cancer in her mouth – the wife of Hadji. she was a most *interesting* object, but spoiled my dinner. In the church I saw two ancient grave stones: “Χαίρε,”²⁷⁶ as usual.

Bad dinner, and bed. The crowd of Greeks did not come tonight, no flesh being to be eaten.

Saturday February 10th 1810: Set out for the monastery of St Meleteus. Road south for one hour and a half, over a plain. Came to the site of an ancient city,²⁷⁷ as very apparent from remains of walls, spread round a hillock, and a set of stones about six feet at the top. It is called Grematha, and many medals are daily found by the persons tilling the ground from the village of Schimitari, from which this plain is now denominated. One [was] of a dog. The coin of Tanagra I have got, and this seems to be the situation: it lies west from the high tower below, in the plain and Thebes [is] north-north-east.

Crossed the Asophus ²⁷⁸ [and] directly came into the mountains, a range of Cithæron. A Greek chapel with four small columns on the summit of a hillock. Castri, then road west-north-west. Saw a village on the height, south-east, Mauvraomati. Ascending still, turning west more, came into a narrow valley in the hills. [A] goat road for about an hour, then got into one of the roads from Thebes to Athens, which we came by from Thebes, passing on the left a ruined tower on a scrag of rock, being part of the continuation of Cithæron, there low, as the land is high. Crossed the west

²⁷⁵: The woman had been alive when they left that morning. “There were six old women attending as mourners, but they, as well as the rest of the congregation, seemed rather merry than sad, behaving with a levity which I was proceeding to remark upon ...” – *Journey* (I 460).

²⁷⁶: “Farewell”.

²⁷⁷: Tanagra, site of a battle in 457 which the Spartans fought the Athenians and Argives. See Herodotus IX, and Pausanias, *Attica*, 29. Source also of numerous delicate and lifelike terracotta figurines. More important archaeologically than H. realises; though he gives a more elaborate note at *Travels* I 431.

²⁷⁸: Ms. gap.

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end of the plain of Scourta by Spalise, a small village with a larger sort of church in the right – turned, then west into the mountain (Cithæron) again, [but] lost our way in these high hills.

Got off my horse and walked, and tried the echoes of Cithæron²⁷⁹ – down a woody hill to a spot where two torrents met. Up the opposite ascent to the monastery of Agios Meliteus.²⁸⁰ A little time before admittance there – entered – looked at the pillars of the church, reported to be porphyry, but only red marble. Two octagon pillars – [the monks] consulted Demetrius²⁸¹ whether they had not better take down four small marble pillars supporting the dome supporting to the holy table, and put wood instead, as showing the gilding better. There is a monumental bass-relief on the right hand entering the church door.

Told the brothers we were going to sleep there. They asked who we had with us. Told them a *Surgee*, and an Albanian guard, adding that he was a Xtian. Vassily then happened to enter and confirmed our report by crossing himself most devoutly – got a good small room in one angle of the dormitory, which I afterwards found was devoted, as to its chambers, to bogging apartments.²⁸²

There are fifty brothers properly belonging to this convent now, about ten resident and five more in their *metochis* or farms. Enquiring into the cause of their apprehension of us, they told us that they were frequently subject to play the part of hosts to Turks coming to and from the Morea, and that seeing we were not in the high road (*Βασιλική στρατή*) they did not know what sort of people we might be. Indeed, they added that had they seen

²⁷⁹: “I had gone too quick for Demetrius, who was left behind me amongst the woods. It was a still evening, and no other sound was to be heard but the gentle dashing of the torrent, at the brink of which I was stooping down, when the echoes of Cithæron were at once awakened by the shouting of my attendant, and starting up, I heard my name repeated as if in thunder, from every corner of the vast ampitheatre of woody hills around me. Immediately after the man himself appeared; and being questioned as to the cause of his alarm, said, ‘I was afraid, Sir, that you might have been encountered by some wild beast: the mountains are full of them’” – *Journey* (I 462).

²⁸⁰: “We soon overtook a monk and a little boy, driving an ass laden with faggots up a steep zigzag path through the woods, and taking them for guides, arrived, after a good deal of fatigue, at the end of our day’s journey” – *Journey* (I 462)

²⁸¹: Demetrius being a gilder of wood his opinion would be a professional one. *Journey* (I 464) reveals that it was in fact “the Monks, who before had had some dealings with Demetrius as a painter, who consulted him”.

²⁸²: Toilets.

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Vasily they would not have let us enter. About fifty Albanians had a short time since got a lodging in the monastery, and would not retire for a week. A monk retreated privately, and called together about two hundred of the Dervene guard, and expelled them. The monks have guns and arms, and unless entrapped to give admission to travellers, can never be forced into it by any body of armed men. They *belong to* the Dervene.

