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Dimen-
sions of the
Sea of Ga-
lilee.

were of the same opinion: of course, such a mode of computing distances must be liable to error. We could obtain no information from the inhabitants respecting the dimensions of their lake: the vague method of reckoning according to the time one of their boats can sail round or across it, was the only measure they could furnish. According to *Sandys*, its length is twelve miles and a half, and its breadth six. This is evidently derived from *Josephus*¹. Of its length we could not form any accurate opinion, because its southern extremity, winding behind distant mountains, was concealed from our view; but we inclined rather to the statement of *Hegesippus*, as applied by *Reland*² to the text of *Josephus*; this makes it to equal one hundred and forty *stadia*, or seventeen miles and a half³. *Josephus* speaks of the sweetness of its water⁴, of its pebbly bottom, and, above

(1) "In length an hundred furlongs, and fortie in breadth." *Sandys' Travels*, Book iii. p. 141. Lond. 1637.

(2) See a former Note.

(3) *Palest. Illust.* lib. i. c. 39. tom. I. p. 259. *Traj. ad Rhen.* 1714.

(4) "Namque lacus ipsius, velut quodam mare sinus amplissimus, in longitudinem centum quadraginta extenditur stadia, latitudine quadraginta diffunditur." *Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hiero.* lib. iii. c. 26. vol. VII. p. 492. *Bib. Pat.* Par. 1654.

(5) The waters of this lake are thus extolled by *Quaresmius*: "Non coenosa, paludosa, vel amara, sed clara, dulces, potabiles, et fecunda." *Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanct.* lib. vii. c. 3. p. 862. tom. II. *Antwerp.* 1639.

all, of the salubrity of the surrounding atmosphere⁶. He says the water is so cold, that its temperature is not affected by its being exposed to the sun during the hottest season of the year. A most curious circumstance concerning this lake is mentioned by *Hasselquist*: "I thought it remarkable," observes this celebrated naturalist⁷, "that the same kind of fish should be here met with as in the *Nile*; *Charmuth*, *Silurus*, *Boenni*, *Mulsil*, and *Sparus Galilæus*." This explains the observations of certain travellers, who speak of the lake as possessing fishes peculiar to itself; not being, perhaps, acquainted with the produce of the *Nile*. *Josephus* considers the Lake *Gennesareth* as having fishes of a peculiar nature⁸; and yet it is very worthy of notice, that, in speaking of the fountain of *Caper-naum*, his remarks tend to confirm the observation made by *Hasselquist*. "Some consider it," says he⁹, "as a vein of the *Nile*, because it brings forth fishes resembling the *Coracijs* of the "*Alexandrian* lake."

Singular
Fishes.

(6) *Joseph. lib. iii. de Bell. Jud. c. 18.*

(7) *Hasselquist's Voy. and Trav. in the Levant, p. 157. Lond. 1766.*

(8) *Lib. iii, cap. 18. de Bell. Jud.*

(9) Ταύτην φλίβα του Νείλου τινὲς ἴδοσαν, ἐκείνη γινῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίαν λίμνην Κορρακίην παραπλήσιον. *Joseph. lib. iii. de Bell. Jud. tom. II. p. 258. ed. S. Haverc. Amst. &c. 1726.* The same kind of fish is mentioned in *Athenæus*, (p. 227. C. Hav.) See also "*Gemer. de Aquatilibus*."

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V.Antient
Naval En-
gagement.

This lake was the scene of a most bloody naval engagement between the *Romans* under *Vespasian*, and the *Jews* who had revolted during the administration of *Agrippa*. The account of the action, as given by *Josephus*, proves that the vessels of the country were nothing more than mere boats: even those of the *Romans*, expressly built for that occasion, and described as larger than the ships used by the *Jews*, consisted of small craft, rapidly constructed, and for the building of which, it is said, they had abundance both of artificers and materials¹. *Titus* and *Trajan* were present in that engagement; and *Vespasian* was himself on board the *Roman* fleet. The rebel army consisted of an immense multitude of seditious people, from all the towns of the country, and especially from those bordering upon the lake, who, as fugitives after the capture of *Tarichæa*² by

(1) *Josephus*, lib. iii. *de Bell. Jud.* cap. 17.

(2) *Tarichea* was situate beyond the Baths of *Emmaus*, at the southern extremity of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, three miles and three quarters distant from *Tiberias*; or thirty *stadia*, according to *Josephus*. Between these two cities *Vespasian's* army was often encamped, and generally at the Baths of *Emmaus*. *Pliny*, speaking of *Tarichea*, says, that, by some, the lake was called after the name of this city: "A meridie *Tarichea*, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant." (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 15. L. Bat. 1635. tom. I. p. 262.*) In the same manner, the *Lake of Geneva* is by some called the *Lake of Lausanne*; and especially by *Gibbon*, who was offended at being censured

Titus, had sought refuge upon the water. The victory gained by the *Romans* was followed by such a terrible slaughter of the *Jews*, that nothing was to be seen, either upon the lake or along its shores, excepting blood, and the mangled corpses of the insurgents: their dead bodies infected the air to such a degree, that the victors as well as the vanquished were sufferers upon the occasion: the number of the slain, after the two actions, (that of *Tarichæa* and the naval engagement which followed,) amounted to six thousand five hundred persons. Neither was the slaughter less memorable of the prisoners, who were marched to *Tiberias* as soon as the victory had been obtained. *Vespasian* caused them all to be shut up in the amphitheatre; where twelve hundred of them were put to death, being unable or unfit to bear arms. This amphitheatre, according to the account given by *Josephus*, was large enough to contain thirty-seven thousand six hundred persons, (besides a vast number of others who were given as slaves by *Vespasian*

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Slaughter
of the *Jews*.

censured for it. The author once heard him express an intention of proving this last to be the only correct appellation.

(3) Future travellers will perhaps discover the remains of a building of this magnitude.

to *Agrippa*, as well as of the inhabitants of *Trachonitis*¹, *Gaulon*², *Hippos*³, and *Gadara*⁴; the sum total of which he has not mentioned,) all of whom were mountaineers of *Anti-Libanus* and *Hermon*, or restless tribes of freebooters from *Eastern Syria*; unable, as *Josephus* describes them, to sustain a life of peace, and exhibiting, eighteen hundred years ago, the same state of society which now characterizes the inhabitants of this country.

After reluctantly retiring from this limpid Lake, we returned to the castle. Here, within the spacious and airy apartment prepared for our reception, we mutually expressed our hopes of passing at least one night free from the attacks of vermin; but, to our dismay, the *Sheik*, being informed of our conversation, burst into

(1) *Trachonitis* was the country near *Damascus*, to the east of *Hermon* and *Anti-Libanus*.

(2) *Gaulon* gave its name to the district called *Gaulonitis*, beyond *Jordan*, on the eastern side of the Lake of *Gennesareth*. It was one of the six cities of refuge.

(3) A city opposite to *Tiberias*, upon the Lake *Gennesareth*, at the south-western extremity of a ridge of mountains bearing the same name, and being a branch of the chain of *Hermon*.

(4) A city beyond *Jordan*, distant seven miles and a half from the Lake *Gennesareth*. Like *Hippos*, it gave its name to a small province. The hot baths of *Gadara* are mentioned by *Epiphanius*. *Gadara*, according to *Polybius*, was one of the strongest cities of the country.

laughter, and said, that, according to a saying current in *Galilee*, "THE KING OF THE FLEAS HOLDS HIS COURT IN TIBERIAS." Some of the party, provided with hammocks, slung them from the walls, so as to lie suspended above the floor; yet even these did not escape persecution: and, for the rest of us, who lay on the bare planks, we were, as usual, tormented and restless during the night, listening to the noise made by the jackals. Being well aware what we had to expect, we resolved to devote as many hours as possible, before day-break, to conversation with the people of the country, to our supper, and to the business of writing our journals. They brought us a plentiful repast, consisting of three sorts of fried fishes from the lake: one of these, a species of *mullet*, was, according to their tradition, the favourite food of JESUS CHRIST. The *French*, during the time their army remained under *Buonaparté* in the *Holy Land*, constructed two very large ovens in this castle. Two years had elapsed, at the time of our arrival, since they had set fire to their granary; and it was considered as a miracle by the inhabitants of *Tiberias*, that the combustion was not yet extinguished. We visited the place, and perceived, that, whenever the ashes of the burned corn were stirred by

Supposed
Miracle
caused by
the *French*.

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The next morning we arose as soon as light appeared, in order to bathe once more, and take a last survey of the town. Although, from several circumstances, we were convinced that the antient city stood upon the site of the modern, it is very probable that it occupied a greater extent of territory¹, particularly towards the south, where there are remains of buildings. *Some authors mention a temple², called ΔΩΔΕΚΑΘΡΟΝΟΝ, erected upon the spot where it was believed our SAVIOUR miraculously fed the multitude; and other edifices, of which no trace is now remaining. The most singular circumstance concerning *Tiberias* is mentioned by *Boniface*³: he describes the city as not being

(1) *Quaresmius* mentions a gate of black and white marble on its western side; describing the city as of a square form, and saying of it, "*Non multum antiqua est, et veteri Tiberiade multò minor: hanc enim longè majorem istà fuisse circumjacentes magnæ ruinae, et maximè procedendo ad duo milliaria meridiem versùs, non obscurè demonstrant.*" *Elucid. Terr. Sanct.* lib. vii. cap. 4. tom. II. p. 864. *Ant.* 1639.

(2) *Nicephorus*, lib. viii. cap. 30, &c.

(3) *Bonifacius de Perenni Cultu Terræ Sanctæ*, lib. ii.

habitable, on account of the multitude of *serpents*⁴. This has not been stated by any other author; neither did any observation made by us upon the spot, with regard to the natural history of the country, serve to explain the origin of this misrepresentation; the more remarkable, as it is affirmed by one who resided in the *Holy Land*⁵; and whose writings are frequently quoted by authors towards the end of the *sixteenth* and the beginning of the *seventeenth* centuries. *Tiberias* at present is much inhabited; principally by *Jews*, who are said to be the descendants of families resident there in the time of our SAVIOUR: they are perhaps a remnant of refugees who fled hither after the capture of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. The *Christian* inhabitants of this town are, however, also numerous: of this we were convinced, by the multitude we saw coming from the morning service of the church.

Population
of *Tiberias*.

(4) "*Tiberias civitas omnino inhabitabilis est, propter serpentum multitudinem.*" Ib.

(5) He was superior of a monastery at Mount *Sion* in *Jerusalem*, and afterwards advanced to an episcopal see in *Italy*. Vid. *Quaresm. Eluc. tom. 1. lib. 5. c. 13.*



Mount Thabôr, as seen from the Plain of Esdraelon.

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THE HOLY LAND—TIBERIAS TO NAPOLOSE.

Departure from Tiberias—Effect of the Climate—Productions of the Desert—Lûbi—State of the Country—Mount Thabôr—Change of Route—Narrow Escape of the Author—Camp of Djezzar's Cavalry—Wars of the Arabs—Their Manners and Disposition—Address of an Arab to his Mare—SIMOOM, or Wind of the Desert—Bread baked in the Sun's Rays—Emir of the Mountains—Plain of Esdraelon—Encampments—Jennin—Effect produced by Change of Government—Santorri—Antient Castle—Napolose or SICHEM—Reception by the Governor—Aspect and State of the City—Its various Appellations—

Appellations—Circumstances connected with its antient History—Tomb of Joseph—Tomb of Joshua—Nature of those Relics—Samaritans—Jacob's Well.

WE were on horseback by six o'clock on Monday morning, *July* the sixth, notwithstanding our excursion, and continued our route. Leaving *Tiberias*, we took a different road from that by which we came, and crossed an extensive valley, hoping to visit *Mount Thabôr*. In this valley, three hundred *French* cavalry defeated an army of ten thousand *Turks*; an event so astonishing, even to the *Turks* themselves, that they considered the victory as obtained by magic; an art which they believe many of the *Franks* to possess.

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Departure
from *Tibe-*
rias.

All the pleasure of travelling, at this season of the year, in the *Holy Land*, is done away by the excessive heat of the sun. A traveller, wearied and spiritless, is often more subdued at the beginning than at the end of his day's journey. Many rare plants and curious minerals invite his notice, as he passes slowly along, with depressed looks fixed upon the ground; but these it is impossible for him to obtain. It appears to him to be an act of unjustifiable cruelty to ask a servant, or even one of the

Effect of
Climate.

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Desert.

attending *Arabs*, to descend from his horse, for the purpose of collecting either the one or the other. All nature seems to droop; almost every animal seeks for shade, which it is extremely difficult to find. But the *chamæleon*, the *lizard*, the *serpent*, and all sorts of beetles, basking, even at noon, upon rocks and in sandy places, exposed to the most scorching rays, seem to rejoice in the greatest heat in which it is possible to exist. This is also the case in *Egypt*, where no desert is so solitary but reptiles and insects may be observed; proving that the ostrich, and other birds found there, are by no means, as some writers have maintained, at a loss for food. It is more probable that the desert offers to them nourishment they could not easily procure elsewhere. A very interesting volume of natural history might be made, relating only to the inhabitants of the *Desert*: they are much more numerous than is commonly believed: and if to these were added the *plants* which thrive only in such a situation, with an account of those extraordinary *petrifications* found in the *African* deserts; the various *jaspers*, and other *siliceous* concretions abounding in the sandy tract between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, as well as all over *Arabia Petræa* and *Mauritania*; the description would be truly marvellous. The enterprise

of another *Hasselquist* is not required for this purpose; because, although much remains to be discovered, naturalists are already possessed of sufficient materials for such an undertaking.

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After three hours, walking our horses, we arrived at a poor village, called *Lúbi*¹, situate upon the brow of a range of hills, which bound the valley before mentioned, towards the south. During our ride, we had suffered apprehensions from the tribes of *Arabs* under arms, who were occasionally seen, descending and scouring the opposite hills, as we crossed the valley. We could plainly discern them, by means of our glasses, reconnoitering us from the summits of those hills. They were described at *Lúbi* as collected in great force upon Mount *Thabór*; so that our visit to that mountain became impracticable: the guard whom *Djezzar* had sent with us would not venture thither. We were therefore compelled to rest satisfied with the view we had of it from *Lúbi*. *Djezzar's* troops had, on the preceding day (Sunday), taken many thousand cattle from the *Arabs*: therefore, besides their natural predatory disposition, they were at this time actuated by motives of the

Lúbi.

(1) Pronounced *Looby*.

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most direful revenge, not only for the loss of their property, but also of many of their friends and relations, who had been captured. The mere sight of an escort from their bitter enemy; *Djezzar Pasha*, would have induced them to put every one of us to death. We had lost somewhat of our strength by deserters from the pilgrims of our caravan, who had thought proper to remain at *Tiberias*, intimidated by the state of the country. Our number, upon arriving at *Lúbi*, amounted only to thirty-three horsemen: these, by the advice of the captain of the guard, we had dispersed as much as possible during the journey; and taught them to skirmish at a distance from each other, that the scouts of the *Arab* army, upon the heights, might not be able to count our whole force. We were at this time in the midst of a country continually overrun by rebel tribes. The wretched inhabitants of *Lúbi* pretended to be in hourly expectation of an assault, from which they said nothing but their poverty had hitherto preserved them. We could not, however, place any confidence in these people, and determined to make our stay with them as short as possible. Mount *Thabór* seemed to be distant from this place about six miles. Its top was described as a plain of great extent, finely cultivated,

State of the
Country.

Mount
Thabór.

and inhabited by numerous *Arab* tribes. It appears to be of a conical form, entirely detached from any neighbouring mountain, and it stands upon one side of the great plain of *Esdraelon*. We breakfasted at *Lúbi*, beneath the shade of some mats covered with weeds, set up against the side of a house; not being perfectly tranquil as to our hosts, who, in a rebel country, evidently brought us food with reluctance, and seemed disposed to quarrel with our guard. Our bread was baked upon heated stones, in holes dug in the ground. The women, who were principally occupied in preparing it, and who occasionally passed us for that purpose, were without veils, and of such unusual beauty, that we saw nothing to compare with them in any other part of the *East*.

Being therefore compelled to alter the plan of our journey, we returned from *Lúbi*, by the way of *Cana*, once more to *Nazareth*; passing through the field of bearded wheat before mentioned, where the Disciples of CHRIST are said to have plucked the ears of corn upon the Sabbath-day. It lies nearly opposite to the village of *Turan*. We collected specimens of the wheat, in imitation of the other pilgrims of our party, who all seemed eager to bear away

Change of
Route.

CHAP. VI. the produce of the land, as a consecrated relic. It was, in fact, the only wheat now standing, for the harvest of the country was by this time generally collected.

The next morning, Tuesday, *July* the seventh, we were refused camels to carry our luggage, by the people of *Nazareth*; upon the plea, that the *Arabs* would attack us, and seize the camels, in return for the cattle which *Djezzar* had taken from them. Asses were at length allowed, and we began our journey at seven o'clock. Every one of our party was eager to be the first who should get out of *Nazareth*; for although we had pitched a tent upon the roof of the house where we passed the night, it had been, as usual, a night of penance, rather than of rest: so infested with vermin was every part of the building. The author, accompanied by a servant, set out on foot, leaving the rest of his companions to follow on horseback. Having inquired of an *Arab* belonging to *Djezzar's* guard the shortest road into the Plain of *Esdraelon*, this man, who had lived with *Bedouins*, and bore all the appearance of belonging to one of their roving tribes, gave false information. In consequence of this, we entered a defile in the mountains, which

separates the Plain of *Esdraelon* from the Valley of *Nazareth*, and found that our party had pursued a different route. Presently messengers, sent by Captain *Culverhouse*, came to us with this intelligence. The rebel *Arabs* were then stationed at a village, within two miles distance, in the plain; so that we very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. It seemed almost evident that the *Arab*, whose false information as to the route had been the original cause of this deviation, intended to mislead, and that he would have joined the rebels as soon as his plan had succeeded. The messengers recommended, as the speediest mode of joining our party, that we should ascend the mountainous ridge which flanks all the plain towards *Nazareth*. In doing this, we actually encountered some of the scouts belonging to the insurgents; they passed us on horseback, armed with long lances, but offered us no molestation. As soon as we had gained the heights, we beheld our companions, collected in a body, at a great distance below in the plain; easily recognising our *English* friends by their umbrellas. After clambering among the rocks, we accomplished a descent towards the spot where they were assembled, and, reaching the plain, found Captain *Culverhouse* busied in surveying with his

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VI.Narrow
Escape of
the Author.

glass about three hundred of the rebels, stationed in a village near the mouth of the defile by which we had previously proceeded. It was at this unlucky moment, while the party were deliberating whether to advance or retreat, that the author, unable to restrain the impulse of his feelings, most imprudently and unjustifiably punished the *Arab* who had caused the delay, by striking him. It is impossible to describe the confusion this occasioned. The *Moslems*, to a man, maintained that the infidel who had lifted his hand against one of the faithful should atone for the sacrilegious insult by his blood. The *Arab*, recovered from the shock he had sustained, sought only to gratify his anger by the death of his assailant. Having speedily charged his *tophaike*, although trembling with rage to such a degree that his whole frame appeared to be agitated, he very deliberately pointed it at the object of his revenge, ~~who~~ escaped assassination by dodging beneath the horses, as often as the muzzle of the piece was directed towards him. Finding himself thus frustrated in his intentions, his fury became ungovernable. His features, livid and convulsed, seemed to denote madness: no longer knowing what he did, he levelled his *tophaike* at the captain of *Djezzar's* guard, and afterwards at

his dragoman Signor *Bertocino*, who, with Captain *Culverhouse*, and the rest of our party, by this time had surrounded him, and endeavoured to wrest the piece from him. The fidelity of the officers of the guard, added to the firmness and intrepidity of Captain *Culverhouse* and of Signor *Bertocino*, saved the lives of every *Christian* then present. Most of them, destitute of arms, and encumbered by baggage, were wholly unprepared either for attack or defence; and all the *Arabs* of our escort were waiting to assist in a general massacre of the *Christians*, as soon as the affront offered to a *Moslem* had been atoned by the death of the offender. Captain *Culverhouse*, by a violent effort, succeeded in wresting the loaded weapon from the hands of the infuriate *Arab*; and Signor *Bertocino*, in the same instant, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, galloping among the rest of them, brandished his drawn sabre over their heads, and threatened to cut down the first person who should betray the slightest symptom of mutiny. The captain of *Djezzar's* guard then secured the trembling culprit, and it was with the greatest difficulty we could prevent him from putting this man to death. The rest of the *Arabs*, now awed into submission, would gladly have consented to such a sacrifice, upon

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the condition of our concealing their conduct from *Djezzar*, when we returned to *Acre*. These men afterwards confessed, that if any blood had been shed, it was their intention to desert, and to have joined the rebel army. A fortunate piece of policy put an end to the whole affair. One of our party, riding off at full speed into the plain, threw his lance into the air, and thus began the game of *Djerid*; the rest soon following, and expressing, by loud shouts, their readiness to restore peace. Nothing, however, could conciliate the offended *Arab*. He continued riding aloof, and sulky, holding no communication even with his own countrymen; until at length, having advanced to a considerable distance into the Plain of *Esdraelon*, we espied a large camp, which our conductors recognised as consisting of cavalry belonging to *Djezzar*. We therefore directed our course towards the tents.