The Dervene is the guard of the Isthmus,²⁸³ and in order to prevent the egress of an unpermitted person from the Morea (for anyone may enter it), the mountains of the Megaris are occupied by an armed population of the Greeks, inhabiting the small towns, seven in number, called *Dervene-choria*, of which Megara is the largest and Kondura the next in size. There is in the passes of the mountains a perpetual guard, but every cottage is supplied with arms, and on the least alarm the mountains are in a state of defence. Thirty-nine years past they were ordered by the Pacha of the Morea, in conjunction with the Capitan Pacha, who, *ex officio*, used to command them, to destroy a large body [of] 6 or 7,000 Albanians who were endeavouring to pass, with the spoils of Morea, into their own country.²⁸⁴ Very few escaped – many were killed by the monastery of Agios Meliteus, attempting to fly through the unfrequented paths of Cithæron, between the two roads to Athens from Thebes. About ten years ago, 150 Albanians, Turks, being discontented with the pay of the Pasha of the Morea, endeavoured to force through the Dervene. An order came from the Pasha, [and] they were intercepted by the armed population – about ten killed, and the rest delivered up in chains to the Pacha. These Dervenites, as they are called, have only one Turk amongst them. Their chief [is] the Dervene Aga, whom I saw at Megara, and [they] pay only a hundred *paraws paratch* per man,²⁸⁵ but being obliged to give lodging to the people of the Pasha passing to and from Morea, do not gain much by this exemption. It is evident that they would be the most formidable instruments of revolution in this part of Greece.²⁸⁶ The insitution has

²⁸³: The Isthmus of Corinth.

²⁸⁴: They “had been called in to drive the Russians from the Morea” - *Journey* (I 480).

²⁸⁵: *Journey* (I 481) has “... paying only one hundred paras a man for haratch, or capitation-tax ...”

²⁸⁶: The diary’s first Greek revolutionary thought. At *Journey* I 481 H. allows it through thus: “... it is easy to see that the Derveniotes would be a most formidable

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completely succeeded, and a snuff-box lost in the Dervene would be recovered immediately. From the pass in Cithæron, leading from Thebes to Athens, the Dervene, being but the high range of mountains called Dervene, run on the south-west of the Megarean plain, the road to Corinth winding through the north end of them.

Went to bed after talking with a young monk who had been to Jerusalem,²⁸⁷ and who told me that one of this convent had taken a strange liking to the oxen, attended them all day, and would suffer neither man nor beast to approach their pastures²⁸⁸ – another monk told me he had never left the monastery (which is to be sure in the most romantic situation) for four years, and knew not the difference between the sexes.²⁸⁹

Sunday February 11th 1810: The monks in the morning sent me a bit of consecrated bread.²⁹⁰ Set off for Cochli (Plataea)²⁹¹ down the side of the mountain into a plain called the plain of the Calivia of Koundouri. Calivia seems to mean a dependant village, running west. At the western extremity of this is a village in the circling hills called Vilia, one of the Dervene Choria. A half-hour before this (which is reckoned two hours and a half from the convent), turned off into a pass between the hills on the right, having some little time before [we] got into the road from Thebes, Megara, and Athens. On the right is a hill having the remains of an ancient castle [with] five towers and a wall stretching round the summit. It is now called Gisto-Castro.³

A little farther on in this, pass a Turk fountain, “Petröyrache”. Came in twenty minutes to where the path to Cochli turns off to the left, north-west,

instrument in the hands of any power which might attempt to revolutionize European Turkey. They form ... a body certainly sufficient to prevent the Morea affording, or receiving any supplies, in case of a general insurrection of the Greeks”. It is tempting to link this new political strain with the humiliation H. had undergone at the hands of the Turks in Negroponte the previous day.

²⁸⁷: He, too, was called Hadji. See 8 Feb 1810.

²⁸⁸: Bestiality implied. Compare Dec 1 1809.

²⁸⁹: *Journey* (I 466) puts it “Hadji ... added besides that he was as ignorant as an infant, whispering something in my ear, that was a decisive proof of his innocence”.

²⁹⁰: It was leftovers from the dawn mass.

²⁹¹: Site of the battle in 479 BC in which the Greeks under Pausanias (the general) defeated the Persians under Mardonius. Herodotus describes the battle in Book IX: Pausanias (the topographer and antiquary) describes the battlefield at *Boiotia* 2.

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the path to Thebes going north-north-east. Continue ascending towards Cochli half an hour; a goat's road to the top of this part of the mountain (Cithæron). There a view of the plain of Plataea, one of the mosques of Thebes peeping above the low mounds on the south side of the city. Helicon Langari on the north-north-west, Parnassus (Liahura) just appearing beyond the northern extremity of Helicon, and Cithæron's summits stretching west.

The scene of action directly before you and north, or rather the plain where Mardonius' camp was pitched, you go down the hill [for] ten minutes, and have on your right a village, Calivi, below going west-north-west. About this place was the first position of the Greeks to prevent the Persians from ravaging Attica, for just above the village, you see the public road from Thebes to the Peloponnesus, Attica &c. appearing like the bed of a torrent to the right. Look to your right into the plain more to the eastward of Thebes, and you will see, but not distinctly, the point where the Asopus forms two branches, making the island into which the Greeks intended to retreat, but missed their way and divided, the Lacedemonians into the hill, the Athenians into the plain, and the rest of the army under the walls of Plataea.

Near a solitary house in the plain below Calivi is a fountain, perhaps Goepissa – pass west down the hill, marshy ground, and about a mile and a half come to a rivulet flowing down a ravine – and on a hillock above, on the foot of Cithæron, as all this ground is, large stones disposed in a small [sketch of a rectangle], answering exactly to the second position of the Lacedemonians,²⁹² and the chapel of Ceres.²⁹³

Uneven ground close about and the plain beneath; the island formed by the Asopus in the plain about a mile off below. Go on another mile in the foot of the hill, and come to a similar small remain, perhaps the temple of Juno Cithæronia,²⁹⁴ perhaps her one monument, and in half a mile keeping downwards into the plain, the first remains of Plataea itself, the large stones

²⁹²: It was the Lacedemonians who, according to Herodotus, broke the Persians and put them first to flight at Plataea.

²⁹³: There was a shrine to Demeter (Ceres) at the battlefield, but not a single Persian corpse was found at it afterwards. Herodotus attributes this to the goddess's wrath at the way the Persians had desecrated her shrine at Eleusis.

²⁹⁴: There was also a temple of Hera (Juno) at Plataea; Herodotus describes how its guard rushed forward without order in the moment of victory and were routed or killed.

of a wall. Path goes under these, passes a fountain, comes to other remains similar surrounding a terrace. Turn round this and get to Cochli, the village in a niche of the hills. On the west side of the site of Plataea, running west-south-west, is a small plain, having the large range of Cithaeron to the south and few hills in the island of the ...

[*The next page contains a plan of the battle of Plataea*]

... Asopus to the north, terminating just where you may see from the village a small bridge over this branch of the river, here very small and insignificant. Plataea is situated under the highest summits of Cithaeron, now covered with snow (but not in the mountain). The remains of stones point out the situation exactly, the one large and only belonging to the walls. Anacharsis²⁹⁵ is wrong. The straight of Plataea, which I take to be the vale between Cithaeron and the hill and in the island, is more west than south. Road to Thebes more north than east, road from Megaris to Thebes more north than west, and the place where the Asopus joins its branches more east and opposite the road from Thebes to Megaris.²⁹⁶

No-one that has seen this place but must suspect the Greek historians of exaggerations. All the movements of the two armies previous to the battle and at the conflict took place in a triangle, formed (bounded) by the road from the Megaris to Thebes, seven miles. The base of Cithron, a marshy hilly ground, three miles – and the road from Plataea to Thebes, six miles – the numbers were 100,000 Greeks [and] 350,000 Persians²⁹⁷ (see different accounts of the battle of Marathon). The place where the Lacedaemonians fought with the great body is now exactly seen, but too small for the manoeuvring of a thirtieth part of the number ascribed to them – and how the Persian horse – Persian and more – were in this ground does [not] appear –

²⁹⁵: The reference is to Plate 4 (“Essay on the Battle of Plataea”) of *Maps, Plans, Views and Coins Illustrative of the Travels of Anacharsis*, by M. Barbié du Bocage. This is the eighth, map-volume of the 1793 English translation of *Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce au IVe Siècle del’ère vulgaire*, by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-95). See B.’s Appendix to *Childe Harold I and II* called *Marmartouri’s Prospectus of a Translation of Anacharsis ... who wished to publish it in England* (a section not printed in CPW II: see Cardwell II 166-7).

²⁹⁶: As Bocage’s map gives no compass-point, it is hard to evaluate what H. is saying.

²⁹⁷: The statistics are from Herodotus.

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perhaps the armies of the ancients were drawn up more compactly to make each body an individual, which scheme was brought to perfection in the phalanx. Mr Lusieri tells me that a large quarto has been written on the Caudine Forks²⁹⁸ by an Italian²⁹⁹ attempting to account for the passage of the Romans and their battle there, which seems impossible to an observer from the narrowness of the situation.

Returned to the convent, a good four hours from Cochli. On the road *Surgee* drove a nail into my horse's foot. Beautiful day. Bed eleven.

Monday February 12th 1810: Set out for Megara down the hill, covered, as is all Cithæron, with evergreens. Crossed the plain called the plain of the Calina of Κωνδουωα.³⁰⁰ Get into hills – into the public road from Thebes to the Peloponnesus and Athens and in an hour, to where the paths divide, one to Athens by Eleusis (to the left), and the other to Megara, hour and a half. From the convent to Koundovera, on the side and top of a *colline* under mountains, to south-west, without a tree near it.

Ascend more. Get into fine woods – evergreens. In three hours, the convent in sight. Road from it south-south-west. Here the road points to Dervene, i.e. the high hill, and into the isthmus to the right. Descend, winding through the woody hills, more south-west. View of the Athenian plain, and Pentelichus in the distance to the left, and the Eleusinian plain nearer on that quarter. Came to a Dervene guard under a *diasphurlo*, or house framed by green branches of trees.³⁰¹ One man brought water for a present, and another prepared, with his gun slung over his shoulder to accompany us, but he [was] dismissed by Vasily with ten *paraws*.

Very narrow pass between two high romantic rocks, and a long cavern on the right hill. Road directly to south-west (four hours from convent) through evergreen woods for an hour – the castle of Megara and the sea in view for an hour.

²⁹⁸: Humiliating Roman defeat in 321 BC, at the hands of the Samnites. See Livy, Book IX.

²⁹⁹: Italian quarto unidentified.

³⁰⁰: Note pending.

³⁰¹: “Eight or ten stout young men were smoking in a hut made of green branches” - *Journey* (I 478).