As we crossed this immense plain to the camp, we had a fine view of Mount *Thabór*¹,

(1) *Reland* writes this word *Tabor*: but the author has preferred following the orthography of *Eusebius* (in *Onomast.*) as cited by *Reland*, and of the other *Greeks*, who wrote *Θαβὺρ*; because this exactly agrees with the name of the mountain as it is now pronounced

standing quite insular, towards the east*. The *Arabs* were said to be in great number upon all the hills, but particularly upon or near to that mountain. We found *Djezzar's* troops encamped about the centre of this vast plain, opposite to some heights where the *French* were strongly fortified during their last campaign in *Syria*. The camp contained about three hundred cavalry, having more the appearance of banditti than of any regular troops; and indeed it was from tribes of rovers that they were principally derived. Two days before our arrival, upon Sunday, *July* the fifth, they fell upon the *Arabs* who were tending their numerous herds of cattle, seized their property, and killed many of them. They justified themselves, by urging

Camp of
Djezzar's
Cavalry.

in the *Holy Land*. It is somewhat singular, that *Reland*, who cites *Adamnanus* (*de Locus Sanctis*), should have omitted to notice the following passage; because it occurs immediately after the extract he has inserted from that author, in his chapter "*DE TABORE*." (*Palæst. Illust.* lib. i. c. 51.) "*Sed inter hæc et hoc est notandum, quòd illius seniori montis nomen Græcis litteris sic oporteat scribi, per θ, et non longum, Θαβάρ: Latinus verd litterulis cum aspiratione, Thalor, producta δ littera. Hujus orthographia vocabuli in libris Græcitatibus est inventa.*" (*Vide Mullon.* tom. iv. *Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedicti*, p. 517. *L. Par.* 1672.) A philologist in the seventh century, upon a rock in the *Hebrides*, is a curious circumstance in history: yet this is the fact; for, in this instance, it is evidently the *Abbot of Iona*, and not *Arculfus* the *French* bishop, who makes the observation.

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

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Wars of
the Arabs.

that these *Arabs* never pay the tribute due to *Djezzar*, unless it be exacted by force; and upon such emergencies all is confiscated that falls into the hands of the conquering party. Their battles resemble those recorded in Scripture. A powerful prince attacks a number of shepherd kings, and robs them of their possessions; their "flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and camels and asses." In the earliest ages of history, we find such wars described, when "*Chedorlaomer*, and the kings that were with him, smote the *Rephaims* in *Ashteroth Karnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* in the Plain of *Kiriathaim*, and the *Horites* in their Mount *Seir*, unto the Plain of *Paran*, which is by the wilderness." In the battle of *July* the fifth, after a skirmish in which forty *Arabs* were killed and many wounded, *Djezzar's* troops succeeded in driving to the mountains an army of ten thousand, as they related, (probably not half that number,) who left behind them sixty-eight thousand bullocks, camels, goats, and asses. When these attacks take place, the first care of the *Arabs* is directed to the preservation of their women and children, the aged and the sick; who are hurried off to the mountains, upon the earliest intelligence of danger.

Their effects and their wealth consist generally of cattle¹. Their *Emirs* and *Sheiks*² have gold and silver; but, like the *Laplanners*, they bury it in the earth; thus it is frequently lost; because the owner dies without acquainting his successor where he has concealed his treasure. Corn is extremely cheap among the *Arabs*. They pasture their cattle upon the spontaneous produce of the rich plains, with which the country abounds. Their camels require but little nourishment; existing, for the most part, upon small balls of meal, or the kernels of dates³. The true *Arab* is always an inhabitant of the *Desert*, a name given to any solitude, whether barren or fertile. Hence the appellation bestowed upon them, of *Badawi* or *Bedouins*; for this appellation signifies nothing more than *Inhabitants of the Desert*⁴. Their usual weapons consist of a lance, a poignard, an iron mace, a battle-axe, and sometimes a matchlock gun. The moveables of a whole family seldom exceed a camel's load. They reside always in tents,

Manners
and Dis-
position of
the *Arabs*.

(1) See *D'Arvieux, Voyage dans la Palestine*, ch. i. p. 191. Par. 1717.

(2) *Sheik* signifies, properly, an *Elder*. In the mountainous parts of *Syria*, it means simply a *Landholder*. The leading *Sheik* of a country is called *Emir*, or *Prince*.

(3) See *D'Arvieux*, *ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* p. 112. Note (*).

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in the open plain, or upon the mountains. The covering of their tents is made of goats' hair, woven by their women. Their mode of life very much resembles that of the gipsies in *England*; men, women, children, and cattle, all lodging together. In their disposition, although naturally grave and sedate, they are very amiable; considering hospitality as a religious duty, and always acting with kindness to their slaves and inferiors¹. There is a dignity in their manner which is very striking; and this perhaps is owing to their serious deportment, aided by the imposing aspect of their beards. Selfishness, the vice of civilized nations, seldom degrades an *Arab*; and the politeness he practises is well worthy of imitation. Drunkenness and gaming, the genuine offspring of selfishness, are unknown among them. If a stranger enter one of their tents, they all rise, give him the place of honour, and never sit until their guest is accommodated. They cannot endure seeing a person spit, because it is deemed a mark of contempt: for the same reason it is an

(1) *D'Arvieux*, whose *racy* account of their manners and customs seems to have derived from the soil upon which it was written the truth and sincerity characteristic of the people, says, that "Scandal is unknown among them; that they speak well of all the world; never contradicting any one." *Ibid.* p. 165.

offence to blow the nose in their presence¹. They detest the *Turks*, because they consider them as usurpers of their country. The curious superstition of dreading the injurious consequences of a *look*, from an *evil*, or an *envious eye*, is not peculiar to the *Arabs*. The *Turks*, and many other nations, particularly the *Irish*², the Highlanders of *Scotland*, and the people of *Cornwall*, entertain the same notion. But the *Arabs* even extend it to their cattle, whom they believe liable to this *fascination*. The Antients, according to *Virgil*³, entertained a similar fantasy. To relate all that may be said concerning

(2) See *D'Arvieux's Voyage*, p. 171. D'ARVIEUX says, that to break wind before an *Arab* is deemed an act of infamy: "Il est souvent arrivé que ceux qui avoient eu ce malheur, ont été obligés de s'absenter, et de passer chés d'autres peuples, pour n'être pas exposés aux huées, et à toutes les suites d'une méchante réputation." *Ibid.* p. 172.

Xenophon, in the beginning of the *Cyropædia*, speaks thus of the PERSIANS: Δισχρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔστι καὶ νῦν ἵσθαι Πέρσαις, καὶ τὸ ἀποσπύειν, καὶ τὸ ἀπομύπτειν, καὶ τὸ φύσας μιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι· αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἔστι, καὶ τὸ ἰονφᾶ περ φαιρὸν γινώσκειν, ἢ τοῦ εὐχῆσαι ἕνεκα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ταιούτου. And in the beginning of the 8th book he says: Ἐμυλίσθησι δὲ [ὁ Κύρος] καὶ ὡς μὴδὲ πτόνεντις, μὴδὲ ἀπομυττόμενοι φανεροὶ εἶναι· μὴδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι ἰσθὶ θέαν μὴδὲν, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἥιστο φέρεν τι εἰς τὸ δυσκαταφροντιστέον φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

(3) A remarkable instance of this superstition was stated in evidence, during a trial for murder, at the Assizes for the County of Mayo, in *Ireland*: Tuesday, August 13, 1816.

(4) "Nescio, quis teneros oculus majhi fascinat agnos."

Ecl. iii. 403.

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their other customs, particularly the delight they take in horsemanship, and the estimation in which high-bred horses are held among them, would be only to repeat what has been already related, with admirable conciseness, truth, and judgment, by *D'Arvieux*; whose work, already referred to, is worthy the regard of every reader¹. He has preserved the address of an *Arab* to his *mare*, as delivered in his own presence; and this, more eloquent than whole pages of descriptive information, presents us

(1) Of all the *Arab* tribes, there is not one which at present excites so much interest as that of the *Wahabees*; whose very existence had scarcely merited attention when the author was engaged in these travels. *Ibn Saoud*, the present *Wahabee* Chief, made, in *July* 1810, an incursion into the neighbourhood of *Damascus*. This happened about the time the enterprising *BURCKHARDT* arrived in that city, from *Palmyra*; and it is from his correspondence with the author that the substance of this note is derived. "The inhabitants of *Damascus*," (says he, in a letter dated *Aleppo*, May 3, 1811,) "knowing the *Pasha's* feeble resources for the defence of the city, were so much terrified, that many began to send off their most valuable effects to the mountain of the *Druses*. The *Wahabees*, however, executed their design in the true *Arab* style. *Ibn Saoud* remained only two days and a half in the *HAURAN* (a mountainous district of *Libanus*, south-east of *Damascus*, still retaining its antient patriarchal name); overran, in that time, a space of at least 140 miles; plundered and ransacked above thirty villages; and returned, flying into the heart of his desert dominions. The *Pasha* had issued from *Damascus*, with a corps of above six thousand men, but did not choose to hazard an engagement. *Ibn Saoud* was for several hours in view of him; but contented himself with awkwardly firing his guns. The *Wahabees* were, for the greater part, mounted upon she-camels, whose milk afforded, in the desert, subsistence to themselves, and to the few horses which accompanied them. Their strength was between six and

with a striking picture of *Arabian* manners². “*Ibrahim*,” says he³, “went frequently to *Rama* to inquire news of that *mare* which he dearly loved. I have many a time had the pleasure to see him weep with tenderness the while he was kissing and caressing her. He would embrace her; would wipe her eyes with his

and seven thousand men. It is to be presumed that their success will tempt them to repeat their attack; the eastern districts of *Syria* will then rapidly be deserted by their inhabitants; and the desert, which is already daily gaining ground upon the cultivated fields, will soon swallow up the remaining parts of one of the most fruitful countries of the *East*!”

(2) This man's name was *Ibrahim*: being poor, he had been under the necessity of allowing a merchant of *Rama* to become a partner with him in the possession of this animal. The *mare* was called *Touisa* (according to our mode of pronouncing *Louisa*); her pedigree could be traced, from public records, both on the side of the sire and dam, for five hundred years prior to her birth; and her price was three hundred pounds; AN ENORMOUS SUM IN THAT COUNTRY.

(3) “*Ibrahim* alloit souvent à *Rama*, pour savoir des nouvelles de cette cavalle qu'il aimoit chèrement. J'ai eu plusieurs fois le plaisir de le voir pleurer de tendresse, en la baisant, et en la caressant. Il l'embrassoit, il lui essuioit les yeux avec son mouchoir, il la frottoit avec les manches de sa chemise, il lui donnoit mille bénédictions durant des heures entières qu'il raisonneit avec elle: ‘Mes yeux,’ lui disoit-il, ‘mon âme, mon cœur, faut-il que je sois assez malheureux pour t'avoir vendue à tant de mattres, et pour ne te pas garder avec moi? Je suis pauvre, ma *Gazelle*! tu le sçais bien, ma mignonne! Je t'ai élevée dans ma maison tout comme ma fille; je ne t'ai jamais battue ni grondée; je t'ai caressée tout de mon mieux. Dieu te conserve, ma bien aimée! Tu es belle, tu es douce, tu es aimable! Dieu te préserve du regard des envieux!’” *Voyage dans la Palestine* p. 201. *Par.* 1717.

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VI.Address of
an Arab to
his Mare.

handkerchief; would rub her with his shirt-sleeves; would give her a thousand benedictions, during whole hours that he would remain talking to her. ‘*My Eyes,*’ would he say to her, ‘*my Soul, my Heart, must I be so unfortunate as to have thee sold to so many masters, and not to keep thee myself? I am poor, my Antelope! Thou knowest it well, my darling! I brought thee up in my dwelling, as my child; I did never beat nor chide thee; I caressed thee in the fondest manner. God preserve thee, my beloved! Thou art beautiful! Thou art sweet! Thou art lovely! God defend thee from envious eyes!*’ ”

Upon our arrival in the camp, we found the General in a large green tent, open all around, and affording very little shelter from the heat, as the *Simoom*, ‘or wind of the desert’, was at

(1) See the passage from *Virgil*, in a former Note.

(2) An allusion to the “*Wind of the desert*” occurs in the Poems of OSSIAN. *Mahvina*, the daughter of *Toscar*, lamenting the death of her lover, says, “I was a lovely tree, in thy presence, *Oscar*, with all my branches around me; but thy death came like a *blast from the desert*, and laid my green head low.” If this be not an interpolation of *Macpherson*, the translator of *CROMA*, it may be urged as a striking instance of internal evidence with regard to the Celtic origin of those Poems; the *Celts*, who were *Phœnicians*, having thus preserved, by tradition, a metaphor derived neither from *Ireland* nor from *Scotland*, where the *blast of the desert* has never been felt, but from the parent country of the Celtic race, whence the saying was transferred into the *Erse* poetry.

that time blowing, and far more insufferable than the sun. Its parching influence pervaded all places alike; and coming as from a furnace, it seemed to threaten us all with suffocation. The author was the first who sustained serious injury from the fiery blast, being attacked by giddiness accompanied with burning thirst. Head-ache, and frequent fits of shivering, ensued; and these ended in violent fever. For some time, extended upon the ground, he vainly endeavoured to obtain some repose. The rest of the party, seated upon carpets near the General, informed that officer of the danger to which we had been exposed from the conduct of our escort; and besought an additional guard to accompany us as far as *Jennin*, upon the frontier of the territory of the *Pasha* of *Damascus*, whence *Djezzar's* soldiers were to return to *Acre*. This was readily granted. A large bowl of *pilau*, or boiled rice, was then brought, with melons, figs, sour milk, boiled mutton, and bread cakes, which they told us had been baked in the sun's rays. The author was too ill to witness the truth of this; but no one of the party entertained any doubt of the fact. *Djezzar's* officers who were in the tent joined in this repast, and fed heartily, helping themselves to the *pilau* with their fingers; eating all out of

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Simoam, or
Wind of
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baked in
the Sun's
Rays.

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prepared to take their nap, and, having stretched themselves upon the same carpets which had served for their dinner-tables, fell fast asleep.

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Here, on this plain¹, the most fertile part of all the land of *Canaan*², (which, though a solitude,

Plain of
Esdraelon.

(1) Called, by way of eminence, "THE GREAT PLAIN," *Miya* *Psdiar* in Scripture, and elsewhere, the "*great Plain*, or *Field*, of *Esdraelon*," the "*Field of Megiddo*," the "*Galilean Plain*." It was afterwards called the "*Plain of Saba*." "*Et adverte*," says BROCARDUS "*quiddam campus iste Magedo, Esdrelon, et planities Galilea sunt fere unus et idem campus: sed nomina illa hodie omnia in oblivionem abierunt, vocaturque campus Saba*" (Vid. *Terr. Sanct. Descript.* p. 307. *Nov. Orb. Reg. &c. Basil*, 1537.) It is often written *Esdrelon*, according to Brocardus; but we found the name still in use in the country, and pronounced *Esdraelon*, according to the manner in which the *Greeks*, and particularly EUSEBIUS, modified the name of the city *Jezreel*, whence the plain derived its appellation. "*Eusebius*, ad vocem *Ἰσραήλ*, scribit esse vicum nomine *Ἐσδραηλῶν*, ἐν τῇ *μεγαλῇ πεδίῳ κυμαίνῃ*." (*Reland. Palest. lib. i. c. 55. Utrecht*, 1714.) "As the name *Jezreel* became *Esdracra* among the *Greeks*, (*Wells's Hist. Geog. vol. I. p. 339. Oxf.* 1801.) so the adjoining plain is thence still denoted by the name of the *Plain of Esdraelon*." This plain is the *Armageddon* of the *Apocalypse* (*J. id. Quaresmu. Eluc. T. S. lib. vii. c. 4.*) "And he gathered them together, into a place called, in the Hebrew tongue, *ARMAGEDDON*." *Ch. xvi. v. 16.*

(2) "*Gleba ejus optima est, fertilis supra modum in frumento, vino, et oleo, atque adeo rebus omnibus affluit, ut qui suis oculis aliquando conspexerunt, affirmant sese nihil unquam perfectius, et in quod natura æquè omnia sua contulisset, aspexisse.*" *Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 35. Colon.* 1628. "*Cette campagne est la plus fertile et la plus heureuse pour les pasturages de toute la Terre Sainte, et porteroit de très beaux grains, et en abondance, comme nos meilleures terres de France, si elle estoit cultivée.*" *Doubdan Voy. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 579. *Par.* 1657.

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we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of *Issachar* ¹ “rejoiced in their tents.” In the first ages of *Jewish History*, as well as during the *Roman Empire*, the *Crusades*, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest². Here it was that *BARAK*, descending with his ten thousand from *Mount Thabór*, discomfited *SISERA* ³ and “all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him,” gathered “from *Harosheth* of the *Gentiles*, unto the river of *Kishon*,” when “all the host of *SISERA* fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left;” when “the kings came and fought, the kings of *Canaan* in *Taanach* ⁴, by the waters of *Megiddo*.”

(1) *Deut.* xxxiii. 18.

(2) “C'est là,” says *Doubdan*, “où le prophète Elie fit mourir ces quatre cens cinquante faux prophètes de Baal sur le torrent de Cison, qui y passe et l'arrouse dans toute sa largeur.” (*Voy. de la T. S.* p. 579. *Par.* 1657.) In this, perhaps, *Doubdan* is for once mistaken. *Etyjah* took the prophets of *Baal* from *Carmel* down to the brook *Kishon*: but that river flows into the sea, after leaving the *Plain of Esdraelon*, through another plain whereon *Acre* is situate, connected with this by a narrow valley. See *Maundrell's Journey*, p. 57.

(3) *Judges* iv. 13, 15, 16. & ch. v. 19.

(4) “*Josephus*, lib. viii. *Antiq.* cap. ii. ἐν μύσῃ ᾧδιν fuisse regionem cui præfectus erat *Bapais* filius *Achilud* scribit, pro quâ regione *Sacer Codex Taanach, Megiddo et Bethshear* substituit.” *Reland. Palest. lib. i. c. 55. tom. I. p. 366. Utrecht, 1714.*

Here also it was that JOSIAH, king of *Judah*, fought in disguise against NECHO, king of *Egypt*, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist⁵. So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for JOSIAH⁶ became an ordinance in *Israel*." The "great mourning in *Jerusalem*," foretold by *Zechariah*⁷, is said to be as the lamentations in the Plain of *Esdraelon*, or, according to the language of the Prophet, "as the mourning of *Hadadrimmon* in the *Valley of Megiddon*. JOSEPHUS often mentions this very remarkable part of the *Holy Land*⁸, and always under the appellation of "*The Great Plain*." The supplies that *Vespasian* sent to the people of *Sepphoris* are said to have been reviewed in the great plain, prior to their distribution into two divisions; the infantry being quartered within the city, and the cavalry encamped upon the plain. Under the same name it is also

(5) 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 29.