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Arrived. Lodged. The houses (1000, 600 only inhabited), situated on two narrow ridges of a low eminence in a fine cultivated plain, a mile and a half from the sea and the small port Nisæa [*sketch*], before which is a small island called ³⁰² a long straight shore running west from the port. On the ridge where the principal number of houses stands is a tower* – heavy hot clouds on Parnes. Three large headless statues, which I did not see, but two pretty sepulchral stones, and a most perfect coin of Megara – the fishes. Here is a well, filled up by the men, the water of which made the women lewd.³⁰³ This is but lately ... made an agreement to go to Aegina, to which my man in the morning did not stand.

Fine day, hot.

Memorandum: the plain of Megara bounded on the south-west [*sketch-map*] by the high mountains of Dervene proper in the north by the hills of the Megaris circling it to the Gulf of Corinth. On the south it has the sea.

(* Note: not ancient, on the other a Windmill - the town is filled with pieces of inscribed marble - a few ancient, but many large, of the Roman time – one of Flavian – I saw, spelt thus: $\phi\lambda\alpha\beta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\varsigma$: so β is after all! V.³⁰⁴ (An earthquake, half-past eleven [at] night writing this, February 16th 1810 – gentle shaking.)³⁰⁵

Tuesday February 13th 1810: Set off from Megara to Athens, after waiting for the answer of the boatmen at twelve o'clock. Road to the south-east towards the shore through grounds of evergreens. In an hour and a half turned up eastward more, and continued under the hills called Kerata with two tops seen at a great distance close to the shore, crowding through the pine woods. Came above a small bay with a solitary cottage and a boat-shed,

³⁰²: Ms gap. "... there is a small island [*Travels* I 429 has *green strip of land*] at the mouth of the harbour, called by some" [last phrase cut at *Travels* I 429] "the Minoa of the ancients" – *Journey* (I 479).

³⁰³: "The modern well has lately been filled up by the male inhabitants, who accuse the water of having some properties productive of an inclination to incontinence in their wives and daughters" – *Journey* (I 482).

³⁰⁴: Either St Flavian (390-449) Patriarch of Constantinople, Flavian I (d. 404) or Flavian II (d. 518) Patriarchs both of Antioch.

³⁰⁵: The earthquake occurred on 16 Feb, as H., sitting opposite B. in Athens, was writing this entry.

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in sight then of the ruined tower above Eleusis, and the tongue of land on the south-west of the town. Salamis stretching close to the shore on [the] west, and closing up the bay of Salamis. Passed at the back of this tower, and came into the plain. Passed the aqueduct, and rode fast to Athens, through the road I had gone before. A civil fat Turk offered me a dinner and lodging at his village in the plain, under Mount Casha (Parnes) the Calina of Casha, and showed me the *volpes*³⁰⁶ that I should have to eat. This happened trotting over the Thrasian plain. Athens lies east-south-east from Megara – Megara is twelve miles from Eleusis – Eleusis fourteen from Athens. The road is good in both stages.

Met Byron³⁰⁷ on the road close to the church coming out of Athens. Rode with him – fine day, sunny. Hear there has been rain at Athens.

Wednesday February 14th 1810: Got up ten. Called on the Waiwode, who was most kind. He showed me a Turkish map, that is, as he told me – a map with Turkish names, copied entirely from a large English atlas. Called afterwards on his Bolu Basha, charged with the executive in Athens. Called on Lusieri, who was civil and talked like a man of the world – finding we had called on Fauvel, praised him and abused a Mr Roque³⁰⁸ – came home.

Byron riding out with Nicolai³⁰⁹ to Phyle – home late, and dine late. Masquerading at night – Marianna *Consulina*³¹⁰ dressed in my Albanian clothes – “futile and confounded attempts!”³¹¹

Antony and Nicolai taken up by the guard, and Antony boxed in the face – rage of Andrew and collaring of the guard. Bed three o’clock. Fine day, hot and clear.

³⁰⁶: See 24 Jan 1810. H. does not say that he turned down the *civil fat Turk’s* offer, but his memory of the lobster which had made him ill at Marathon was probably decisive.

³⁰⁷: Who had (according to *Marchand* I 230) been too busy writing *Childe Harold* II to accompany H. on his uncomfortable and expensive journey. In fact B. did not finish the poem until 28th March, by which time they were in Smyrna.

³⁰⁸: See 2 Feb 1810.

³⁰⁹: Perhaps Niccolo Giraud, Lusieri’s nephew and beloved of B..

³¹⁰: This could be Dudù Roque.

³¹¹: Taken by *Marchand* (I 230-1) as H. cursing his lack of romantic address. The inverted commas suggest a quotation – he may be paraphrasing Young Marlow in *She Stoops to Conquer*.

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Thursday February 15th 1810: Called on by Mr Lusieri with complaint from Bolu Basha – he told me of a strange superstition in the Greeks. A man marries a girl loved by another. The unsuccessful rival goes to church, says some prayers, ties his back locks in several knots, and for each knot the husband suffers a month of impotency – this is common. Old Logotheti suffered thus.³¹² He also told me that there were few days when the Greeks were not prevented by some superstition from some particular function. The women will not cut silk always.

My head from Cevrishia [is] no great thing. Roman, as can be told by the pupil, indented, of the eye – rode out with Byron to the south shore, along the sacred way by Eleusis, and returned same way – dined. In the evening, Bolu Basha called. Brought his pipes with him, and one man who waited on him. Dervis very officious to serve him – bed one o'clock. Demetrius and Andrew at war. Fine day, hot and cloudy.

Friday February 16th 1810:³¹³ Up eleven. Rode out with Byron to the village of Rouhouavaones, then turned to the right (east) by the deep course of the Cephissus, through grounds partly cultivated with vineyards, to Cephria, under Pentelechi, and came home through Marchisee and the olive grounds of that village – not by Angele Kipos, but turning through a split of Anchesmus. Home. Spring of the year – almond []s $\text{Cpex}\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha$ ³¹⁴

³¹²: The story is told, with greater elegance, at *Journey* II 528-9. For “Old Logotheti”, the English Vice-Consul, see 26 Dec 1809 and 22 Jan 1810.

³¹³: It was while H. was writing up his diary for February 12th late at night on this date that the earthquake occurred to which he there refers. *Journey* (I 486) has the following: “At half after eleven at night, as I was writing the substance of these pages in our little sitting-room at Athens, and my fellow-traveller” [*Travels* has “Lord Byron”], “better employed, was opposite to me, a noise, like the rushing of a torrent, suddenly roused our attention: the dead stillness of the night rendered every sound more unexpected and more distinct; the branches of the lemon-trees in the courtyard shook ‘without a wind;’ and instantly afterwards the door of our chamber swung open, and the whole building began to totter. At this moment one of the servants rushed into the room, and exclaimed that the house was falling! The shaking, however, was but gentle, and did not last more than two seconds, having been more alarming in its approach than dangerous in its consequences. We afterwards learnt that this earthquake had thrown down several hundred houses at Canéa in Candia [Crete], and we ourselves saw some effects of its violence amongst the ruins of Alexandria Troas”. B.’s “better” employment was presumably writing *Childe Harold* II. For the damage at Alexandria Troas, see 13 Apr 1810.

³¹⁴: Note pending.

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in blossom white as *snow*!! Andrew mentions a notion at Rome that if a man gets a fall during an earthquake³¹⁵ the bruise is almost incurable.

Saturday February 17th 1810: Up, as usual, late. Walked out with Demetrius to the newly-discovered church of St Niccolo.¹ The spot of ground above this a neat ground, given by the owner to St Niccolo to excavate in discovering his church – but the Turks, as the progress of this discovery cuts up the road going to the gardens towards <between><the path><to Salamis and Piræus> have prevented further search. Walk on by this path, then turn to the left over the fields, without entering the gardens, to a reservoir made for watering this portion of the olive grounds, and ramble homewards by the back of the hill of Philopappus. Chambers in the rock facing bed of the Ilyssus (Caliprine) and the whole of this part of the hill ascending to the channel of a small torrent, cut into groves and squares, as if houses had formerly been placed there, together with signs of ancient wells. Climb to Philopappus.

Return home. Dine. Observe two observations of Major Taylor's in his introduction to his tour: "the destiny of Bonaparte is fixed".³¹⁶ (He was then in Egypt) and he says that the sect of the Wahabees "have no probability of extending their influence."³¹⁷ Thus it is when a traveller, instead of telling what he sees, tells what he foresees.

Singular weather – a cloud transparent on the hills with violent sirocco wind. Hot, not sunny. Wheat cut in May.

³¹⁵: With reference to the unrecorded event of that day. Andrew may have been the servant who rushed in.

³¹⁶: The phrase occurs at John Taylor's *Travels from England to India* (1799) I 36. For the previous reference to this book, to which H. and B. clearly have access, see 5 Sept 1809.

³¹⁷: "I heard of a new religion while I was in Arabia, which been recently established, and what was most extraordinary, in the vicinity of Mecca: but the doctrines which it inculcated had not spread beyond the bounds of a particular family, and it was by no means likely to become general, or to extent over a country where prejudice and enthusiasm are so strongly rooted, and innovation so dangerous ..." Major Taylor, *Travels* I 35-6. For *Wahab's rebel brood* (the Wahabees were a puritanical Islamic fundamentalist sect, who were at the height of their power in 1810) see *Childe Harold* II 77, 5-6. The relevant part of the poem may currently be being written.

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Sunday February 18th 1810: Up later than ever. Rode out with Byron, and took the road through the olive grounds to Koukouvaones. One hour and a half. Then, in the olive grounds at the stream of the smaller Cephissus, leave road to Koukouvanones to the right, and take path to Mnemithi through olive grounds. Cross larger Cephissus – but even that small – and ride out into the plain soon. Frightened back by a shower. Mnemithi three hours from Athens, and a large village. Mr Thornton very properly laughs at Mr Eton for talking of the ancient spirit of the Greeks surviving in the Suliotes and the pirates of the Archipelago.³¹⁸

This evening more than usually dull, so went into Andrew's long room where singing, and tales from Fletcher: one of a girl observing a cow and bull endeavouring at copulation, who, when after repeated trials she saw the