(6) "And all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* mourned for *Josiah*. And *Jere-miah* lamented for *Josiah*; and all the singing-men and the singing-women spake of *Josiah* in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in *Israel*." 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 24, 25.

(7) *Zechar.* xii. 11.

(8) *Josephus*, lib. iii. de Bell. c. 2, & 3. Id. lib. v. Antiq. c. 1. Lib. viii. Antiq. c. 2. &c. &c.

(9) Τὸ μέγα πλῆθος.

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mentioned by *Eusebius*¹, and by *St. Jerom*². It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of *Nabuchodonosor*, king of the *Assyrians*, (in the history of whose war with *Arphaxad* it is mentioned as *the great Plain of Esdrelom*³;) until the disastrous march of *Napoleon Buonaperté* from EGYPT into SYRIA. *Jews*, *Gentiles*, *Saracens*, *Christian Crusaders*, and *Anti-christian Frenchmen*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Druses*, *Turks*, and *Arabs*, warriors out of "every nation which is under heaven," have pitched their tents upon the *Plain of Esdraelon*, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of *Thabór* and of *Hermon*⁴. It has not often been noticed in books of travels, because it does not occur in the ordinary route pursued by

(1) *Eusebius* ad voc. 'Ιεροσόλ. Id. ad voc. 'Αγβηλά. Et ad voc. Βαβυλων, &c.

(2) *Hieronymus*, lib. de Sit. et Nom. Locorum *Hebraicorum*.

(3) It is so written from the original, Πεδίον μέγα 'Εσδρηλάμ. Vid. *Judith*, c. i. 8. And according to our Version, "*Nabuchodonosor*, king of the *Assyrians*, sent unto all that dwelt in *Persia*, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in *Cilicia* and *Damascus*, and *Libanus*, and *Anti-Libanus*, and to all that dwelt upon the seacoast, and to those among the nations that were of *Carmel*, and *Galaad*, and the higher *Gallilee*, and the great *Plain of Esdrelom*."

(4) "We were sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy Psalmist means by the 'dew of *Hermon*:' our tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night." *Maundrell's Journey*, p. 57. *Oxf.* 1721.

pilgrims, in their journeys to *Jerusalem*. These men have generally landed at *Jaffa*; and have returned thither, after completing their pilgrimage: in consequence of this, we seldom meet with any accounts of *Galilee*, or of *Samaria*, in their writings^a. Even *Doubdan*¹, whose work, full of the most valuable information, may be considered as the foundation of every recent description of the *Holy Land*, contents himself with the view afforded of this plain from *Mount Thabór*². Not that he has, on this account,

(5) Of which fact the Reader may find amusing evidence in an extract from a MS. Poem of the *Cottonian* Library. The last line will not easily be paralleled.

"At Port *Jaff* begynn wee,
 "And so frothe from gre to gre,
 "At Port *Jaff* ther is a place,
 "Wher *Petur* reised through *Goddess* grace,
 "From dede to lif to *Tabitan*;
 "He was a woman that was *her* name."

See *Purchas*, lib. viii. c. 15. p. 1238. *Lond.* 1624.

(6) This plan has so constantly been adopted by persons resorting to the *Holy Land*, that in the very recent instance of the visit paid to that country by *Châteaubriand*, (whose interesting *Travels* were published while this sheet was preparing for the press,) his journey extends only from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* back again to *Jaffa*. (See *Trav. in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, during the years 1806 and 1807, by F. A. Châteaubriand. English edit. Lond.* 1811.) The *French* edition could not be had when this volume was printing.

(7) Mons. *Châteaubriand* pleasantly styles him "honest *Doubdan*." (*Ibid.* vol. II. p. 141.) justly extolling, upon other occasions, his perspicuity, accuracy, erudition, and, above all, his simplicity.

(8) "Or pendant que nous sommes encore sur la faiste de cette sainte montagne, il nous la faut horizonter et jetter la veüe avec plaisir

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Encamp-
ments.

omitted any interesting circumstance of its history. He has given us a lively picture of the different encampments he observed from the summit. "We had the pleasure," says he', "to view, from the top of that mountain, *Arabs* encamped by thousands; tents and pavilions of all colours, green, red, and yellow; with so great a number of horses and camels, that it seemed like a vast army, or a city besieged: and to the end that each party might recognise its peculiar banner and its tribe, the horses and camels were fastened round the tents, some in square battalions, others in circular troops, and others again in lines: not only were *Arabs* thus encamped, but also *Turks* and *Druses*, who maintain abundance of horses, camels, mules, and asses, for the use of the caravans coming from or going to *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, *Mecca*, and *Egypt*."

Being provided with an addition to our escort, of ten well-mounted and well-accoutred

plaisir sur tous les lieux considérables qu'on y découvre, à l'imitation de la grande Sainte Paule, laquelle, comme dit Saint Jerome (*Ieron. Ep. 27. ad Eusto.*) montant sur le Thabor, ou le Fils de Dieu s'est transfiguré, elle contemploit les montagnes d'Hermon, et Hermonim, les grandes campagnes de Galilee," &c. *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, p. 577. *Par.* 1657.

(1) *Ibid.* p. 579.

Arabs in the service of *Djezzar*, we took leave of the General at three o'clock P.M. and, having mounted our horses, continued our journey across the plain, towards *Jennin*. A tolerably accurate notion of its extent, in this direction, may be obtained from a statement of the time we spent in crossing it. We were exactly seven hours² thus employed; proceeding at the rate of three miles in each hour. Its breadth, therefore, may be considered as equal to twenty-one miles. The people of the country told us it was two days' journey in length. One hour after leaving the camp, we crossed the line of separation between the dominions of *Djezzar Pasha* and those of the *Pasha of Damascus*. This line is nearly in the middle of the plain. At six we arrived at *Jennin*³, a small village, where we passed the night. The setting sun gave to it a beautiful appearance, as we drew nigh to the place. Here again we observed, as a fence for gardens,

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Jennin.

(2) It is a curious fact, which may shew how regularly computed distances, in this part of *Asia*, correspond with the time actually employed by travellers in passing them, that when the author compared this note in his Journal with the diary of *Maundrell*, he found that this traveller had performed the same journey precisely in the same space of time. He left *Jennin* at midnight, travelled all night, and in seven hours reached the opposite side, near *Nazareth*. See p. 112. *Journ. from Alepp. &c. Oxf.* 1721.

(3) Written *Jenneen* by *Maundrell*. *Journ. from Alepp, &c.* p. 111.

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the *Cactus Ficus Indicus*, growing to such enormous size, that the stem of each plant was larger than a man's body. The wood of it is fibrous, and unfit for any other use than as fuel. The wounds which its almost imperceptible thorns inflict upon those who venture too near it, are terrible in this climate; they are even dangerous to *Europeans*. Its gaudy blossoms made a most splendid show, in the midst of the weapons that surrounded them. The ruins of a palace and of a mosque in *Jennin* seem to prove that it was once a place of more importance than it is at present. *Marble* pillars, fountains, and even piazzas, still remain in a very perfect state. An inscription over one of these buildings, in *Arabic*, purported that it was erected by a person of the name of *Selim*. This place is the *GINÆA* of antient authors. Under this name it occurs in the description given of *Samaria* by *Josephus*¹; deriving then, as it does now, the circumstance of its notoriety from its situation as a frontier village. It was the northern boundary of that province². *Adrichomius*

(1) Lib. iii. *de Bell. c. 2.*

(2) "*Enala.* Vicus qui Samaritin a septentrione terminat, in campo situs, ita legit Rufinus: nam in Græco est *ἡ μεγάλη πύλη*. . . . Illic loci situs est hodieque vicus *Zjennin*, vel, ut alii scribunt, *Jennin* dictus, et transeunt illum qui Ptolemaide Samarism, atque ita Hierosolymas, tendunt." *Reland. Palæst. lib. iii. tom. II. p. 812. Utrecht, 1714.*

describes it as situate at the foot of *Mount Ephraim*³, "where," says he, "*Galilee ends, and Samaria begins.*" *Quaresmius* has written a long chapter concerning this place⁴. Here the level country terminates; for although many of the authors, by whom *Ginæa* is mentioned, describe it as situate in the plain, it is in fact placed, as *Adrichomius* affirms, upon the foot of a hill, and upon its western declivity.

As the day dawned the next morning, it was pleasing to observe the effects of better government in the dominion of the *Pasha of Damascus*. Cultivated fields, gardens, and cheerful countenances, exhibited a striking contrast to the territories of *Djezzar Pasha*, where all was desolation, war, and gloominess. We began our journey to *Napolose* at four o'clock. At seven we arrived at the Castle of *Santorri*, situate upon a hill, and much resembling the old castellated buildings in England. It is very strong, and, for a place of so much consideration, it may be wondered that no account is given of it, even by authors who have mentioned almost every village in the *Holy Land*. We

Effect produced by better Government.

Santorri.

(3) *Adriahom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. in Manasse, I. Num. 39. p. 73. Colon. 1628.*

(4) *Quaresmii Eluc. T. S. lib. vii. c. 3. tom. II. p. 816. Antv. 1639.*

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should have considered this as the site of the antient SAMARIA, were it not for the express mention made by *Maundrell*¹, and by others, of the town of SEBASTE, still preserving a name belonging to that city. *Quaresmius* also mentions² the city of "*Sebaste, sive Samaria*," as occurring in the route from *Sichar* to *Jemni*, or *Jennin*: although, performing this journey, we found no other place intervening, except *Santorri*; and it is situate upon a hill, according to the description given of antient *Samaria*, which *D'Anville* places midway between *Ginæa* and *Napolose*, or *SICHEM*. To enter further upon this subject at present, were rather to perplex than to illustrate the geography of the country; and therefore it may be left for future travellers to explain the real situation of the place called SEBASTE by *Quaresmius*, and SEBASTA by *Maundrell*, and possibly to throw some light upon the history of *Santorri*.

Antient
Castle.

The hill on which the Castle of *Santorri* is situate, rises upon the south side of a valley, bounded by other hills on every side; being

(1) *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, pp. 59 and 111. *Oxf.* 1721.

(2) *Elucid. Terr. Sanct.* tom. II. p. 810. *Antv.* 1639.

about two miles in breadth, and five in length. This fortress held out against *Djezzar*, when he was *Pasha* of *Damascus*, and compelled him to raise the siege after two months. Having ascended to the castle, we were admitted within the gate, beneath a vaulted passage, quite dark, from its tortuous length and many windings. In the time of the *Crusades*, it must have been impregnable; yet is there no account of it in any author; and certainly it is not of later construction than the period of the *Holy Wars*. The Governor received us into a large vaulted chamber, resembling what is called *the Keep*, in some of our old *Norman* castles; which it so much resembled, that if we consider the part acted by the *Normans* in those wars, it is possible this building may have owed its origin to them. A number of weapons, such as guns, pistols, sabres, and poignards, hung round the walls. Suspended with these, were the saddles, gilded stirrups, and rich housings, belonging to the lord of the citadel. Upon the floor were couched his greyhounds, and his hawkers stood waiting in the yard before the door of the apartment; so that every thing contributed to excite ideas of other times, and a scene of former ages seemed to be realized before our eyes. The figure of the Governor himself was not the least

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interesting part of the living picture. He had a long red beard, and wore a dress as distinguished by feudal magnificence and military grandeur as it is possible to imagine. He received us with the usual hospitality of his countrymen, dismissed the escort which had accompanied us from *Acre*, seemed proud of placing us under the protection of his peculiar soldiers, and allowed us a guard, appointed from his own troops, to ensure our safety as far as *NAPOLOSE*. We had some conversation with him upon the disordered state of the country, particularly of *Galilee*. He said; that the rebel *Arabs* were in great number upon all the hills near the Plain of *Esdraelon*; that they were actuated, at this critical juncture, by the direst motives of revenge and despair, for the losses they had sustained in consequence of the ravages committed by *Djezzar's* army; but that he believed we should not meet with any molestation in our journey to Jerusalem.

Napolose,
or *SICHEM*.

After leaving *Santorri*, our road was devious and very uneven, over a mountainous tract of country, until we came in sight of *Napolose*, otherwise called *NEAPOLIS*, and *Napoléos*, the antient *SICHEM*. The view of this place much surprised us, as we had not expected to find a city of such magnitude in the road to

Jerusalem. It seems to be the metropolis of a very rich and extensive country, abounding with provisions, and all the necessary articles of life, in much greater profusion than the town of *Acre*. White bread was exposed for sale in the streets, of a quality superior to any that is to be found elsewhere throughout the *Levant*. The Governor of *Napolose* received and regaled us with all the magnificence of an *Eastern* sovereign. Refreshments, of every kind known in the country, were set before us; and when we supposed the list to be exhausted, to our very great astonishment a most sumptuous dinner was brought in. It was served in trays which were placed upon the floor of the *diván*; and there being no such articles of furniture as chairs, or even stools, we were forced to eat it after the manner of the Antients, by lying down in a reclining posture, the Governor himself setting us the example. Nothing seemed to gratify our host more, than that any of his guests should eat heartily: and, to do him justice, every individual of the party ought to have possessed the appetite of ten hungry pilgrims, to satisfy his wishes in this respect¹.

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Reception
by the Go-
vernor.

(1) A slight allusion to these little traits of national character will, it is hoped, be tolerated, as illustrating the extraordinary hospitality of the country; notwithstanding the dislike of certain readers to any detail

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Aspect and
State of the
Country.

There is nothing in the *Holy Land* finer than the view of *Napolose*, from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers; half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants. Their principal employment is in making *soap*; but the manufactures of the town supply a very widely-extended neighbourhood, and they are carried to a great distance, upon camels. In the morning after our arrival, we met caravans

detail concerning the diet and accommodations of travellers upon their journey. For a similar reason, a few words may be allowed concerning the *water-melons* of *Napolose*; because, although the name of that species of fruit be familiar, nothing can be more rare than the fruit itself in a state of perfection. *Water-melons* are found upon most of the shores of the *Mediterranean*; but no one can be said to know any thing of their excellence, who has not tasted them in the *Holy Land*. Those of *Napolose* and of *Jaffa* attain a degree of maturity and flavour so extraordinary, that the *water-melons* of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, of *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, do not appear to be the same sort of fruit. Something, as yet unnoticed in the nature of the soil, is necessary for the favourable growth of this plant; for it is evidently not owing to peculiarity of latitude. Its medical property, as a febrifuge, has only been admitted of late years. The physicians of *Naples* have used its fruit with success, even in dangerous cases; but perhaps that which might afford a cure in one climate, would, from the different quality of the fruit itself, be deleterious in another.

coming from *Grand Caïro*; and noticed others reposing in the large olive plantations near the gates. The reader who wishes to know the various names possessed by this city in different periods of its history, as well as to ascertain which among these names ought to be considered, its peculiar and most appropriate appellation, must be referred to the learned *Reland*¹. Every thing relating to it is interesting; but upon this subject, if all that *Reland* alone has written, in more than one part of his matchless work, were duly considered, the investigation would of itself constitute a copious dissertation. It is sufficient for the traveller to be informed, that, so long ago as the *twelfth* century, the elegant and perspicuous *Phocas*, himself visiting the place, and describing the city, speaks of it² as ;“*SICHAR*, the metropolis of the *Samaritans*, afterwards called *NEAPOLIS*.” *Reland*, from *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*³, writes it *SICHEM*⁴. According

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Its various
Appella-
tions.

(1) *Reland. Palæst. Illustrat.* lib. iii. tom. II. p. 1004. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

(2) Ἡ ὧν Σαμαρείων μητρόπολις Σιχαρ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθεῖσα Νεάπολις
κειμένη μέσσην δύο βουνῶν. “Samaritanorum metropolis *Sichar*; cui post-
modum Neapoli nomen fuit; inter duos montes sita.” *Phocæ Descr.*
T. S. cap. 13. p. 17. apud *Leo. Allat. Συμμ.* Colon. 1653.

(3) “Transivit *Sichem*, (non ut plerique errantes legunt *Sichar*),
quæ nunc *Neapolis* appellatur.” *Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulæ*
Rel. Palæst. lib. iii. tom. II. p. 1007.

(4) *Reland. ibid.* p. 1004.

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Circum-
stances
connected
with its
antient
history.

to the antient *Hebrew* text of *Genesis*, and the book of *Judges*, it would be written SCHECHEM¹. *Josephus* says that the natives called it *Mabartha*; but by others it was commonly named *Neapolis*². Its modern appellation is *Napolose*. To the traditions concerning its antiquities, all writers bear testimony; and since even a sceptic has remarked³, that the *Christians* of *Palæstine* “fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event,” we may surely regard them with interest. But the history of *Sichem*, referring to events long prior to the *Christian* dispensation, directs us to antiquities which owe nothing of their celebrity to any traditionary aid. The traveller, directing his footsteps towards its antient *sepulchres*, as everlasting as the rocks in which they are hewn, is permitted, upon the authority of sacred and indisputable record⁴, to contemplate the spot where the remains of JOSEPH⁵, of ELEAZAR⁶, and of

(1) *Reland. Palæst. Illust.* lib. iii. tom. II. p. 1004.

(2) *Josephus*, lib. v. *de Bell. Jud.* c. 4. ed. *Huvercamp.* Amst. &c. 1726.

(3) See *Gibbon. Hist. &c.* chap. 23. vol. IV. p. 23. *Lond.* 1807. Monsieur *Châteaubriand* has referred to the same observation of *Gibbon*. (See *Introd. to Travels in Greece*, &c. vol. I. p. 70. *Lond.* 1811.) An *English* Commentator may perhaps suspect the *Historian* of irony.

(4) See the Book of *JOSHUA*, c. xxiv.

(5) “And the bones of JOSEPH, which the Children of *Israel* brought out of *Egypt*, buried they in SCHECHEM.” *Josh.* xxiv. 32.

(6) “And ELEAZAR, the son of *Aaron*, died; and they buried him in a hill that pertained to *Phinehas* his son, which was given him in Mount *EPHRAIM*.” *Ibid.* ver. 33.

JOSHUA⁷, were severally deposited. If any thing connected with the memory of past ages be calculated to awaken local enthusiasm, the land around this city is pre-eminently entitled to that distinction. The sacred story of events transacted in the fields of *Sichem*⁸ is, from our earliest years, remembered with delight; but having the territory actually before our eyes where those events took place, and beholding objects as they were described above three thousand years ago, the grateful impression kindles into ecstacy. Along the valley, we beheld "a company of *Ishmeelites*, coming from *Gilead*⁹," as in the days of REUBEN and JUDAH, "with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh," who would gladly have purchased another *Joseph* of his brethren, and conveyed him, as a slave, to some *Potiphar* in *Egypt*¹⁰. Upon the hills around, flocks and

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(7) "JOSHUA, the son of *Nun*, the servant of the LORD, died. . . . And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in *Tennath-serah*, which is in Mount *EPHRAIM*, on the north side of the hill of *GAASH*." *Ibid.* ver. 29, 30.

(8) See *Genesis*, xxxvii.

(9) "And, behold, a company of *Ishmeelites* came from *Gilead*, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to *EGYPT*." *Ibid.* v. 25.

(10) *Ibid.* ver. 36.