³¹⁸: “Mr. Eton, in his chapter on the political state of Greece, gives the history of some skirmishes between the *pasha* of Yanina, and the Greek inhabitants of the mountains of Sulli ... These, and the piracies of a Greek of the name of Lambro, are ‘the struggles which,’ according to Mr. Eton [* *Survey of the Turkish Empire*. p. 334], ‘show, that Greece is about to awake to the assertion of her native rights.’ But the details present a disgusting picture of the warfare of the modern Greeks, which is in fact, in a political point of view, only the devastation of banditi, and wholly undeserving the notice of history. I blush, while I quote Mr. Eton's eulogium of the *gallant Lambro*, who pillaged and ransacked the *Greek islands* of the Archipelago, and molested the trading ships of *all nations*, even after the peace of Yassy was signed, when he was disowned by Russia, and declared a pirate”. – Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey*, II 76-7. Thornton is taking issue with William Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire* (1798, subsequent editions). Whatever he may think, B. makes the ancient spirit of the Greeks live on in his own Lambro. See *Don Juan* III Stanza 55:

But Something of the Spirit of Old Greece
Flashed o'er his Soul a few heroic rays,
Such as lit onward to the Golden Fleece
His predecessors in the Colchian days;
'Tis true he had no ardent love for peace –
Alas! his Country showed no path to Praise;
Hate to the World, and War with every Nation
He waged, in Vengeance of her degradation. –

There is another reference to the real Lambro at Taylor's *Travels*, I 147-8. A note from Eton says that Lambro was given a colonelship and estates by Catherine the the Great. See B.'s note to *The Bride of Abydos* II 380: also below, 2 Aug 1810.

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success, said, "There now!" and thrust her arm through the window behind which she was standing³¹⁹ ... Warm, and one shower today.

Monday February 19th 1810: Up late. Rode out with Byron to the Piræus, then crossed over to the bay on the east of Xerxes' seat (Port Phoron) and returned by the road from the ferry to Salamis, to Athens. Walked part of the way as far as the olive grounds, dined, wrote the prepositions and adverbs of the Romaique grammar.³²⁰

To bed. Cats eating the lamb in Andrew's back chamber who, against orders, had gone out.

Tuesday February 20th 1810: Up half-past ten. Read Potter's *Antiquities*.³²¹ Curious typographical error in his sixth edition: temple of Theseus dedicated to "Sir George," which by the context appears to be Sir George Wheler. Chandler's account³²² taken apparently as to history from him; but he (Potter) seems to know nothing of the capture of Athens by Moroscini.³²³ Account of the number of times Athens has been taken interesting.

Walked out with Vasily. Went through the gate that has the marble with Oeliani's name over it, east from the Venetian tower. Walked on the road towards the Lyceum, eastwards. Agioi Asomatos, then crossed and climbed up the hills of Anchesmus to the Greek church there. View of all the Athens plain, except that part north-north-east intercepted by the lower range of Anchesmus. Athens, the olive grounds, the roads, the sea, the mountains. Round this hill wound two paths, one to Agios Asomatos east, another nearer the hill northerly. The east one leads across one branch of it to St

³¹⁹: A rare – and extended – glimpse of Fletcher's entertainment value.

³²⁰: Started on 3 Jan 1810.

³²¹: John Potter (1674??-1747) Archbishop of Canterbury. The book is *Archæologia Græca, or The Antiquities of Greece* (1697-8). I have yet to consult its sixth edition. Potter's son Thomas helped John Wilkes write his *Essay on Woman*.

³²²: Chandler's description of the modern history of Athens is at *Travels in Greece* 31-3.

³²³: A Venetian general called Morosini was laying siege to the Acropolis in 1687, when, on September 26th, a ball struck the Parthenon and exploded the powder magazine which the Turks had placed there. The roof blew off, much of the colonnade on each side was destroyed, and huge areas of the sculpture vanished. It was the worst damage the building ever sustained.

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Cyriani, south, the other branch going into the plain of Spatha near to the south end of Pentelichus east-north-east. Road to monastery and marble quarries in the quarter between east-north-east and north-east to Cervichia. Road north-north-east. Descend the rock towards the city, and come to a little church underneath, with a deep well near it. The wall of this church projects no farther than the rock.

Walk home listening to complaints of Vasily. Fine, warm but windy day. Dryness of the soil.

Home. Byron not up. On the report of mullet for dinner, roused himself ... windy day.

Wednesday February 21st 1810: Up late. Rode out with Byron through ye olive grounds, north, then crossed the chasm of Cephissus. Rode along said chasm some distance, then crossed it again, where there is a double chasm. Struck across the lands, partly heath, partly badly ploughed, to Roukouvaones. Across the country again to Marusse. Home by the road to Athens. Storms flying about – windy wet day. Report of three Englishmen arrived – turned out to be only one, and that one – Galt!! (Monsieur John).³²⁴ He noted a *billet* badly and tore it up, sending only his name.³²⁵

Thursday February 22nd 1810: Up half-past nine. Called on Galt, lodged in the lantern of Demosthenes with the Capuchin – a good man, a friend of the King of Sardinia's. Galt's news: Canning shot in the thigh.³²⁶ Duke of Portland's death.³²⁷ Lord Bathurst acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs.³²⁸ Confusion at home – ministration offered to Lords Grenville and Grey – refused³²⁹ &c. Zante taken without orders³³⁰ – one of the recruiting sergeants

³²⁴: Whom they have not seen since Malta.

³²⁵: A servant must have blabbed; unless Galt is being self-deprecatory.

³²⁶: In his duel with Castlereagh, on 21 September 1809. He walked away.

³²⁷: William Cavendish, 3rd Duke of Portland (1738-1809) Whig leader and Prime Minister at the time of his death. Canning's brother-in-law.