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herds were feeding, as of old¹: nor in the simple garb of the shepherds of *Samaria* was there any thing to contradict the notions we may entertain of the appearance formerly exhibited by the sons of JACOB. The *Jews* of the twelfth century acknowledged that the *Tomb* of JOSEPH then existed in *Sichem*, although both the *city* and the *tomb* were the possession and the boast of a people whom they detested. "The town," says Rabbi *Benjamin*², "lies in a vale, between Mount *Gerizim* and Mount *Ebal*, where there are above a hundred *Cuthæans*³, who observe only the law of *Moses*, whom men call *Samaritans*. They have priests, of the lineage of *Aaron* who rests in peace; and those they call *Aaronites*, who never marry but with persons of the sacerdotal family, that *they may not be confounded with the people*. Yet these priests of their law offer sacrifices and burnt-offerings in their congregations, as it is written in the law⁴; 'Thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount *Gerizim*.' They therefore affirm that this is the

(1) "And ISRAEL said unto JOSEPH, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in SHECHEM?" *Genesis* xxxvii. 13.

(2) See the translation by *Gerrans*, p. 69. *Lond.* 1783.

(3) The *Samaritans* were called *Cuthæans* by Jewish Writers; from *Sanballad*, a *Cuthite*, who was their founder. See *Josephus, Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 7.

(4) *Deut.* xi. 29.

House of the Sanctuary; and they offer burnt-offerings, both on the Passover and on other festivals, on the altar which was built on Mount *Gerizim*, of those stones which the Children of *Israel* set up, after they had passed over *Jordan*. They pretend that they are descended from the tribe of *Ephraim*; and have among them the *Sepulchre of Joseph the Just*, the son of our father *Jacob*, who rests in peace, according to that saying⁵, ‘*The bones also of Joseph, which the Children of Israel brought up with them out of Egypt, buried they in SHECHEM.*’—*Maundrell*, the only English writer who has visited *Napolose*, is more explicit than the earlier *Christian* pilgrims, concerning this place; but he was principally occupied in discussions with a *Samaritan* priest, concerning the difference between their text and the *Hebrew*, and in identifying the two mountains, *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, between which the city stands. He notices, however, the *Tomb of Joseph*; still bearing its name, unaltered, and venerated even by the *Moslems*, who have built a small temple over it⁶. Its authenticity is

(5) *Josh.* xxiv. 32.

(6) “We saw on our right hand, just without the city, a small mosque, said to have been built over the *sepulchre* purchased by *Jacob* of *Emmor* the father of *Shechem*. (*Gen.* xxxiii. 19.) It goes by the name of *Joseph’s Sepulchre*, his bones having been here interr’d, after their transportation out of *EGYPT*. (*Josh.* xxiv. 32.)” *Journ. from Aleppo to Jerus.* p. 62. *Oxf.* 1721.

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not liable to controversy; since tradition is, in this respect, maintained upon the authority of sacred Scripture; and the veneration paid to it, by *Jews*, by *Christians*, and by *Moslems*, has preserved, in all ages, the remembrance of its situation¹. Having shewn, upon a former occasion, that *tombs* were the origin of *temples*², it is not necessary to dwell upon the utter improbability of their being forgotten among men who approached them as places of worship. The *Tomb* of JOSHUA was also visited by *Jewish* pilgrims in the *twelfth* century. This is proved by the *Hebrew Itinerary* of *Petachias*³, who was contemporary with *Benjamin of Tudela*⁴; and its situation, marked by him with the utmost precision⁵, is still as familiar to the *Jews* of

(1) "In Sichem verò relata fuerunt ossa Joseph ex ÆGYPITO." *Eugesippus*, P. iii. Συμμ. L. Allat. Col. 1653.

(2) See Vol. II. of these Travels, c. ii. p. 75. octavo edit.

(3) *Petachæ Itinerarium*. Vid. *Thes. Antiq. Sacr.* tom. VI. Venet. 1746.

(4) "Non licet R. Petachiam seculo xii. statuere antiquiorem, sed illud potius consequitur, R. Benjaminem et R. Petachiam fuisse cœvos." *Introd. in Petach. Itin. ab J. Christoph. Wogensælio*. Ibid. 1161, 1162.

(5) "Mons Gaasch valdè excelsus est, atque in eo conditus Oladias Propheta. In hunc montem præaltum, per gradus fit ascensus, qui, ibi incisi sunt, atque in medio montis sepultus est Josua filius Nun, et, juxta eum, Caleb Jephunne filius. PROPE HORUM MONUMENTA FONS SCATURIT, E QUO AQUA OPTIMA PER MONTEN MANAT, IPSISQUE SEPULCHRIS, BASILICÆ EGREGIÆ ADJICIUNTUR." *Petachiæ Itiner.* Ibid. 1205, 1206.

Palæstine as the place where the *Temple of Solomon* originally stood. It was, in fact, in the midst of a renowned cœmety, containing also the *sepulchres* of other *Patriarchs*; particularly of one, whose synagogue is mentioned by *Benjamin of Tudela*, as being in the neighbourhood of the warm baths of *Tiberias*⁶. These *tombs* are hewn in the solid rock, like those of *Telmessus* in the Gulph of *Glaucus*, and are calculated for duration, equal to that of the hills in which they have been excavated. It may also be worthy of notice, that, when writers of the age of *Benjamin* and *Petachias* are speaking of the immediate receptacles of embalmed bodies, as relics held in veneration by the *Jews*, they refer to *Soroi* constituting integral parts of mountains; which have been chiseled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description. These are monuments on which a lapse of ages effects no change: they have defied, and will defy, the attacks of time, and continue as perfect at this hour as they were in the first moment of their completion. Thus we are informed in sacred Scripture, according to the *Septuagint Version*,

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(6) *Benjaminis Itineraum*, cap. 10. *Helmst.* 1636.

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that, when *Joseph* died¹, “they embalmed him, and he was put ‘ἐν τῇ Σόφῳ’ in *Egypt* ;” that is to say, in one of those immense *mono-lithal* receptacles to which alone the Antients applied the name of ΣΟΡΟΣ: they were appropriated solely to the burial of men of princely rank; and their existence, after the expiration of three thousand years, is indisputably proved, by the appearance of one of them in the principal *Pyramid* of *EGYPT*. Therefore, when our *English* Translators render the *Hebrew* or the *Greek* appellation of such a receptacle by our word *coffin*, necessarily associating ideas of a perishable *box* or *chest* with the name they use, it is not surprising to find it stated by *Harmer*, in his *Observations on Scripture*, as an extraordinary fact, that the remains of distinguished persons in the *East* were *honoured* with a *coffin*, as a mark of their rank; whereas, says he², “*with us, the poorest people have their coffins.*” or that other authors should deride, and consider as preposterous, the traditions mentioned by *Jewish Rabbins*, which, at this distance of time,

(1) *Gen.* L. 26. In the *English* Version, the words are, “He was put in a *coffin*.”

(2) See *Harmer's* *Observations on Scripture*, vol. III. p. 69, 70. *Lond.* 1808.

presume to identify the *coffins* of their *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*^s. When it is once understood what the real monuments are, to which those traditions allude; the veneration always paid by that people to a place of *sepulture*; their rigorous adherence, in burial, to the cœmeteries of their ancestors; the care with which memorials are transmitted to their posterity; and other circumstances connected with their customs and history, which cannot here be enumerated; it is not merely probable, but it amounts almost to certainty, that the *sepulchres* they revere were originally the *tombs* of the persons to whom they are now ascribed.

In the time of *Alexander the Great*, *Sichem* was considered as the capital of *Samaria*⁴. Its inhabitants were called *Samaritans*, not merely as people of *Samaria*, but as a *sect* at variance

(3) *Gerrans*, translator of the *Hebrew Itinerary* of Rabbi *Benjamin*, published in 1783, makes use of an allusion to the Prophet *Daniel's coffin*, as a proof of the spurious nature of the Work. (See *Dissert.* p. 10. *prefixed to the volume*.) There is every reason to believe that *Benjamin's Itinerary* is a mere compilation; but the objection thus urged does not impeach its veracity. The tradition alluded to was probably borrowed from former Writers.

(4) *Josephus, Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 2.

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*Jacob's
Well.*

with the other *Jews*'. They consisted principally of deserters from *Judæa*; and they have continued to maintain their peculiar tenets to the present day°. *Sichem*, according to *Procopius*³, was much favoured by the Emperor *Justinian*, who restored the sanctuaries, and added largely to the other public edifices of the city. The principal object of veneration, among the present inhabitants, is *Jacob's Well*, over which a church was formerly erected'. This is situate at a small distance from the town⁵,

(1) *Josephus* says of them, that they boasted of their *Jewish* origin whenever the *Jews* were in prosperity, but disowned any connection with them when in adversity. Vid. *Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.*

(2) The antient medals of the city bear the name of *Flavia Neapolis*. *Spanheim* (*De Præst. et Us. Numism. p. 769. Amst. 1761.*) notices a medal of the Emperor *TITUS*, in *Seguin's* Collection, with this inscription, ΦΛΑΟΥΝΕΛΛΗΟΛΙΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑΙ. *Vaillant* mentions colonial coins of *Philip* the Elder, on which appeared Mount *Gerizim*, with a temple on its summit. For an account of this temple, named, by *Antiochus*, the Temple of *Jupiter*, see *Josephus, Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8. lib. xii. c. 7.*

(3) See *Reland. Palæst. Illust. lib. iii. p. 1008. tom. II. Utrecht, 1714. Procopius, lib. v. De Ædificiis Justiniani, cap. 7.*

(4) Attributed, as usual, to the Empress *HELENA*. (See *Maundrell's Journey, p. 62.*) *Arculfe*, as preserved in *Adamnanus*, gives a plan of it, which proves its form to have been that of a Greek cross: (*lib. ii. de Loc. Sanct.*) This is also in *Reland's* Work, (*p. 1008. tom. II. Palæst. Illust. Utrecht, 1714.*) It was mentioned by *St. JEROM* in the fourth century. *ANTONINUS* the Martyr saw it in the sixth; *ARCULFE*, in the seventh; *WILLIBAUD*, in the eighth; and *PHOCAS*, in the twelfth.

(5) "About one third of an hour from *Naplosa*, we came to 'JACOB'S WELL.' " *Journey from Alep. to Jerus. p. 62. Oxf. 1731.*

in the road to *Jerusalem*; and has been visited by pilgrims of all ages; but particularly since the *Christian* æra, as the place where our SAVIOUR revealed himself to the woman of *Samaria*. The spot is so distinctly marked by the *Evangelist*⁶, and so little liable to uncertainty, from the circumstance of the *well* itself and the features of the country, that, if no tradition existed for its identity, the site of it could hardly be mistaken. Perhaps no *Christian* scholar ever attentively read the *fourth* chapter of *St. John*, without being struck with the numerous internal evidences of truth which crowd upon the mind, in its perusal. Within so small a compass it is impossible to find, in other writings, so many sources of reflection and of interest. Independently of its importance as a theological document, it concentrates so much information, that a volume might be filled with its singular illustration of the history of the *Jews*, and the geography of their country. All that can be collected upon these subjects from *Josephus*⁷ seems but as a comment to this chapter. The journey of our LORD from *Judæa* into *Galilee*; the cause of it; his passage

(6) *John*, c. iv.

(7) Vid. *Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 4, 7, 8. lib. xii. c. 3, 7, &c.

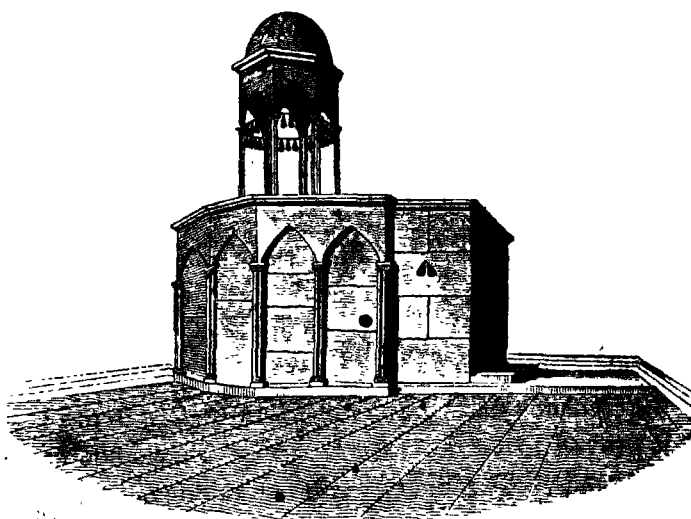
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through the territory of *Samaria*; his approach to the metropolis of that country; its name; his arrival at the *Amorite* field which terminates the narrow valley of *Sichem*¹; the antient custom of halting at a *well*; the female employment of drawing water; the Disciples sent into the city for food, by which its situation out of the town is so obviously implied; the question of the woman referring to existing prejudices which separated the *Jews* from the *Samaritans*; the depth of the *well*; the *Oriental* allusion contained in the expression “*living water*,” the history of the *well*, and the customs thereby illustrated; the worship upon Mount *Gerizim*; all these occur within the space of twenty verses: and if to these be added, what has already been referred to² in the remainder of the same chapter, we shall perhaps consider it as a field, which, in the words of HIM who contemplated its ultimate produce³, “WE MAY LIFT UP OUR EYES, AND LOOK UPON, FOR IT IS WHITE ALREADY TO HARVEST.”

(1) “At this *well*, the narrow valley of *Sychem* ends; opening itself into a wide field, which is probably part of that parcel of ground given by JACOB to his son JOSEPH.” *Journey from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 63. *Orf.* 1721.

(2) See p. 185, Note 1; and p. 186; of this volume.

(3) *John*, iv. 35.



Holy Sepulchre, as it existed prior to its reparation A. D. 1555.

CHAP. VII.

THE HOLY LAND—NAPOLÉON TO JERUSALEM.

*Journey to Jerusalem—Singular Cultivation of Judæa—
 Jacob's Field—Bethel—Beer—Prospect of the Holy
 City—Formalities of a Public Entry—Reception by the
 Inhabitants—Gate of Damascus—Identity of "the Holy
 Places"—Visit to the Governor—Convent of St. Salvador
 —Appearance of the Monks—Dormitory for Travellers
 —Pilgrim's Chamber—Convent Stores—Library—
 Exactions of the Turks—Manufactures of Jerusalem—
 Mecca Fruit—Fetid Limestone—Water of the Dead Sea
 —Visit to "the Holy Places"—Sepulchre of the Messiah
 —Its*

—*Its Identity disputed—Its present Appearance—Other Relics—Plan for the Survey of the City—Sion Gate—Discovery made by the Author—Inference derived from it—Possible Site of Golgotha, or Calvary—Greek Inscriptions—Remarkable Tomb—Hebrew Inscriptions—Conjecture respecting Mount Sion.*

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Journey to
JERUSALEM.

WE left *Napolose* one hour after midnight, that we might reach JERUSALEM early in the same day. We were however much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved to be a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen¹. The road was mountainous, rocky,

(1) Authors disagree very much concerning this distance. *Reland*, who compares the computed measure, by time, with the *Roman* miles (*Vid.* "*Mensuræ quibus veteres locorum intervalla metiuntur*," *Palæst. Illust. lib. ii. c. 1.*) makes an hour's journey equivalent to three miles; and this corresponds with its relative proportion to a *French* league, or to three *English* miles. But, in the valuable map wherein he has exhibited the distances of places in *Roman* miles, from *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Arrian*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, (*Vid. cap. 5. id. lib.*) he states the distance between *Napolose* and *Jerusalem* as equal to forty *Roman* miles; that is to say, twenty-eight from *Napolose* to *Bethel*, and twelve from *Bethel* to *Jerusalem*. Again, in estimating the extent of the HOLY LAND (*Vid. tom. I. p. 423. Traj. Bat. 1714.*) he gives, from *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and an antient anonymous *Itinerary*, the following distances:

Ab Hierosolymis ad Bethel, ex Itinerar. veter.	} mil. 12.
et Eusebio	

Inde ad Neapolin, ex eodem Itiner mil. 28, vel 29.

The fact is, that, notwithstanding the numerous authors who have written in illustration of the geography of this country, the subject still remains undecided. We have no accurate map of the *Holy Land*; and were we to collect the distances from books of Travels the labour would be fruitless.

Phocas,

and full of loose stones⁴: yet the cultivation was everywhere marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of *Judæa* were entirely covered with plantations of *figs*, *vines*, and *olive*-

Phocas, who is generally accurate, states the distance between SAMARIA (i. e. *Sichem*, *vel Neapolis*) and JERUSALEM most erroneously; making it only equal to eighty-four *stadia*, or ten miles and a half: 'Ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἕως τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως εἰσὶ σταδία ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρα. "A Samariā ad sacram civitatem stadiū numerentur quatuor et octoginta." (*Phocæ Descript. T. S.* cap. 14.) This would only allow a journey of three hours and a half. *Maundrell* makes it eleven hour, and thirty-five minutes, according to the following statement from his Journal. (See pp. 62, 63, 64, 66, 67. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* Oxf. 1721.)

	Hours.
Naplosa to Kane Ieban	— 4 .
Kane Leban to Bethel	— 1½
Bethel to Beer	— — — 2½
Beer to Jerusalem	— — — 3½

9 11.35 min.

Adapting, therefore, *Maundrell's* time to *Reland's* scale, the distance would be little more than thirty-four miles and a half. We considered it to be much more; but it is difficult to obtain accurate measure, even by actual observation of the country, owing to its mountainous and rugged nature.

(2) If the following passage from *Phocas* afforded the only internal evidence to be found in his Work, of his having visited the country, travellers, who follow him, will deem it satisfactory. 'Ἡ δίοδος πᾶσα λιθόστρωτος, καὶ πεῦσα, καπάζηρος οὔσα ἢ πᾶσα τοιαύτη χῶρα, καὶ ἀνχμηρὰ ἵστί καὶ κατ'ἀμπίλος καὶ ὑπόδι'νδρος. "Via est omnis lapidibus strata; et, licet tota ea regio siccitate arcescat, et squalleat, ubique tamen vitibus et arboribus constipatur." *Phocæ Descr. Terr. Sancti.* c. 14. Colon. 1653. The extraordinary cultivation of this singular country, and the mode of it, is also noticed by *Maundrell*. See *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* pp. 64, 65.

trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were overspread with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of cultivation. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, upon which soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops, we noticed *millet*, *cotton*, *linseed*, and *tobacco*; and, occasionally, small fields of *barley*. A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the EDEN of the *East*, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly portrayed in every countenance: instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of *Djezzar Pasha's* desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and beneficent government, the produce of the HOLY LAND would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest¹; the salubrity of its air²; its

(1) "The seasons," says *Josephus*, "seem to maintain a competition, which should be most productive." See his account of the country around the Lake of *Gennesareth*, (*lib. iii. de Bell. c. 18.*) as cited in a former chapter of this Work.

(2) We saw neither *mosquitoes* nor *locusts*; nor did the croaking of *toads* or *frogs* denote the vicinity of any of those deadly *marshes* which poison the atmosphere on so many shores of the *Mediterranean*.

limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed “a field which the Lord hath blessed”: God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.”

The first part of our journey led through the valley lying between the two mountains *Ebal* and *Gerizim*⁴. We passed the *Sepulchre of*

(3) *Gen.* xxvii. 27, 28.

(4) *Ebal*, sometimes written *Gelal*, is upon the north; and *Gerizim*, or *Garizim*, upon the south. The streets of *Napolose* run parallel to the latter; which overlooks the town. (*Eud. Joseph' lib. v. Antig. c. 9.*) “And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount GERIZIM, and the curse upon EBAL.” (*Deut.* xi. 29.) Also, in the record of the covenant, (*Deut.* xxvii. 5.) the people are directed to build an altar of whole stones upon Mount EBAL. “And Moses charged the people (*ibid.* v. 11.) the same day, saying, These shall stand upon Mount GERIZIM, to bless the people;” “and (*ibid.* v. 13.) these shall stand upon Mount EBAL, to curse” (*See also Josh.* viii. 33.) The *Samaritons* have now a place of worship upon Mount GERIZIM. (*See Muundrell. Journ. from Alepp. to Jerus. p. 59.*) Reland *tom. II. p. 1006. tom. I. p. 344. Traj. Bat. 1714*) wrote the name of this mountain both *Garizim* and *Gerizim*. The *Samaritans*, according to *Phocæ*, believed that upon Mount *Gerizim*, which stands upon the right hand of a person facing the east, *Abraham* prepared the sacrifice of his son *Isaac*. “Ὡν τὸ δεξιώτερον ὑπάρχει τὸ ἄρος ἐν ᾧ οἱ Σαμαριῆς λίγους χρηματίζουσι τῷ Ἀβραάμ τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ζητῶσα τοῦ Ἰσαάκ.” “In dexteriore montium Samaritanorum ca traditio est) Deus Abrahamo responsum dedit, et Isaacum in sacrificium petiit.” *Phocæ Desc. Terr. Sanct. c. 13. Col. 1653.*

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VII.

Jacob's
Field.

*Joseph*¹, and the *Well of Jacob*², where the Valley of *Sichem* opens into a fruitful plain, watered by a stream which rises near the town. This is allowed, by all writers, to be the piece of land mentioned by *St. John*³, which *JACOB* bought⁴ “at the hand of the Children of *Emmor*,” and where he erected his altar⁵ to “the God of *Israel*.” Afterwards, as the day dawned, a cloudless sky foretold the excessive heat we should have to encounter in this day’s journey: and before noon, the mercury in *Fahrenheit’s* thermometer, in the most shaded situation we could find, stood at 102 degrees. Our umbrellas scarcely afforded protection, the reflection from the ground being almost as insupportable as the sun’s direct rays. We had, during the morning, a long and most tedious ride, without rest or refreshment; silently following our guides, along a narrow and stony track, over a mountainous country, and by the edge of precipices. We passed, without notice, a place called *Leban* by *Maundrell*⁶, the *Lebonah*

(1) See *Maundrell’s Journey*, &c. p. 62. *Oxf.* 1721.

(2) “At about one third of an hour from *Naplosa*, we came to *JACOB’S WELL*.” *Ibid.*

(3) Chap. iv. 5.

(4) *Genesis* xxxiii. 19.

(5) “And he erected there an altar, and called it (*El-Elohe-Israel*) *GOD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL*.” *Ibid.* v. 20.

(6) See p. 63, Journ. from *Aleppo*, &c.

of Scripture: also, about six hours' distance from *Napolose*, in a narrow valley, between two high rocky hills⁷, the ruins of a village, and of a monastery, situate where the *Bethel* of *Jacob* is supposed to have been⁸. The nature of the soil is an existing comment upon the record of the stony territory, where "he took of the stones of the place, and put them for his pillows." At two o'clock P. M. we halted for a little repose, near a well, beneath the shade of a ruined building. This place was said to be three hours' distance from *Jerusalem*. It is perhaps the same described by *Maundrell*, under the name of *Beer*⁹; *Beer*, so called, says he, from its fountain of water, and supposed to be the *Michmash* of sacred Scripture¹⁰. It is described by him as distant three hours and twenty minutes from the Holy

(7) See p. 63, *Journ. from Aleppo*, &c.

(8) *Gen.* xxviii. 19.

(9) "At the bottom of the hill it has a plentiful fountain of excellent water, from which it has its name. At its upper side are remains of an old church, built by the Empress *Helena*, in memory of the blessed *Virgin*, who, when she was in quest of the child *JESUS*, as it is related (*Luke* ii. 24.), came (as tradition adds) to this city." *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 64. *Oxf.* 1721.

(10) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 16, 23. xiv. 5. This position of *Michmash* by *Maundrell* by no means agrees with the situation assigned to it by *Reland* (*Palæst. Illustr. tom.* II. p. 897. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.) upon the authority of *EUSEBIUS*: "*Est vicus grandis 9 mil. ab Ælîd (Hierosolymâ) propè Rama, teste Eusebio.*"

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City'. This name of our halting-place is not found, however, in any of our Journals. Here, upon some pieces of very mouldy biscuit, a few raw onions, (the only food we could find upon the spot,) and the water of the well, we all of us fed with the best possible appetite; and could we have procured a little salt, we should have deemed our fare delicious.

At three P.M. we again mounted our horses, and proceeded on our route. No sensation of fatigue or heat could counterbalance the eagerness and zeal which animated all our party, in the approach to JERUSALEM; every individual pressed forward, hoping first to announce the joyful intelligence of its appearance. We passed some insignificant ruins, either of antient buildings or of modern villages; but had they been of more importance, they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind towards the main object of interest and curiosity. At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill towards the south—

(1) "Leaving Beer, &c. in two hours and one third, we came to the top of a hill; from whence we had the first prospect of Jerusalem. In one hour more, we approached the walls of the Holy City." *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 66. *Oxf.* 1721.

HAGIOPOLIS!" exclaimed a *Greek* in the van of our cavalcade; and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen upon his knees, bare-headed, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all². The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of our party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The *Greeks* and *Catholics* shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the *Holy Sepulchre*. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of *Jerusalem*, we beheld, as it were,

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Prospect of
the *Holy*
City.

(2) We are reminded of one of the most spirited stanzas in *Tasso*, on the first sight of JERUSALEM:

"Ali ha ciascuno al core, ed ali al piede
Nè del suo ratto andar però s'accorge.
Ma quando il sol gli aridi campi fiede
Con raggj assai ferventi, e in alto sorge,
Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede!
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge!
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente!" G. L. Cant. 3.

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a flourishing and stately metropolis ; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries ; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour¹. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills surrounding it give to the city itself an appearance of elevation less than it really has². About three quarters of an hour before we reached the walls, we passed a large ruin upon our right hand, close to the road. This, by the reticulated masonry upon its walls, as well as by the remains of its vaulted foundations of brick-work, evidently denoted a *Roman* building. We could not obtain any account of it ; neither has it been mentioned by any of the authors who have described the antiquities of the country.

(1) At the same time it should be confessed, that there is no other point of view where *Jerusalem* is seen to so much advantage. In the celebrated prospect from the *Mount of Olives*, the city lies too low ; is too near the eye ; and has too much the character of a *bird's-eye view* : it has all the formality of a plan or topographical survey.

(2) Ἡ δὲ ἁγία πόλις αὐτὰ μίσην διαφόρων παράγων, καὶ βουνῶν, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ θεωρούμενον θαυμαστόν, ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπεραισθητικῶς ὁρᾶται ἡ πόλις καὶ χθραμαλή· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίας χώραν ἐστὶν ὑπεραιμμένη, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα ταύτης γνύλεθα χθραμαλίζεται. “*Sancta civitas variis vallibus et montibus circumsepitur, nec admiratione caret quod in ea spectatur ; eodem enim temporis momento, et supereminens et depressa apparet : namque si Judææ oram inspexeris, supereminet ; si colles illi adhærentes complanatur.*” *Phœæ Desc. Terr. Sanct. c. 14. Colon. 1653.*

At this place, two *Turkish* officers, mounted on beautiful horses sumptuously caparisoned, came to inform us, that the Governor, having intelligence of our approach, had sent them to escort us into the city. When they arrived, we were all assembled upon an eminence, admiring the splendid appearance of *Jerusalem*; and being impressed with other ideas than those of a vain ostentation, would gladly have declined the parade, together with the interruption caused by a public entry. This was, however, said to be unavoidable; it was described as a necessary mark of respect due to *Djezzar Pasha*, under whose protection we travelled; as well as of consequence to our future safety. We were therefore consigned to our *Moslem* conductors, and marshalled accordingly. Our attendants were ordered to fall back in the rear; and it was evident, by the manner of placing us, that we were expected to form a procession to the Governor's house, and to appear as dependants, swelling the train of his two emissaries. Our *British* tars, not relishing this, would now and then prance towards the post of honour, and were with difficulty restrained from taking the lead. As we approached the gates of the city, the concourse of people became very great, the

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Formalities of a
Public
Entry.

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Reception
by the In-
habitants.

walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried out, *Bon' Inglesi! Viva l'Ingilterra!*" others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally *Christian* dogs, and filthy *infidels*. We could never learn why so much curiosity had been excited; unless it were, that of late, owing to the turbulent state of public affairs, the resort of strangers to *Jerusalem* had become less frequent; or that they expected another visit from Sir *Sidney Smith*, who had marched into *Jerusalem* with colours flying and drums beating, at the head of a party of *English* sailors. He protected the *Christian* guardians of the *Holy Sepulchre* from the tyranny of their *Turkish* rulers, by hoisting the *British* standard upon the walls of their monastery. Novelty, at any period, produces considerable bustle at *Jerusalem*: the idleness of its inhabitants, and the uniform tenor of their lives, rendered more than usually dull by the cessation of pilgrimage, naturally dispose them to run after a new sight, or to listen to new intelligence. The arrival of a *Tahtar* courier from the *Vizier's* army, or the coming of foreigners to the city, rouses *Christians*

from their prayers, *Jews* from their traffic, and even *Moslems* from their tobacco or their opium, in search of something new. CHAP.
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Thus attended, we reached the *Gate of Damascus* about seven o'clock in the evening'. Gate of
Damascus. *Châteaubriand* calls this *Bab-el-Hamona*, or *Bab-el-Cham*, the *Gate of the Column*'. "When," says he, "*Simon the Cyrenian* met CHRIST,* he was coming from the *gate of Damascus*;" thereby adopting a topography suited to the notions generally entertained of the relative situation of Mount *Calvary* and the *Prætorium*, with regard to this gate; *Simon* being described³ as "coming out of the country," and therefore, of course, entering by that gate of the city contiguous to "*the dolorious way*." It were, indeed, a rash undertaking to attempt any refutation of opinions so long entertained concerning what are called "*the Holy Places*" of this memorable city. Identity of
"The
Holy
Places." "Never," says the author now cited⁴, "was subject less known to modern readers, and never was subject more completely exhausted."

(1) Thursday, *July* the 9th.

(2) *Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c.* vol. II. p. 88. Lond. 1811.

(3) "As they led him away, they laid hold upon one *Simon a Cyrenian*, coming out of the country." *Luke* xxiii. 26.

(4) *Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 2. Lond. 1811.

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Men entitled to the highest consideration, unto whose authority even reverence is due¹, have written for its illustration; and some of the ablest modern geographers, quitting more extensive investigations, have applied all their ingenuity, talents, and information, to the topography of *Jerusalem*². It might therefore seem like wanton temerity, to dispute the identity of places whose situation has been so ably discussed and so generally admitted, were there not this observation to urge, that the accounts of *Jerusalem* since the *Crusades* have been principally written by men who did not themselves view the places they describe. If, as spectators upon the spot, we confessed ourselves dissatisfied with the supposed identity of certain points of observation in *Jerusalem*, it is because we refused to tradition alone, that which was contradicted by the evidence of our senses. This will be made manifest in the sequel. It is now only expedient to acknowledge, that the Reader will not find in these pages a renewal of the statements made by *Sandys*, and *Maundrell*, and *Pococke*, and by a host of *Greek* and *Latin* pilgrims from the age of *Phocas*

(1) *Eusebius, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, &c.*

(2) See particularly the Dissertation of *D'Anville*, in the *Appendix* to Mons. *Châteaubriand's* interesting account of his Travels, vol. II. p. 309, of the edition by *Frederic Schœberl*. Lond. 1811.

down to *Breidenbach* and *Quaresmius*. We should no more think of enumerating all the absurdities to which the *Franciscan* friars direct the attention of travellers, than of copying, like another *Cotovic*³, the whole of the hymns sung by the pilgrims at every station. Possessing as much enthusiasm as might be necessary in travellers viewing this consecrated land, we still retained the power of our understandings sufficiently to admire the credulity for which no degree of preposterousness seemed too mighty; which converted even the *Parables* of our SAVIOUR into existing realities; exhibiting, as holy relics, the house of *Dives*⁴, and the dwelling-place of the good *Samaritan*. There is much to be seen at *Jerusalem*, independently of its monks and monasteries; much to repay pilgrims of a very different description from those who usually resort thither, for all the fatigue and danger they must encounter. But, to men interested in tracing, within the walls, antiquities referred to by the documents of Sacred History, no spectacle can be more mortifying than the city in its present state. The mistaken piety of the early *Christians*, in

(3) See *De Cadteaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 3. Note (2). *Lond.* 1811.

(4) See the *Preface* to Part II.

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attempting to preserve, has either confused or annihilated the memorials it was anxious to render conspicuous. Viewing the havoc thus made, it may now be regretted that the *Holy Land* was ever rescued from the dominion of *Saracens*, who were far less barbarous than their conquerors. The absurdity, for example, of hewing the rocks of *Judæa* into shrines and chapels, and of disguising the face of Nature with painted domes and gilded marble coverings, by way of commemorating the scenes of our SAVIOUR'S life and death, is so evident and so lamentable, that even *Sandys*, with all his credulity, could not avoid a happy application of the reproof directed by the *Roman Satyr*ist against a similar violation of the *Egerian Fountain*

Visit to the
Governor.

We were conducted to the house of the Governor, who received us in very great state; offering his protection, and exhibiting the usual pomp of *Turkish* hospitality, in the number of

(1) *Juven. Sat. 3. Cantab.* 1763.

“ In vallem *Egeriæ* descendimus, et speluncas
Dissimiles veris. Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum !”

See *Sandys' Travels*, p. 161. *Lond.* 1637.

slaves richly dressed, who brought fuming incense, coffee, conserved fruit, and pipes, to all the party, profusely sprinkling us, as usual, with rose and orange-flower water. Being then informed of all our wishes, he commanded his interpreter to go with us to the *Franciscan Convent of St. Salvador*, a large building like a fortress, the gates of which were thrown open to receive our whole cavalcade. Here, being admitted into a court, with all our horses and camels, the vast portals were again closed, and a party of the most corpulent friars we had ever seen, from the warmest cloisters of *Spain* and of *Italy*, waddled round us, and heartily welcomed our arrival.

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Convent of
St. Salva-
dor.

From the court of the Convent we were next conducted, by a stone staircase, to the refectory, where the monks who had received us introduced us to the Superior, not a whit less corpulent than any of his companions. The influence which a peculiar mode of life has upon the constitution, in this climate, might be rendered evident by contrasting one of these jolly fellows with the *Propaganda* Missionaries. The latter are as meagre and as pale, as the former are corpulent and ruddy. The life of the missionaries is necessarily a state of

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constant activity and of privation. The Guardians of the *Holy Sepulchre*, or, according to the name they bear, the *Terra-Santa* friars, are confined to the walls of their comfortable convent, which, when compared with the usual accommodations of the *Holy Land*, is like a sumptuous and well-furnished hotel, open to all comers whom curiosity or devotion may bring to this mansion of rest and refreshment.

Dormitory
for Travellers.

After being regaled with coffee, and some delicious lemonade, we were shewn to our apartments, to repose ourselves until supper. The room allotted to our *English* party we found to be the same which many travellers have before described. It was clean, and its walls were white-washed. The beds, also, had a cleanly appearance; although a few bugs warned us to spread our hammocks upon the floor, where we slept, for once, unmolested. Upon the substantial door of this chamber, whose roof was of vaulted stone, the names of many *English* travellers had been carved. Among others, we had the satisfaction to notice that of THOMAS SHAW, the most learned author who has yet written a description of the LEVANT. Dr. *Shaw* had slept in the same

apartment. seventy-nine years before our coming

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Pilgrims'
Chamber.

A plentiful supper was served, in a large room called the *Pilgrims' Chamber*. Almost all the monks, together with their Superior, were present. These men did not eat with us; having their meals private. After we had supped, and retired to the dormitory, one of the friars, an *Italian*, in the dress worn by the *Franciscans*, came into our apartment, and, giving us a wink, took some bottles of *Noyau* from his bosom, desiring us to taste it: he said that he could supply us with any quantity, or quality, of the best *liqueurs*, either for our consumption while we staid, or for our journey. We asked him whence it was obtained; and he informed us, that he had made it; explaining the nature of his situation in the *monastery*, by saying, that he was a confectioner; that the monks employed him in works of ornament suited to his profession; but that his principal employment was the manufacture of *liqueurs**.

(1) Dr. Shaw visited *Jerusalem* in 1722.

(2) Perhaps for sale among the *Moslems*; who will make any sacrifice to obtain drams of this nature.

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VII.Convent
Stores.

A large part of this convent, surrounding an elevated open court or terrace, is appropriated to the reception of *pilgrims*; for whose maintenance the monks have considerable funds, the result of donations from *Catholics* of all ranks, but especially from *Catholic Princes*. These contributions are sometimes made in cash, and often in effects, in merchandize, and stores for the convent. To mention, by way of example, one article, equally rare and grateful to weary *English* travellers; namely, *tea*: of this they had an immense provision, and of the finest quality. Knowing, from long habit in waiting upon *pilgrims*, the taste of different nations, they most hospitably entertain their comers according to the notions they have thus acquired. If a table be provided for *Englishmen* or for *Dutchmen*, they supply it copiously with *tea*. This pleasing and refreshing beverage was served every morning and evening while we remained, in large bowls, and we drank it out of pewter porringers. For this salutary gift the monks positively refused to accept our offers of compensation, at a time when a few drachms of any kind of tea could with difficulty be procured from the *English* ships in the *Mediterranean*, at the most enormous prices. Persons who have not travelled in these latitudes will perhaps not

readily conceive the importance of such an acquisition. The exhausted traveller, reduced by continual fever, and worn by incessant toil, without a hope of any comfortable repose, experiences in this infusion the most cooling and balsamic virtues¹: the heat of his blood abates; his spirits revive; his parched skin relaxes; his strength is renovated. As almost all the disorders of the country, and particularly those to which a traveller is most liable, originate in obstructed perspiration, the medical properties of *tea* in this country may perhaps explain the cause of its long celebrity in *CHINA*. *Jerusalem* is in the same latitude with *Nankin*, and it is eight degrees farther to the south than *Pekin*; the influence of climate and of medicine, in disorders of the body, may therefore, perhaps, be similar. Certain it is, that travellers in *China*, so long ago as the *ninth* century, mention an infusion made from the leaves of a certain

(1) "If, in the course of our travelling,

—— "We chanced to find

A new repast, or an untasted spring,

We bless'd our stars, and thought it luxury.

"This is the method of travelling in these countries; and these are its pleasures and amusements. Few, indeed, in comparison with the many toils and fatigues: fewer still, with regard to the greater perils and dangers that either continually alarm, or actually beset us." *Shaw's Travels*, Pref. p. xvii. Lond. 1757.

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VII. is proved to be the same now called *Tea* by
 European nations¹

In the commotions and changes that have taken place in *Jerusalem*, the Convent of *St. Salvador* has been often plundered and stripped of its effects. Still, however, the riches of the treasury are said to be considerable ; but the principal part of its wealth is very properly concealed from all chance of observation. At present, it has a small library, full of books of little value, the writings of polemical divines, and stale dissertations upon peculiar points of faith. We examined them carefully, but found

Library.