³²⁸: Henry, 3rd Earl of Bathurst (1762-1834) was Colonial Secretary from 1812 to 1828.

³²⁹: The next Prime Minister was Spencer Perceval, assassinated on 11 May 1812.

³³⁰: Zante had been taken on 2 Oct of the previous year.

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for our own Zantiote regiment hanged by Vely Pasha.³³¹ – a funny, conversable man, even about women. Rode out for half an hour on the road.

Close to ye north side of Anchesmus, galloped home in the rain. Windy day, again dined. Sick for letters detained by Strani.

Friday February 23rd 1810: up late. Rode with Byron, taking road towards Vary. Turned off to the right. Two villages with towers. To the shore, to the Bada of Phalera, and home.

Galt came in the evening: told us of Sicilian nobility and poverty, the Baron de Mackinley³³² who on his (Mr Galt's) taking out his purse to make him a present, took it from him coolly, and, emptying the contents into his hands, returned him the purse with a bow.

Ye cold, cutting day – wind strong from north-west.

Saturday February 24th 1810: <Up late>. Found Galt and Lusieri in the room – active part taken by Galt in the marbles.³³³ Rode out with Byron. Cross Lyceum gardens, keeping to the north foot of Hymettus – two convents, then cross into the plain – the largest plain of this side Hymettus – to road from the Convent of Pentele to Athens, and home. Plain miserably cultivated. Called at the Lantern of Demosthenes and found Galt not at home. After dinner Joseph came playing on a curious instrument [*sketch of zither*] with two thin sticks, not unlike the sound of a harpsichord tuning. Fine day but windy.

Sunday February 25th 1810: Up late. Rode out after calling on Fauvel and Galt. Road to Eleusis. Returned. Sent Demetrius to Ægina for statues. Mr Galt dined at Lusieri's. Melancholy man. Galt told me of villages of Greeks in Sicily. Galt came back with us and visited a *Νυμφη*,³³⁴ painted and sitting in the middle of a poor house where Consulina lives. She³³⁵ is now promised, and has received the ring, but the man does not appear, his mother only

³³¹: See 3 Jan 1810.

³³²: Note pending on Mackinley.

³³³: Note pending on Galt and the Marbles.

³³⁴: “Nymph”. Not a prostitute, but, *Journey* I 503 informs us, a respectable acquaintance of the Macris who was having her troth-plight ceremony that day.

³³⁵: He was away engaged in trade.

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kissing his future bride for proxy for him. He is working for money³³⁶ enough to enable him to support his wife and perhaps in a year will marry her. Fine day – windy still.

Monday February 26th 1810: Rode with Galt to Pentelichus, to the quarry – returned, not by the convent, but straight to Athens down the side of a torrent. Galt a most voluminous author. *Cardinal Wolsey*³³⁷ – *Cassandra*, a tragedy³³⁸ – *The Iliad*, a tragedy,³³⁹ &c. Tells me he is on bad terms with his friends.

Home. Galt dined with us. Statues &c., bought for 880 *piastres* – – – rowed about inaccuracies by Byron!!³⁴⁰ Fine day. Warm.

Tuesday February 27th 1810: Up late. Went with Byron to Piræus to see the statues. Flocks of wild turkeys close to the city. Snow fallen in the night. Windy and cold.

Wednesday February 28th 1810: Walked to the castle. Ascended the anterior front of the Parthenon to view the reliefs closely. Two large pieces of this part fallen since last visit – marks of the grooves made by folding doors of the entrance to the temple. Measure of the largest piece of marble fallen on the left side of the Parthenon. Seventeen feet long, five feet three inches broad, three feet thick. Measure of the large marble over one of the posts behind the propylaea – twenty-five feet long, five broad, and propylaea thick. Took the bearings of all the roads.

Walked to the gardens of the tyrant Pacha.³⁴¹ Bought lettuces. Observed custom of feeding lettuces to horses and beasts on the green barley. No pay

³³⁶: “She” is the “nymph”, not Consulina.

³³⁷: Galt’s *Life and Administration of Cardinal Wolsey* figures as no. 167 in the 1816 Sale Catalogue of B.’s library. See CMP 237. However, Galt did not publish it until 1812. See H. to B., 31 July 1810: “Galt ... talks about his tomes in a manner that makes me suspect him to be deranged” (BB 36).

³³⁸: Galt wrote plays, which did not get staged (see 9 Feb 1814); but I am unable to locate any tragedy by him called *Cassandra*. The tragedies he published in 1812 were *Maddalon*, *Agamemnon*, *Lady Macbeth*, *Antonia* and *Clytemnestra*.

³³⁹: See previous note. Either H.’s memory is at fault or Galt has yet to decide on a title for one of his Greek plays.

³⁴⁰: Evidence perhaps that B. is reading the diary, that H. is reading *Childe Harold*, and that each impugns the other’s accuracy.

³⁴¹: See 22 Jan 1810.

Athens, December 25th 1809-March 5th 1810

here – cold morning, but lovely cloudless day and warm – church of St Demetrius the Cannonier,³⁴² so-called because the Turks of the castle firing at this holy building, a cannon burst and killed several. The Greeks call this a miracle.