(1) "Le Roy se reserve aussi le revenu qui provient des mines de sel, et d'une herbe qu'ils boivent avec de l'eau chaude, dont il se vend une grande quantité dans toutes les villes, ce qui produit de grandes sommes. On l'appelle *Sah* ; et c'est un arbrisseau qui a plus de feuilles que le grenadier, et dont l'odeur est un peu plus agréable, mais qui a quelque amertume. On fait bouillir de l'eau, on la verse sur cette feuille ; et cette boisson les guérit de toutes sortes de maux." (*Anciennes Relations de deux Voyageurs Mahometans*, &c. p. 31. Paris, 1718.) *Eusebius Renaudot*, the learned French translator of the original *Arabic* manuscript of these Travels, in the Notes which he added to the Work, proves the plant here mentioned to have been the Tea Tree, called *Chak* by the Chinese, and by other Oriental nations *Tcha Cataï*, or *Sini* ; the *Tcha* of *Cataï*, or of *China*. (*Ibid.* p. 222.) "Notre auteur," says he, "est le plus ancien, et presque le seul des Arabes qui ait parlé de la boisson Chinoise, si commune présentement dans toute l'Europe, et connu sous le nom de *Thé*."

nothing so much worth notice as the *Oxford* edition of *Maundrell's Journey*. This volume some traveller had left: the worthy monks were very proud of it, although unable to read a syllable it contained. In the church, as well as in the chambers of the monastery, we noticed several pictures; all of which were bad, although some of them appeared to have been copied from originals that possessed greater merit. In the *Pilgrim's chamber*, a printed advertisement, pasted upon a board, is suspended from the wall, giving notice, that "NO PILGRIM SHALL BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN THE CONVENT LONGER THAN ONE MONTH:" a sufficient time, certainly, for all purposes of devotion, rest, or curiosity. The *Franciscans* complain heavily of the exactions of the *Turks*, who make frequent and large demands upon them for money; but the fact of their being able to answer these demands affords a proof of the wealth of the convent. Sir *Sidney Smith*, during his visit to *Jerusalem*, rendered them essential service, by remonstrating with the *Turkish Governor* against one of these *Avanias*, as they are called, and finally compelling him to withdraw the charge. The monks assured us, that the *English*, although *Protestants*, are the best friends the *Catholics* have in *Jerusalem*, and the most

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VII.Exactions
of the
Turks.

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effectual guardians of the *Holy Sepulchre*. This served, indeed, as a prelude to a request that we would also intercede for them with the Governor, by representing to him, that any ill usage offered to *Christians* would be resented by the *British* nation¹. We rendered them all the service in our power, and they were very thankful.

Manufac-
tures of
Jerusalem.

Friday, *July* 10.—This morning, our room was filled with *Armenians* and *Jews*, bringing for sale the only produce of the *Jerusalem* manufactures; *beads*, *crosses*, *shells*, &c. The

(1) They have since made a similar application to Mons. *De Châteaubriand*; and it appears, from his narrative, that they hold nearly the same language to all comers. "*They thought themselves saved*," says he, "*by the presence of one single Frenchman*." (*See Travels*, vol. 1. p. 387. Lond. 1811.) They had paid the *Turkish* Governor, the preceding year, 60,000 *piastres*; nor has there ever yet been an instance of their having refused to comply with his demands. Still Mons. *De Châteaubriand* maintains that they are "*very poor*." Admitting the injustice of the robberies committed upon them by the *Turks*, the mere fact of the booty so often obtained affords proof to the contrary. We believed them to be very rich. The attention and hospitality we experienced in this Convent demand the fullest acknowledgment. Whether their situation with regard to *Djezzar Pasha*, or the services we rendered them by our remonstrances with the Governor, was the cause of their refusing any remuneration from us, we did not learn. We could not prevail upon them to accept of payment for our board and lodging. Yet while we acknowledge this bounty, we should deem a statement of their *poverty* unjustifiable, knowing it to be false.

shells were of the kind we call *mother-of-pearl*, ingeniously, although coarsely, sculptured, and formed into various shapes. Those of the largest size, and the most perfect, are formed into clasps for the zones of the *Greek* women. Such clasps are worn by the ladies of *Cyprus*, *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and the islands of the *Archipelago*. All these, after being purchased, are taken to the Church of the *Holy Sepulchre*, where they receive a sort of benediction: after the same manner, *beads* and *crosses*, purchased at *Loretto* in *Italy*, are placed in a wooden bowl belonging to the house of the *Virgin Mary*, to be consecrated and worn as amulets. The *beads* are here manufactured, either from *date-stones*, or from a very hard kind of wood whose natural history we could not learn: it was called "*Mecca fruit*," and when first wrought, appeared of the colour of box: it is then dyed, yellow, black, or red. The *beads* are of various sizes; and they are all strung as rosaries; the smaller being the most esteemed, on account of the greater number requisite to fill a string, and the greater labour necessarily required in making them. They sell at higher prices when they have been long worn, because they have then acquired, by friction, a higher polish. This sort of trumpery is ridiculed by all

Mecca
Fruit.

CHAP.
VIL

travellers; but we cannot say it is scouted by any of them; for there has not been one who did not encourage the *Jerusalem* manufactories by the purchases he made. It offers an easy method of obtaining a large quantity of acceptable presents, which occupy little space, for the inhabitants of *Greek* and *Catholic* countries, as well as for *Turks* and *Arabs*. We provided ourselves with a considerable cargo, and found them useful in our subsequent journey. The custom of carrying such strings of *beads* was in use long before the *Christian* æra; and the practice of bearing them in the hand prevails, among men of rank, all over the *East*². This subject the author has already introduced into a former publication³; therefore its further

(1) So great a quantity is sometimes sent to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other countries, that it is sufficient for the entire freight of a vessel.

(2) The *Turks* call a string of ninety-nine beads, *Tespy*. This number of beads corresponds with their number of the attributes of the Deity. *Hamid Ali*, a late Vizier, wore one of pearl, valued at 300*l.* sterling. See *Dallaway's Constantinople*, p. 84. *Joseph Pitts* gives the following account of the manner in which the *Tespy* is used. "The *Tesbih* consists of ninety-nine beads, with a partition between every thirty-three: these they turn over; and for every one of the first thirty-three they say '*Subhan Allah*,' i. e. '*Admire God*.' For the second thirty-three, they say, '*El ham do l' Allah*,' i. e. '*Thanks be to God*.' And for the third thirty-three, '*Allah waik barik*.'" *Pitt's Account of the Mahometans*, p. 59. *London* 1738.

(3) See "*Greek Marbles*," pp. 78, 79. *Camb.* 1809. See also the necklace worn by *Isis*, as engraved in *Cuper's Harpocrates*, p. 109. *Utrecht*, 1687.

repetition here is unnecessary. It is not so easy to explain the origin of the *shell* worn as a badge by *pilgrims*⁴; but it decidedly refers to much earlier *Oriental* customs than the journeys of *Christians* to the *Holy Land*, and its history will probably be found in the antient mythology of *Eastern* nations. Among the substances which they had wrought in the manufacture of rosaries, and for amulets, we were glad to notice the black *fetid limestone* of the Lake *Asphaltites*; because it enabled us to procure very large specimens of this mineral, in its natural state. It is worn in the *East* as a charm against the plague; and that a similar superstition existed with regard to this stone in very early ages, is evident from the circumstance of our having afterwards found amulets of the same substance in the subterraneous chambers below the *Pyramids* of *Sachára*, in *Upper Egypt*. The cause of

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VII.

Fetid
Limestone.

(4) It was an antient symbol of *ASTARTE*, the *Syrian Goddess*, as *VENUS PELAGIA* (*ῥωδωποιον*); but, as the appropriate cognizance of a *pilgrim's hat*, is beautifully commemorated in the well-known ditty,—

“And how should I thy true-love know

“From any other one?”

“O, by his *cockle-hat* and staff,

“And by his sandal shoon.”

(5) “*Chaux carbonatée fétide*,” Haüy. “*Pierre puante*,” Lameth, tom. II. p. 58. “*Swinestone*,” Kirwan. “*Stinkstein*,” Brochant, tom. I. p. 567. “*Spathum frictione fatidum*,” Waller, tom. I. p. 148.

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the fetid effluvia emitted from this stone, when partially decomposed by means of friction, is now known to be owing to the presence of sulphureted *hydrogen*¹. All bituminous *limestone* does not possess this property. It is very common in the sort of limestone called *black marble* in *England*, though not always its characteristic. The workmen employed by stone-masons often complain of the unpleasant smell which escapes from it during their labours. Many of the ancient *Gothic* monuments in *France* consist of *fetid limestone*². The fragments which we obtained from the *Dead Sea*, had this property in a very remarkable degree: and it may generally be observed, that the *Oriental* specimens are more strongly impregnated with *hydro-sulphuret* than any which are found in *Europe*. The 'water of the *Dead Sea* has a similar odour. The monks of *St. Salvador* kept it in jars, together with the *bitumen* of the same lake, among the articles of their pharmacy; both the one and the other being alike esteemed for their medicinal properties.

Water of
the *Dead*
Sea.

We set out to visit what are called "the *Holy*

(1) *Brochant Minéralog.* tom. I. p. 568. *Paris*, 1808, &c.

(2) See *Romé de Lisle, Cristallog.* tom. I. p. 574.

Places." These have all been described by at least a hundred authors. From the Monastery we descended to the Church of the *Holy Sepulchre*; attended by several pilgrims, bearing with them rosaries and crucifixes for consecration in the *tomb* of JESUS CHRIST. Concerning the identity of this most memorable relic, there is every evidence but that which should result from a view of the *Sepulchre* itself. After an attentive perusal of all that may be adduced, and all that has been urged, in support of it, from *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, *Sozomen*, *Jerom*, *Severus*, and *Nicephorus*, it may be supposed that the question is for ever decided. If these testimonies be insufficient, "we might," says *Châteaubriand*³, "adduce those of *Cyrl*, of *Theodoret*, and even of the *Itinerary* from *Bordeaux* to *Jerusalem*" in the middle of the fourth century. From the time of the Emperor *Adrian*, when the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour was

(3) Mons. *De Châteaubriand*, whose work contains much illustration of this curious subject, after shewing that the *Church* of the *Holy Sepulchre* may possibly be referred to a period long anterior to the age of *Helena*, maintains, upon the evidence of a *Letter* written by the Emperor *Constantine* to *Macarius* bishop of *Jerusalem*, which is preserved by *Eusebius*, and upon the testimonies of *Cyrl*, *Theodoret*, and the *Itinerary* here cited, that its existence as far back as the time of *Constantine* cannot be disputed. See *Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c.* vol. II. p. 19. Lond. 1811.

almost in the memory of man, unto the age of *Constantine*, an image of *Jupiter* marked the site of the *Holy Sepulchre*¹, and *Mount Calvary* continued to be profaned by a statue of *Venus*². This powerful record of the means used by the *Pagans* to obliterate the rites of *Christianity*, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the *Tomb*, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt. *Theodoret*

(1) *Doubdan*, from *De Sponde*, mentions the year of *Adrian's* life when this happened : it was the last but one, A. D. 137. *Adrian* died A. D. 138. *De Châteaubriand* quotes the author of the "*Epitome of the Holy Wars*," to prove that, "forty-six years after the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, the *Christians* obtained permission of *Adrian* to build, or rather to rebuild, a church over the tomb of their God." (*Travels in Greece, Palastine, &c.* vol. II. p. 18. Lond. 1811.) This can hardly be true, consistently with the facts related by *Sozomen* (*lib. ii. c. 2*) ; and by *Jerom* (*Epist. ad Paulinum*), concerning the profanation of the *holy places* by that Emperor.

(2) "Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in Loco Resurrectionis SIMULACRUM JOVIS, in crucis rupe STATUA EX MARMORE VENERIS à Gentilibus posita colebatur ; existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus quòd tollerent nobis fidem Resurrectionis et Crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluisent." (*Hieronymus, Epist. ad Paulinum ; de Institut. Monac. c. 2. tom. I.* See also *Sozomen. Hist. lib. ii. c. 1.*) *Sozomen* relates, that the *Heathens* surrounded *Mount Calvary* with a wall, first covering the *holy places* with stones ; then erecting a temple of *Venus* ; and, lastly, placing in it the image of the goddess. *Dio Cassius* (*in Vit. Hadrian.*) says, that *Adrian* built a city upon the site of *Jerusalem*, which had been ruined, giving it the name of *Ælia Capitolina* ; and that in the place where the temple of GOD had been, he erected one to *Jupiter*.

affirms, that *Helena*, upon her arrival, found the *fane* of *Venus*³, and ordered it to be thrown down. To what then can be attributed the want of every document within the building now called the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, which might denote the site of such a monument? The *sepulchres of the Jews*, as it has been already maintained, were, in the age of the Crucifixion, of a nature to withstand every attack of time; they were excavations made in the *heart* of solid rocks, which even earthquakes would scarcely remove or alter. Indeed, we have evidence from the Gospel itself, that earthquakes, in certain instances, had no power over them; for the *sepulchre* of *Joseph of Arimathea*, made before the earthquake which accompanied the Crucifixion, is described⁵, after that event had taken place, as “his own new *tomb*, which he had hewn out of the rock.” Even the grooving for the stone at the door was unchanged and entire, for “he rolled the great

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(3) *Theodoret. lib. i. cap. 12. Paris, 1642.* This Greek Father also mentions the age of *Helena*, at the time she visited *Palæstine*. The journey took place a short time before her death, when she had attained her *eightieth* year. Few *octogenarian* ladies exhibit equal enterprise.

(4) See the observations in the last Chapter concerning the *sepulchres of Samaria*.

(5) *Matth. xxvii. 60. Mark xv. 46. Luke xxiii. 53. John xix. 41.*

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stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed¹;" and it was afterwards "sealed and made sure²." *Quaresmius*, by an engraving³ for the illustration of the mode of burial then practised, has shewn, according to a model familiar to the learned monk from his residence in the *Holy Land* where such *sepulchres* now exist, the sort of *tomb* described by the Evangelists.⁴ But there is nothing of this kind in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*; nothing that can be reconciled with the history of our SAVIOUR'S burial. In order to do away this glaring inconsistency, it is affirmed that *Mount Calvary* was levelled for the foundations of the church; that the word *ὄρος*, *mons*, does not necessarily signify a *mountain*, but sometimes a *small hill*; that the *sepulchre* of CHRIST alone remained after this *levelling* had taken place, in the centre of the area; and that this was encased with *marble*!—not a syllable of which is supported by any existing evidence offered in the contemplation of what is now

(1) *Matth.* xxvii. 60.

(2) *Ibid.* v. 66. "So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone."

(3) *Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. p. 529. *Antwerp.* 1639.

called the *Tomb*. Let us therefore proceed to describe what really remains.

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We came to a goodly structure, whose external appearance resembled that of any common *Roman-Catholic* church. Over the door we observed a *bas-relief*, executed in a style of sculpture meriting more attention than it has hitherto received. At first sight, it seemed of higher antiquity than the existence of any place of *Christian* worship; but, upon a nearer view, we recognised the history of the MESSIAH'S entry into *Jerusalem*—the multitude strewing palm-branches before him. The figures were very numerous. Perhaps it may be considered as offering an example of the first work in which *Pagan* sculptors represented a *Christian* theme. Entering the church, the first thing they shewed to us was a slab of white marble in the pavement, surrounded by a balustrade. It seemed like one of the grave-stones in the floor of our *English* churches. This, they told us, was the spot where our SAVIOUR'S body was anointed by *Joseph of Arimathea*. We next advanced towards a dusty fabric, standing, like a huge pepper-box, in the midst of the principal aisle, and beneath the main dome. This rested upon a building partly circular, and partly

Sepulchre
of the
Messiah.

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Its Identity dis-
puted.

oblong, as upon a pedestal¹. The interior of this strange fabric is divided into two parts. Having entered the first part, which is a kind of antechapel, they shew you, before the mouth of what is called the SEPULCHRE, the *stone* whereon the *Angel* sat: this is a block of white *marble*, neither corresponding with the mouth of the *sepulchre*, nor with the substance from which it must have been hewn; for the rocks of *Jerusalem* are all of common compact limestone². *Shaw*, speaking of the *Holy Sepulchre*, says³, that all the surrounding rocks were cut away, to form the level of the church; so that now it is "*a Grotto above ground.*" but even this is

(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter, taken from DOUBDAN, (*Voyage de la T. S.* p. 82. *Par.* 1657.) which shews the *Sanctuary* as it formerly existed, with *pointed arches*. But the Reader wishing to have further testimony with regard to the former existence of "*pointed arches*" at the "*Holy Sepulchre*," may consult the accurate delineations made of those arches upon the spot by *Bernardino*, an artist of *Gallipoli*, ("*Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Sancte*," &c. *Firenze*, 1620.) as they were made expressly for the use of architects desirous of introducing models of the *Holy Sepulchre* into ecclesiastical buildings. *Bernardino's* work exhibits the building as it existed prior to its reparation, when the *Coptic* chapel was added on its western side. At present, only one *pointed arch* remains; and this is over the entrance, as engraved in *Le Bruyn's Travels*, tom. II. p. 242. *Par.* 1725.

(2) According to some, however, the *stone* belonging to the mouth of the *Sepulchre* is preserved elsewhere; and this is said to be a part of the *tomb*, placed to receive the kisses of the pilgrims.

(3) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 264. *Lond.* 1757.

not true: there are no remains whatsoever of any antient known *sepulchre*, that, with the most attentive and scrupulous examination, we could possibly discover. The sides consist of thick slabs of that beautiful *breccia*, vulgarly called *Verde-antique* marble; and over the entrance, which is rugged and broken, owing to the pieces carried off as relics, the substance is of the same nature. All that can therefore now be affirmed with any shadow of reason, is this; that, if *Helena* had reason to believe she could identify the spot where the sepulchre was, she took especial care to remove every trace of it, in order to introduce the fanciful and modern work which now remains. The place may be the same pointed out to her; but not

(3) These objections are not new; they were urged long ago; and *Quaresmus* undertook to answer them. The Reader may be amused by the style in which he opens his refutation. "*Audivi nonnullos nebulones Occidentales hereticos detrahentes iis quæ dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sepulchro, et nullius momenti ratiunculis negantes illud verè esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu,*" &c. &c. (*Vid. cap. 14. lib. v. Elucid. T. S.*) This chapter is entitled "OBJECTIONES NONNULLÆ QUIBUS IMPUGNATUR VERITAS SANCTISSIMI SEPULCHRI." In the next (*chap. xv.*) he undertakes to refute the objections made by *Gulielmus de Baldensel*; and these are precisely the same now urged by the author. "*Monumentum Christi,*" says *G. de Baldensel*, "*erat excisum in petrâ vivâ, &c. illud verè ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cemento.*" *Quaresmus* says, this objection applied only to the external covering of the *Sepulchre*; but this is not true.

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a remnant of the original *sepulchre* can now be ascertained. Yet, with our sceptical feelings thus awakened, it may prove how powerful the effect of sympathy is, if we confess that, when we entered into the supposed *sepulchre*, and beheld, by the light of lamps, there continually burning, the venerable figure of an aged monk, with streaming eyes, and a long white beard, pointing to the place "*where the body of our Lord was*," and calling upon us "to kneel and experience pardon for our sins"—we did kneel, and we participated in the feelings of more credulous pilgrims. Captain *Culverhouse*, in whose mind the ideas of religion and of patriotism were inseparable, with firmer emotion, drew from its scabbard the sword he had so often wielded in the defence of his country, and placed it upon the *tomb*.• Humbler comers heaped the memorials of an accomplished pilgrimage; and while their sighs alone interrupted the silence of the sanctuary, a solemn service was begun. Thus ended our visit to the *Sepulchre*.

If the reader have caught a single spark of this enthusiasm, it were perhaps sacrilegious to dissipate the illusion. But much remains untold. Every thing beneath this building seems

discordant, not only with history, but with common sense. It is altogether such a work as might naturally be expected from the infatuated superstition of an old woman, as was *Helena*, subsequently enlarged by ignorant priests. Forty spaces from the *Sepulchre*, beneath the roof of the same *church*, and upon the same level, are shewn two rooms, one above another. Close by the entrance to the lower chamber, or chapel, are the Tombs of *Godfrey of Boulogne*, and of *Baldwin*, kings of *Jerusalem*, with inscriptions in *Latin*, in the old *Gothic* character. These have been copied into almost every book of Travels, from the time of *Sandys*' to the present day. At the extremity of this chapel they exhibit a *fissure* or *cleft* in the natural rock; and this, they say, happened at the *Crucifixion*. Who shall presume to contradict the tale? but, to complete the *naïveté* of the tradition, it is also added, that THE HEAD OF ADAM WAS FOUND WITHIN THE FISSURE. Then, if the traveller have not already heard and seen enough to make him regret his wasted time, he may ascend, by a few steps, into a

(1) See *Sandys' Travels*, p. 163. *Lond.* 1637. *Doubdan Voyage de la T. S.* p. 71. *Paris*, 1657, &c. &c.