Thursday March 1st 1810: Most lovely summer day. Set out to go up Hymettus, but found the road too craggy. Returned and went up Anchesmus. Home.

Friday March 2nd 1810: Same weather. Hear of arrival of English three³⁴³ from Tripolitza. Walk to Piræus. See statues, one hour and a half. Returned some time – *letters arrived!!!!* Two, delightful, from Matthews, 25 November date of latest. One from Charlotte, one from Ben – on board *Britannia* transport, Spithead – one from Forresti.³⁴⁴

Saturday March 3rd 1810: Fine weather again. Ride towards Eleusis with Byron and Ibrahim.³⁴⁵ Strange conversation with the last contained in a letter to Matthews.

Teresa, twelve [years] old brought here to be deflowered, but Byron would not.³⁴⁶

³⁴²: I am unable to find any references to this saint.

³⁴³: The sloop-of-war H.M.S. *Pylades* had arrived (“three” may be the number of masts sighted).

³⁴⁴: The letters are from C.S. Matthews at Cambridge, from H.’s sister Charlotte, from his brother Benjamin, and from either George or Spridion Forresti, from Malta or Cefalonia.

³⁴⁵: Ibrahim unidentified.

³⁴⁶: Squalid detail not previously noted: *here* would be in H.’s quarters (see 30 Dec 1809). Teresa would not have been left so dangerously unchaperoned without her mother’s knowledge. See letter to H., 23 Aug 1810 (BLJ II 13): “... the old woman Teresa’s mother was mad enough to imagine I was going to marry the girl”; or 15 May 1811 (BLJ II 46): “I was near bringing away Teresa but the mother asked 30 000 piastres!”

Athens, December 25th 1809-March 5th 1810

Carnival of the Greeks.³⁴⁷ Masks. Ridiculous [] as hard as they can, as they are to have no flesh for sixty days.

Sunday March 4th 1810: Dressed in Albanian suit.³⁴⁸ Called on by Dr Darwin,³⁴⁹ a tall young man, and Captain Ferguson.³⁵⁰ Offered and accepted a passage in him to Smyrna.³⁵¹ Ride round the town – Fletcher and Demetrius tipsy and absent – Carnival – Logotheti's son.³⁵²

1,000,000 affairs – up early.

Monday March 5th 1810:

³⁴⁷: The atmosphere at Athens during the Lenten carnival was not unlike that at Venice, as B. described it in *Beppo* seven years later: "They [the Franks in Athens] have balls and parties in the winter and spring of the year, in their own small circle, to which the principal Greeks are invited, and particularly during the carnival, when they and many of the inhabitants are in masquerade. We were present at that season, and were visited by a young Athenian in an English uniform, who was highly delighted with his metamorphosis. The most favourite fancy of the Greeks seemed to be that of dressing themselves up like the Waiwode, the Cadi, or other principal Turks, and parading the streets with attendants also properly habited. One more daring humourist of my acquaintance, on one occasion mimicked the Archbishop himself as if in the ceremony of blessing the houses, but found the priests less tolerant than the Mahometans, for he was excommunicated" – *Journey* (I 299-300). Compare *Beppo*, Stanza 4:

*And there are dresses, splendid but fantastical,
Masks of all times and nations, Turks and Jews,
And Harlequins and Clowns with feats gymnastical,
Greeks, Romans, Yankee-doodles and Hindoos,
All kinds of dress, except the ecclesiastical,
All people, as their fancies hit, may chuse;
But no One in these parts may quiz the Clergy,*

Therefore take heed Ye Freethinkers! I charge ye. –

None of B.'s Venetian acquaintances either "quizzed the Clergy", or was excommunicated.

³⁴⁸: For the Carnival.

³⁴⁹: Francis Darwin was the son of Erasmus and the uncle of Charles.

³⁵⁰: Of the *Pylades*. By the time H. compiled *Travels* (see II 22na) he was Admiral Ferguson.

³⁵¹: The speed with which they decide to go may partly be accounted for by embarrassment over B.'s entanglement with Teresa Macri. *Journey* (II 609) has, disingenuously, "... there was certainly not a single existing tie to bind us to the spot ..."

³⁵²: See 26 Dec 09.

Athens, December 25th 1809-March 5th 1810

[MAP OF THE APPROACHES TO ATHENS,
WITH ROADS RADIATING FROM THE ACROPOLIS]

Sad bustle as usual, with settling bills &c. Quarter past one, the baggage being set off before – adieu to Athens – adieu to Theseum and Parthenon, like Julian with almost a tear.³⁵³ Lost sight of them in the olive grounds – galloped to port Phoron, then a little beyond the ruined tower. Got into a boat sent from the ship, at anchor in seventeen fathoms near Salamis, and arrived on board the *Pylades*, Captain Ferguson, Lieutenant Tattersall,³⁵⁴ Dr Darwin; weighed anchor at sunset contrary to pilots' advice, four of whom were on board – could not sleep well in a swinging cot.³⁵⁵

³⁵³: The Emperor Julian the Apostate (331-3) who attempted to restore Paganism to its former dignity at the expense of Christianity. Quotation (“with almost a tear”) unidentified. *Journey* (II 609) has “It was no affectation which drew from the philosophic Julian a tear at quitting his beloved Athens”.

³⁵⁴: Tattersall otherwise unidentified.

³⁵⁵: A hammock.