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room above. There they will shew him the same crack again; and immediately in front of it, a modern altar. This altar they venerate as *Mount Calvary*, the place of crucifixion; exhibiting upon this contracted piece of masonry the marks, or holes, of the *three crosses*, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection. Afterwards he may be conducted through such a farrago of absurdities, that it is wonderful the learned men, who have described *Jerusalem*, should have filled their pages with any serious detail of them. Nothing, however, can surpass the fidelity with which *Sandys* has particularized every circumstance of all this trumpery; and his rude cuts are characterized by equal exactness. Among others, should be mentioned the place where the *Cross* was found; because the identity of the timber, which has since supplied all Christendom with its relics², was confirmed by a miracle³,—proof equally infallible

(1) These designs were first cut for *Colovicus*, in brass; and re-engraved, on the same metal, for *Sandys*.

(2) "Another time he was telling of an old sign-post that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war." *Tale of a Tub*. See *Swift's Works*, vol. I. p. 79. *Edinb.* 1761.

(3) The *Jews*, being tortured, by the dotting old *Empress* and her priests, to make known, three hundred years after the *Crucifixion*, the situation

with that afforded by the eagle at the tomb of *Theseus*, in the Isle of *Scyra*, when *Cimon* the *Athenian* sought the bones of the son of *Ægeus*⁴. CHAP.
VII.

It is time to quit these degrading fallacies; to break from our *Monkish* instructors; and, instead of viewing *Jerusalem* as *pilgrims*, to examine it by the light of History, with the Bible in our hands. We shall thus find many interesting objects of contemplation. If *Mount Calvary* have sunk beneath the overwhelming influence of superstition, studiously endeavouring, during so many ages, to modify and to disfigure it; if the situation of *Mount Sion* yet remain to be ascertained^b; the *Mount of Olives*, undisguised by fanatical labours, exhibits the appearance it presented in all the periods of its history. From its elevated summit almost all the principal features of the city may be discerned; and the changes that eighteen

Plan for
the Survey
of the City.

situation of our Saviour's cross, contrived at last to produce three crosses. This caused a woful dilemma, as it was not easy to ascertain which of those three belonged to our SAVIOUR. *Macarius*, bishop of *Jerusalem*, soon decided this point, by touching the body of a woman who had "an incurable disorder" with these crosses. Her miraculous cure made known "the true cross." See *Sandys*, p. 169. *Lond.* 1637.

(4) *Plutarch*. in *Thes*.

(5) See *Reland. Palest. Illust.* tom. II. pp. 845, 846, et seq. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

centuries have wrought in its topography may perhaps be ascertained. The features of Nature continue the same, although works of art have been done away: the beautiful Gate of the Temple is no more; but *Siloa's* fountain haply flows, and *Kedron* sometimes murmurs in the Valley of *Jehosaphat*¹.

It was this resolve, and the determination of using our own eyes, instead of peering through the spectacles of priests, that led to the discovery of antiquities undescribed by any author: and marvellous it is, considering their magnitude, and the scrutinizing inquiry which has been so often directed to every object of the place, that these antiquities have hitherto escaped notice². It is possible that their position, and their *inscriptions*, may serve to throw new light upon the situation of *SION*, and the topography of the antient city. This, however, will be a subject for the investigation of future travellers. We must content ourselves with

(1) "Torrens hic est verò nomine, quum æstivo tempore flumen esse desinat, et vallis nomen habeat, adeoque sicco pede transeat." *Reland's Pal. Ilust. tom. I. p. 294. lib. i. cap. 45.*

(2) Perhaps *Sandys* alludes to them in his brief notice of "*divers Sepulchres*," &c. following his description of *ACELDAMA*. See p. 187. *Lond. 1637.*

barely mentioning their situation, and the circumstances of their discovery. We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of *Sion*: it is situate upon the south side of *Jerusalem*, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the mount. If this be indeed *Mount Sion*, the prophecy³ concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the *Turks* have a mosque over what they call the *Tomb of David*. No *Christian* can gain admittance; and as we did not choose to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the mount⁴, having quitted the city by what is called "*Sion Gate*," we descended into a dingle or trench, called *Tophet*, or *Gehinnon*, by *Sandys*. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping towards the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, we observed upon the sides of the opposite mountain, (which appears to be the same called by *Sandys*

Discovery
made by
the Author.

(3) *Micah* iii. 12.

(4) That is to say "where Christ did eat his last supper; where, also, after his resurrection, the doores being shut, he appeared to his Apostles, when they received the Holy Ghost; where Peter converted three thousand; and where, as they say also, they held the first Council, in which the Apostles Creed was decreed." See *Sandys' Travels*, p. 185. *Lond.* 1637.

(5) See the author's *Plan of Jerusalem*.

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the “*Hill of Offence*,”) facing *Mount Sion*, a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those already described among the Ruins of *Telmessus*, in the Gulph of *Glaucus*; and answering to the account published by *Shaw*¹ of the *Cryptæ* of *Laodicea*, *Jebilee*, and *Tortosa*. We rode towards them; their situation being very little elevated above the bottom of the dingle, upon its southern side. When we arrived, we instantly recognised the sort of *sepulchres* which had so much interested us in *Asia Minor*, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workmanship, exhibiting a series of subterraneous chambers, hewn with marvellous art, each containing one, or many repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers². The doors were so low, that, to look into any one of them, it was necessary to stoop, and, in some instances, to creep upon our hands and knees: these doors were also *grooved*, for the reception of immense stones, once squared

(1) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 263. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) In the writings of the Prophets, frequent allusions occur to similar places of sepulture: thus, *Isaiah* xiv. 15, 18. *Ezekiel* xxxii. 20, &c.

and fitted to the *grooves*, by way of closing the entrances. Of such a nature were, indisputably, the *tombs* of the sons of *Heth*, of the Kings of *Israel*, of *Lazarus*, and of *CHRIST*. This has been also proved by *Shaw*³; but the subject has been more satisfactorily elucidated by the learned *Quaresmius*, in his dissertation concerning antient *sepulchres*⁴. The cœmeteries of the Antients were universally excluded from the precincts of their cities⁵. In order, therefore, to account for the seeming contradiction implied by the situation of the place now shewn as the tomb of the *MESSIAH*, it is pretended that it was originally on the outside of the walls of *Jerusalem*; although a doubt must necessarily arise as to the want of sufficient space for the population of the city, between a boundary so situate and the hill which is now called *Mount Sion*.

(3) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 263. *Lond.* 1757.

(4) Vide cap. vii. ("*de formâ et qualitate veterum Sepulchrorum.*") *Elucid. T. S. Quaresmi*, tom. II. p. 127. *Antv.* 1639.

(5) This is evident, from a view of the ruins of all antient cities in the *East*, as well as from the accounts left by authors concerning their mode of burial. In a preceding chapter of *Quaresmius*, (cap. vi. lib. iv. tom. II. p. 125.) "*DE SEPULCHRORUM SITU,*" he says, "*Quoad locum et situm sepulchrorum dicendum est, ea eligi solita extra civitates in suburbis et hortis.*" It was a violation of the laws of the country to bury any corpse within the walls of a city. (*Vid. Cicer. 2. de Legibus.*) Would it were so among modern nations! "*HOMINEM MORTUUM (inquit Plato, lib. xii. de Legibus) IN URBEM NE SEPELITO.*" *Quaresm. ibid.* p. 126.

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The *sepulchres* we are now describing bear, in their very nature, a satisfactory proof of their being situate out of the *antient* city, as they are now out of the *modern*. They are not to be confounded with those *tombs*, commonly called “*the Sepulchres of the Kings*,” to the north of *Jerusalem*, believed to be the burial-place of *Helena*, queen of *Adiabéné*. Some of them, from their magnificence, and the immense labour necessary to form the numerous repositories they contain, might lay claim to *régal* honours; and there is one which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of inhuming a single individual. The *Karaites*, of all other *Jews* the most tenacious in adhering to the customs of their ancestors, have, from time immemorial, been in the practice of bringing their dead to this place for interment; although this fact were not wanted to prove it an antient *Jewish* cœmetery, as will appear in the sequel. The *sepulchres* themselves, according to the antient custom, are stationed in the midst of gardens. From all these circumstances are we not authorised to look here for the *Sepulchre* of *Joseph of Arimathea*, who, as a pious *Jew*, necessarily had his burying-place in the cœmetery of his countrymen, among the graves of his forefathers? The *Jews* are remarkable for their rigid adherence to this custom: they

Inference
derived
from the
discovery.

adorned their burial-places with *trees* and *gardens*: and the *tomb* of this *Jew* is accordingly described as being in a GARDEN; “*in the place where our Saviour was crucified*’.” It is moreover worthy of observation, that every one of the Evangelists (and, among these, “he that saw it, and bare record”;) affirm, that the place of Crucifixion was “*the place of a Scull*,” that is to say, a *public Coemetry*’, “called, in the Hebrew GOLGOTHA;” *Golgotha, or Calvary.* without the city, and very near to one of its gates. St. *Luke* calls it CALVARY, which has the same signification. The *church*, now supposed to mark the site of the *Holy Sepulchre*, does not exhibit any evidence which might entitle it to either of these appellations. It may therefore be surmised, that upon the opposite summit, now called *Mount Sion*, without the walls, the *Crucifixion* of the MESSIAH was actually accomplished? Perhaps some evidences, that we

(1) *John* xix. 41.

(2) *Ibid.* ver. 35.

(3) *Reland* says, that the hill was called *Golgotha*, from its resemblance to the shape of a human scull.—“*Golgotham collem exiguum à formâ cranii humani dictum, quam referebat, notum est.*” (*Palestina Illustrata*, lib. iii. tom. II. p. 860. Utrecht, 1714.) But the words of the Gospel do not imply this. The hill is expressly denominated “*the place of a Scull*” by all the *Evangelists*. And, indeed, the circumstance of the *Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea* being there situate, is a complete proof that it was a *place of burial*.

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obtained, may further illustrate this most interesting subject.

Upon all the *sepulchres* at the base of this mount, which, “*as the place of a scull,*” we have the authority of Scripture for calling either *Calvary* or *Golgotha*, whether it be the place of *crucifixion* or not, there are *inscriptions*, in *Hebrew* and in *Greek*. The *Hebrew* inscriptions are the most effaced : of these it is difficult to make any tolerable copy. Besides the injuries they have sustained by time, they have been covered by some carbonaceous substance, which rendered the task of transcribing them yet more arduous. The *Greek* inscriptions are brief, and legible ; they consist of immense letters deeply carved in the face of the rock, either over the door, or by the side, of the *sepulchres*. Upon the *first* we observed these characters :

Greek
Inscriptions.

+ THCAΓIAC
CIWN

“ OF · THE · HOLY
SION ”

Having entered by the door of this *sepulchre*, we found a spacious chamber cut in the rock, connected with a series of other subterraneous

apartments; one leading into another, and containing an extensive range of receptacles for the dead, as in those excavations before alluded to, (but which appear to be of more recent date,) lying to the *north of Jerusalem*, at a more considerable distance from the city; and also as in the *Cryptæ* of the *Necropolis* near *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Opposite to the entrance, but lower down in the rock, a second; and a similar aperture, led to another chamber beyond the first. Over the entrance to this, we also observed an *inscription*, nearly obliterated, but differing from the first, by the addition of two letters:

+ H N T H C
A Γ I A C C I W N

When we had penetrated to the extremity of this *second* chamber, we could proceed no farther, owing to the rubbish which obstructed our passage. Perhaps the removal of this may, at some future period, lead to other discoveries. It was evident that we had not reached the remotest part of these caverns. There were others with similar *Greek* inscriptions, and one which particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances connected with the history of our SAVIOUR'S *Tomb*. The large stone that once

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Remark-
able Tomb.

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closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. *Stooping* down to look into it, we observed, within, a fair *sepulchre*, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to the hill which is now called *Mount Sion*. As we viewed this *sepulchre*, and read upon the spot the description given of the coming of *Mary Magdalene* and the *Disciples*, in the morning¹, it was difficult to divest our minds of the probability that here might have been the identical *Tomb* of *JESUS CHRIST*; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the *Disciples* strove together², when "*John* did outrun *Peter*, and came first to the *Sepulchre*." They are individually described as *stooping* down to look into it³; they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing a *stone*⁴, which, when once fixed and sealed, might have baffled every human effort. But upon this *sepulchre*, as upon the others before mentioned, instead of a *Hebrew* or a *Phœnician*

(1) *John* xx.(2) *Ibid.* xx. 4.(3) *Ibid.* verr. 5, 11.(4) "And they said among themselves, 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the *Sepulchre*?'—(And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away) for it was very great." *Mark* xvi. 3, 4.

inscription, there were the same *Greek* characters, destitute only of the *Greek cross* prefixed in the former instances. The *inscription* stood thus, CHAP.
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T H C A T I A C
C I W N

the letters being very large, and deeply carved in the rugged surface of the rock.

The *Hebrew Inscriptions*, instead of being over the entrances, were by the side of the doors. Having but little knowledge of the characters in which they were written, all that could be attempted was, to make as faithful a representation as possible of every incision upon the stone, without attempting to supply any thing by conjecture; and even admitting, in certain instances, doubtful traces, which were perhaps casualties caused by injuries the stone had sustained, without any reference to the legend. The following characters appeared upon the side of the entrance to a

(5) A copy of one of these *Inscriptions* was since exhibited to some learned *Jews*. These men recognised the *Hebrew* character, and would have made such alteration in the transcript as might serve to develop more fully the imperfect parts of it, and lead to an explanation of some of the words. This was not permitted; because conjecture, by introducing more than is warranted by the original, would rather

occurs here, as in the *Inscriptions at Tel-messus*. CHAP.
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All the face of this mountain, along the dingle described as the Vale of *Gehinnon* by *Sandys*, is marked by similar excavations. Some of these, as may be seen by reference to a former Note, did not escape his searching eye; although he neglected to observe their *inscriptions*, probably from keeping the beaten track of pilgrims going from *Mount Sion* to the *Mount of Olives*, and neglecting to cross the valley in order to examine them more nearly. The top of the mountain is covered by ruined walls and the remains of sumptuous edifices: these he also noticed; but he does not even hint at their origin. Here again we are at a loss for information; and future travellers will be aware of the immense field of inquiry which so many undescribed monuments belonging to *Jerusalem* offer to their observation. If the foundations and ruins, as of a *citadél*, may be traced all over this eminence, the probability is, that this was the real *Mount Sion*; that the *Gehinnon* of *Sandys*, and of many other writers, was in fact the Valley of *Millo*, called *Tyropæon* by *Josephus*

Conjecture
respecting
*Mount
Sion.*

(2) *De Bell. Jud.* lib. vi. c. 6.

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which separated *Sion* from *Mount Moriah*; and extended as far as the Fountain *Siloe*, where it joined the Valley of *Jehosaphat*. The *sepulchres* will then appear to have been situated beneath the walls of the *citadel*, as was the case in many antient cities. Such was the situation of the *Grecian* sepulchres in the *Crimea*, belonging to the antient city of *Chersonesus*, in the *Minor Peninsula* of the *Heracleotæ*¹. The *Inscriptions* already noticed seem to favour this position: and if hereafter it should ever be confirmed, “the remarkable things belonging to *Mount Sion*,” of which *Pococke* says² there are no remains in the hill now bearing that appellation, will in fact be found here,—“the *Garden* of the *Kings*, near the *Pool of Siloam*, where *Manasseh* and *Amon*, kings of *Judah*, were buried;” the cœmety of the kings of *Judah*; the traces and remains of *Herod’s* palaces, called after the names of *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*; “together with the other places mentioned by *Nehemiah*.” All along the side of this mountain, and in the rocks above the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, upon the eastern side of *Jerusalem*

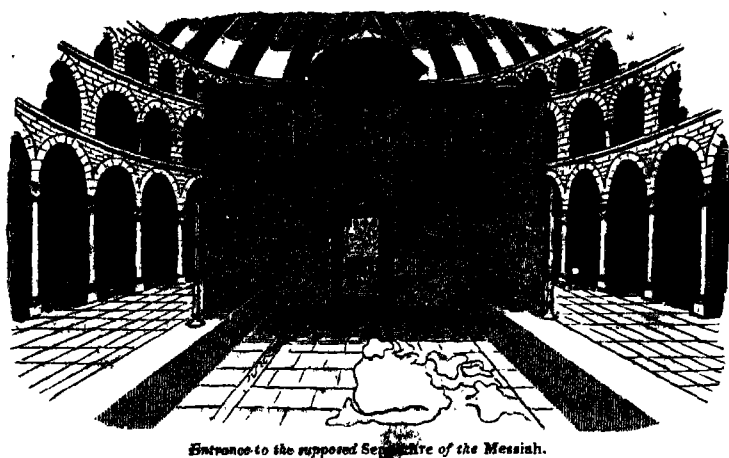
(1) See the First Part of these Travels, octavo Edit. vol. II. p. 209.

(2) Description of the *East*, vol. II. Part I. p. 9. *Lond.* 1745.

(3) *Ibid.*

as far as the *sepulchres* of *Zecharias* and *Absalom*, and above these, almost to the top of the Mount of *Olives*, the *Jews* resident in the city bury their dead, adhering still to the cœmetary of their ancestors: but having long lost the art of constructing such immense *sepulchres* as those which have been here described, they content themselves with placing *Hebrew* inscriptions upon small upright slabs of *marble*, or of common *limestone*, raised after the manner at present generally in use throughout the *East*..

(4) See the Plans of *Jerusalem*, in the volumes of *Sandys*, *Doubdan*, *Quaresmius*, *Shaw*, and *Pococke*. Those in *Quaresmius* (*Elucid. T. S. p. 38. tom. II. Antv. 1639.*) are taken from *Brocardus* and *Villalpandus*, and adapted to their descriptions. That of *Sandys* is the best. See also the Plan engraved for this Work.



Entrance to the supposed Sepulchre of the Messiah.

CHAP. VIII.

THE HOLY LAND—JERUSALEM.

The Subject continued—Identity of the Sepulchre again contested—Origin of its supposed Locality—Improbability of the Tale—Further View of the Jewish Cœmeteries—Aceldama—Inscriptions—Antient Paintings—Age of the CRYPTÆ—Fountain Siloa, and Oak Rogel—Mount of Olives—View from the Summit—Difference between the Modern and Antient City—Situation of Mount Sion—Pagan Remains upon Mount Olivet—Their possible Origin—Ascent of David—LAKE ASPHALTITES—General appearance of Judæa—Miraculous Impression of our Saviour's Foot—GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE—

GETSEMANE—*Olives of the Mount—Tomb of the Virgin Mary—Sepulchres of the Patriarchs—Bazars—Sepulchres of the Kings—their real History—Mosque of OMAR—Existing evidence of Julian's discomfiture—Observations of Mosheim and Moyle—Greek and Armenian Convents—State of Politics in Jerusalem.*

PERHAPS it may now be manifest, that so far from deriving accurate notions of the topography and antiquities of *Jerusalem* from the descriptions of former writers,* these objects really remain for future investigation. If, during an endeavour to remove existing prejudices, and to excite a due contempt for *Monkish* errors, the subject seems rather perplexed than elucidated, it is because, in the subversion of a fabric raised by Ignorance and Superstition, its parts must necessarily lie scattered and confused. The materials have been falsely put together, but they are genuine; and others, coming after, will arrange and connect them in a more reasonable manner. Since the period of the author's visit to *Jerusalem*, the building which had received the appellation of the *Church of Mount Calvary* has been destroyed by fire. In all probability it will now be seen, that what was called the *Holy Sepulchre* was a mere delusion—a *Monkish* juggler; that there was, in fact, neither *crypt* nor *soros*, resembling a *Jewish* place of burial, beneath the

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dome of that building; that we must look elsewhere for the place of our SAVIOUR's Tomb; and that the city never was so limited in its extent, towards the *north-west*, as to admit of a wall in that situation. A *sepulchre*, such as was that of the MESSIAH, 'being, of all others, the least liable to injury, would remain in spite of the devouring element. It is, perhaps, not impossible to develop the true cause of the selection made by *Helena*, in fixing upon that spot as the place of crucifixion. Persons who have been accustomed to compare the manners of different countries, must be well aware how general the practice is, among all nations, of connecting with a *Lusus Naturæ*, or any extraordinary physical appearance, some wild and superstitious fantasy. Thus in the similitude of a *hand* in the surface of a rock, as at 'Nazareth'; of a *foot*, as at the *Mount of Olives*²; any remarkable shape in a log of wood, as in the *Palladium* of antient *Ilium*³;

(1) See Chap. IV. of this volume, p. 178.

(2) "There standeth a little Chappell paved with the naturall rocke, which beareth the *impression of a footstep*; they say of our Saviour's." *Sandys' Travels*, p. 166. *Lond.* 1637.

(3) The *Palladium*, like many other of the antient idols of *Greece*, was, according to some authors, nothing more than a piece of wood, of an extraordinary form. *Heyné*, in his *Excursus*, says that the *Palladium* and the *Penates* were *ligna*. See also *Ovid's* account of the preservation of the *Palladium* by *Metellus*, when the Capitol was on fire.

the places venerated by *Laplanders*⁴, and the idols worshipped by the *Chinese*⁵; in short, in every country of the earth where uncultivated man is found, Fear, the parent of Superstition, has pointed out objects of adoration, or multiplied articles of faith. The state of human intellect is not less degraded among *Christians* of the *Holy Land*, making prostrations and processions before *stocks* and *roots*⁶, than among the forlorn worshippers of *Thor*, the *loggerheaded idol* of *Northern nations*⁷. Such superstitions disgraced

(4) "Loca quæ Lapponibus sancta erant et religiosa, *singulari quiddam et inusitatâ formâ et figurâ* a reliquis distinguebantur." *Lemü Comment. de Lappon. &c.* p. 442. *Hafn.* 1767.

(5) "In *Cuchiung*, near to *Hangam*, there is a great stone, &c. which they cover yearly quite over with gold, and then worship it." *Nieuhoff's Dutch Embassy to China, englished by Ogilby*, p. 224. *Lond.* 1669.

(6) See the account given by *Quaresmius* of a *Lusus Naturæ* found near *Jerusalem*, to which miraculous powers were ascribed in healing diseases. Also the engraving "CRUCIFIXI EX LILII RADICE, PRODIGIOSA ET NOVA IMAGO." The representation really excites horror. Speaking of it, he says, "*Mirabilis est virtutis et efficaciæ: illo et enim aqua benedicuntur, quæ etiam post unum, etsi in parvo vase recondita, incorrupta ac velut recens à fonte hausta invenitur: febricitantibus feliciter propinatur, qui et sanitatis inde beneficium consequuntur. Ad eum (i. e. possessorem) habentur stationes et processiones, et in quibusvis afflictionum et tribulationum necessitatibus, pos Deum, ad illum confluent fideles, ut ab omni animi at corporis adversitate liberari, et necessariis bonis dñari mereantur.*" *Elucidat. T. S. lib. iv. c. 10. tom. II. p. 18. Antv.* 1639.

(7) *Thor*, or 'the Thunderer,' of Northern nations, (See *Verstegan's 'Restitution of Decayed Intelligence,'* p. 75. *Lond.* 1628.) from whom our *Thor's Day*, or *Thursday*, is derived, is always an image of

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both the *Greek* and the *Catholic* churches long after the time of *Constantine*: and *Helena*, whether the daughter of a *British Prince*¹, or of an inn-keeper at *Drepanum*², cannot be supposed to have possessed attainments beyond the age in which she lived, or the circumstances of her origin. That she was amiable,—that she merited, by her virtues, her exalted station, has not been disputed; but her transactions in *Palæstine* bear the stamp of dotage and infirmity. Few things, considering her sex and the burthen of her years, have occurred more extraordinary than was her journey to the *Holy Land*, and its consequences. Whatsoever might have been her mental endowments, her bodily energies, at a season of life³ when human strength is said to be “but labour and sorrow,” were superior to the weight of age, and to the fatigues of a pilgrimage sufficient to

wood among the *Laplanders*. The account given of it by *Scheffer* proves it to have been the trunk of a tree, having at one end an accidental similitude of the human head. See *Scheffer's Hist. of Lapl.* p. 103. *Lond.* 1704.

(1) “*Filia fuit unius Britanniae Reguli, Coel nomine.*” *Quaresmii Eluc. T. S.* tom. II. p. 424.

(2) “*Τὴν πόλιν Δρέπανον, Ἐλενόπολιν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, προσηγόρευε. Οἱ πύδου Δρέπανου, μητέρα ἰσχυροῦς, Ἐλενόπολιν ἀπέκλειπεν.*” *Nicéphorus Callistus*, lib. vii. c. 49. *Paris*, 1630.

(3) “*Paulo ante mortem, quam octogesimum ætatis agens oppetebat, stud iter fecit.*” *Theodoret.* lib. i. cap. 18. *Paris*, 1642.

have exhausted the most vigorous youth⁴. Nothing could surpass the zeal with which she visited every spot consecrated by the actions of JESUS CHRIST, and by his *Apostles*⁵, from the hills of *Jerusalem* to the shores of the *Sea of Galilee*, and over all *Samaria*, nor the piety with which she endeavoured to perpetuate the remembrance of the *holy places* by the monuments she erected⁶. But, after all, the manner in which the identity of any of those places was ascertained seems not less an object of derision, than the gross superstition, founded upon their supposed discovery, has long been of contempt. From the time of *Adrian*, to that of *Constantine*, *Jerusalem* had been possessed by *Pagans*: *HELENA* arrives, overturns their temples, and prepares to identify the situation of every place connected with our SAVIOUR's history. The first thing to be ascertained is the site of *Mount Calvary*. An accidental fissure in one of the rocks of *Jerusalem* suggests the idea of a possible consequence

(4) "Cum ætate recipiens incrementa virtutum, sexu et ætate quidem infirma, sed divinâ virtute promptior et fortior reddita," &c. *Quaresm. Elucid. T. S. lib. v. cap. 28. Antv. 1639.*

(5) Vid. *Nicephor. lib. viii. c. 30. Paris, 1630.*

(6) *Nicephorus, (ibid.)* after enumerating twenty-six churches and chapels built by *Helena* in the *Holy Land*, adds, "*Quin et plures ecclesias alias in sanctis illis locis, supra triginta, amantissima Dei femina Imperatoris mater condidit.*"

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resulting from the præternatural convulsion of Nature at the *Crucifixion*, and is immediately adopted as an indication of the spot. This *fissure* had been already an object of traditionary superstition, as the repository of the body or the head of *Adam*¹. It served to identify the place². The ground is ordered to be cleared for the foundations of a church. That which never indicated even an ascent, by means of a raised altar and a *flight of steps*, becomes a *mount*, and is called *Calvary*³. The *Pagan* idols in its neighbourhood are thrown down and removed⁴; the *Holy Sepulchre* itself, a few yards from this *fissure*, and upon the same level with it, is after-

Identity of
the *Holy*
Sepulchre
again con-
tested.

(1) "Venit enim ad me traditio quædam talis, quod corpus *Adæ* primi hominis ibi sepultum est, ubi crucifixus est Christus: ut sicut in *Adam* omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo, qui dicitur *Calvarie* locus, *ad est locus capitis*, caput humani generis *Adam* resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, et resurrexit." *Origen. Tract. 35. in Matth.* See also *Hieronym. in cap. 27 Matth.* *Cyrill. et Basil. in cap. 5 Isaiæ.* *Athanasius in lib. de Passione Domini, &c. &c.*

(2) "Sicut Apostolus dicit, (2 *Cor.* xi. 3.) 'OMNIS VIRI CAPUT EST CHRISTUS.' O magnam propheticam appellationem!" *Cyrill. Catech. 13. Fid. Quaresm. lib. v. c. 4. tom. II. p. 489. Antv. 1679.* Hear also *Jerom*: "Audiui quemdam exposuisse *Calvarie* locum in quo sepultus est *Adam*; et ideo sic appellatum esse, quia ibi antiqui hominis sit conditum caput." *Hieronym. in cap. 27 Matth. Quaresmius, lib. v. c. 14. tom. II. p. 488.*

(3) "E sacratissimo *Calvarie* monte *per scalam*, quam antea ascendimus, descendimus." *Quaresm. lib. v. tom. II. p. 481.*

(4) *Theodoret. Hist. lib. i. cap. 18. Paris, 1642.*

wards said to be discovered beneath a heap of earth and stones⁵; although, as a Jewish *Crypt*, its being described as thus buried seems to imply an impossibility. Nothing remains to complete the furniture of the Sanctuary, but the discovery of the *Cross*: this an old *Jew*, menaced and tormented, speedily brings to light, with two others that were not required⁶. *Macarius*, bishop of *Jerusalem*, receives orders to superintend and complete the execution of a most magnificent Sanctuary⁷; and *Helena*, triumphant in the success of her journey, returns from the

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(5) *Euseb. in Vit. Constantini*, lib. iii. c. 24, &c. *Paris*, 1659.

(6) The account of the supposed discovery of "the three Crosses," as related by *Adrichomius*, is too long for insertion here; but it offers a curious picture of deplorable superstition, long prevalent on this subject; and renders it doubtful, whether *Helena*, with all her character of humanity, were not as cruel as our *English Mary*, when instigated by a bigoted priest. *Macarius*, who is styled "*sapientissimus ille Hierosolymorum Episcopus*," seems to have been a principal agent in the torments inflicted upon the *Jews*, as well as in the juggling miracles which preceded and followed the discovery. *Vide Adrichomii Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 176. Colon. 1628.*

(7) *Vid. Epist. Constantini ad Macarium Episc. Ierosolym. apud Euseb. de Vitâ Constantin. lib. iii. cap. 31. Paris, 1659.* The original building, erected by *Constantine's* order, A. D. 326. was destroyed at the beginning of the eleventh century, by *Almansor Hakim Bitta*, a Caliph of the race of the *Fatimites* in *Egypt*, and rebuilt by a *Greek Emperor* in 1048. Yet, says *Mons. De Châteaubriand*, (vol. II. p. 17. *Lond. 1811.*) "the architecture of the Church is evidently of the age of *Constantine*." The small fabric, over what is now called the *Sepulchre*, was again rebuilt in 1555. *Vid. Lit. Bonifacii, apud Quaresm. tom. II. p. 512.*

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Improbability of
the Tale.

Holy Land richer than *Jerusalem* itself, in the number and the importance of the *relics* she conveyed¹. If there had been originally any *hill* or *rock* wherein the real *sepulchre* of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* was hewn² for its *Jewish* possessor, is it likely, or was it possible, that every trace of it should have been swept away? Can there be any reason assigned for supposing that *Helena* would have destroyed what every *Christian* must have been so anxious to preserve? that, in the construction of a *church*, to commemorate the existence of the *Tomb*, she would have levelled and cut away not only the *Sepulchre* itself, but also the whole of *Mount Calvary*? This is so little in consonance with common reason, that it is impossible to allow the old tale any degree of credit. It is true, that, in order to discuss this topic with any attention to accuracy, we shall find there is much to unlearn; we must tread back the path of History to the time in which all the dreams of the age of *Constantine*

(1) "His et aliis pietatis operibus egregiè peractis, revertitur Romanam ad filium suum dilectissimum Imperatorem Constantinum, deferens immensum thesaurum, pretiosissimas Reliquias, crucem, clavos, quibus Salvator noster homines et angelos cœlestibus bonis ditavit." *Quaresmius, Eluc. T. S. lib. v. c. 28. Antv. 1639.*

(2) "Le petit temple, qui est proprement le lieu du S. Sepulchre, est aussi tout de marbre, et il a de chaque côté trois colonnes, et par derriere, quatre." *Voy. en Levant, par Corneille Le Bruyn, tom. II. p. 245. Paris, 1725.*

received their origin; and having done this, and cast a view over the state of *Christianity* since that period—the absurdities believed and propagated—the gross interpolations of Scripture-record admitted and revered—we shall perhaps no longer wonder at any difficulty of reconciling *Helena's* illustrations with Gospel-history, but admire the moderation which contents itself with shewing the place “*where Adam's head was discovered,*” instead of *the head itself*.

Continuing our researches along this dingle, as it inclines towards the east, before its junction with the larger valley of *Jehosaphat*, we came to some *sepulchres*, which had not wholly escaped the notice of former travellers. We find them obscurely alluded to in the Travels of *Thevenot*: the sepulchres he mentions are evidently those we observed here, because he notices the existence of paintings in a *Crypt*, called by him the *Cave of the Apostles*, near *Aceldama*³. We found such remains upon the same side of the mountain we have been describing, and near the place commonly shewn as *Aceldama*⁴, or *the Field of Blood*. The

Further
View of
the Jewish
Cemete-
ries.

Aceldama.

(3) See *Thevenot's* Work, entitled, “*Travels into the Levant,*” chap. xlix. p. 204. Lond. 1687.

(4) This place, purchased by the Chief-Priests to bury strangers in, now belongs to the *Armenians*. It is still, as it ever was, a place of burial;

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sepulchres containing them are similar to those which were described at the end of the preceding Chapter; and *inscriptions* appeared, as before, upon the outside. None of these *inscriptions* are now in a state to be interpreted; but we endeavoured to copy two of them, where the characters were sufficiently perfect to allow of our making a transcript.

Inscrip-
tions.

In the first, perhaps, the words ΤΗΝΣΟΠΟΝ-ΕΘΗΚΑΝ might form the end of the first line, and the beginning of the second. The last line seems to terminate with the word ΚΙΩΝ.

+ W N H N Λ Δ Ι Α
Ρ Ο Ν Θ Ε Κ Α Ν W
Α Φ Ο Υ Γ Ο Ρ Μ Α Η Ι Κ Ι
. Κ . . . Ν

In the second, the mixture of letters usually called *Etruscan*, and properly *Phœnician*, with the characters of the *Greek* alphabet, added to the imperfect state of the inscription, seems to render illustration hopeless :

burial; and its appearance maintains the truth of the tradition, which points it out as the *Aceldama* of Scripture. It has ever been famous on account of the *sarcophagous* virtue possessed by the earth about it, in hastening the decay of dead bodies. Ship-loads of it were carried to the *Campo Santo* in *Pisa*. See *Pococke's Obs. on the East*, vol. II. p. 25. *Lond.* 1745.

ΘΗΚΗΔΙ ΗΓΟΝ
 ♦ Φ Ε Σ ΙΙΟΝ ♦ Θ Τ Η Λ
 Ι Ξ Β Ε Ν Α Σ
 Θ Ο Λ Λ Ι Ξ Γ
 C O Γ Ι Ξ Η

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In some of these *sepulchres* were *antient paintings*, executed after the manner of those found upon the walls of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*; except that the figures represented were those of the *Apostles*, the *Virgin*, &c. with circular lines, as symbols of glory around their heads. These *paintings* appeared upon the sides and upon the roof of each *sepulchral* chamber, preserving a wonderful freshness of colour, although much injured by *Arabs* or *Turks*, whose endeavours to efface them were visibly displayed in many instances. The *sepulchres* themselves are, from these documents, evidently of *Christian* origin, and of more recent construction than the *tombs* we first noticed in our descent from the southern gate of the city, where there exists no such internal ornament, and where the *inscriptions*, from their brevity, and the immense size of the letters, seem to denote higher antiquity. Yet, to what period can we ascribe them? During all the time that *Jerusalem* has remained in subjection to the *Moslems*, the labour requisite in their construction could

Antient
Paintings.

Age of the
CITY.

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not have been carried on; since nothing excites their jealousy and opposition more, than seeing a *Christian* dig, or make excavation of any kind. They believe such works to originate always in some knowledge of hidden treasure. Owing to the great expense required in hewing and completing these *tombs*, it cannot be supposed that they belonged to vulgar persons; but after *Jerusalem* was rescued from the hands of the *Saracens*, individuals of rank were interred beneath monuments of a very different description, and in another situation, as may be proved by reference to the *tombs of Godfrey de Bouillon*, his brother *Baldwin*, and four others, in the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*¹. The only age to which, with any probability, they may be referred, is that long interval of prosperity and peace enjoyed by the *Christians* of *Jerusalem* after the dispersion of the *Jews* by *Adrian*; that is to say, from the establishment of the *Gentile Church*, and the ordination of *Mark*², until the

(1) See *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 15. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) He is called *Saint Mark* by *Tillemont*, which, unless attention be paid to the date of his ordination, may cause him to be confounded with *Mark the Evangelist*. *Mark* was made bishop before the death of *Adrian*, which happened in the middle of the year 138. (See *Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. II. p. 294. Paris, 1702. and the authorities by him cited.*) The establishment of the *Gentile Church* bears date from that period. See the list of *Mark's* successors, as given by *EUSEBIUS. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. Paris, 1659.*

reign of *Diolesian*. If this be true, the *paintings* may be considered as exhibiting specimens of the art belonging to the *second* century; and thereby illustrating, by very antient examples, the remarks made, in the First Part of these Travels³, concerning the idol pictures of the *Greek Church in Russia*, which they resemble, in all circumstances of style and execution. Similar *paintings* have been noticed in the description given of our journey to the summit of *Gargarus* and source of the *Scamander*, as found in the ruins of *Oratories* among the recesses of *MOUNT IDA*⁴. *Shaw* mentions very antient paintings, as found in the *Cryptæ* of *EGYPT*⁵. We also observed similar works in

(3) See Vol. I. p. 25, *et seq.* Octavo Edition. The fact, however, if established, will prove the existence of such *paintings* long before the Council of *Illiberis*. *Portraits* were in use from the earliest ages. *Josephus* relates, that it was a common practice with the *Greeks*, and other nations, to set a high esteem upon the *portraits* of friends, relations, and even of servants. This passage of *Josephus* is only preserved, however, in the *Latin Version*. “*Græcis itaque, et aliis quibusdam, bonum esse creditur inlagines instituerè. Denique et patrum et uxorum filiorumque figuras depingentes exsultant, quidam verò etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines: alii verò et servos diligentes, hoc faciunt.*” *Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. ii. p. 474. tom. II. Edit. Havercampi, Amst. &c. 1726.*

(4) See Chap. V. p. 169. and Chap. VI. p. 180. Vol. III. Octavo Edition.

(5) See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 350. *Lond. 1757.* “Several of these *Cryptæ* (Note 5. *ibid.*) painted with symbolical figures, are seen near the *Pyramids*. *Chrysippus's Antrum Mithræ* seems to have been of the same kind. Τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ σπηλαίου πάντα παιδαῖς ἵπποις πορνοῦμενα, καὶ καὶ τῶν θιῶν, οὓς μίσητας καλοῦσι, ἀγάλματα περιτέμνεται.”

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caves near to the PYRAMIDS. *Winkelmann's* account of the art of painting among the antient *Egyptians* may therefore possibly serve to illustrate the method used by *Syrian* or *Greek* artists in preparing and laying on the colours for these *paintings*, which preserve their original freshness in a very remarkable manner¹

Fountain
Oiloa, and
Sak Rogel.

Leaving the mountain where all these *sepulchres* are hewn, and regaining the road which conducts towards the east, into the *Valley of Jehosaphat*, we passed the FOUNTAIN *Siloe*, and a white mulberry-tree which is supposed to mark the spot where the *Oak Rogel* stood². Hence

(1) "Les couleurs sont en détrempe, et plus ou moins délayées avec de l'eau de colle, ou chargée de gomme: elles sont toutes employées pures et sans mélange. On en compte six: le blanc, le noir, le bleu, le rouge, le jaune, et le vert. Le rouge et le bleu, qui dominent le plus, paroissent broyés assez grossièrement. Le blanc, composé de céruse ordinaire, fait l'enduit de la toile des momies, et forme ce que nos peintres appellent l'impression, sur laquelle ils appliquent les couleurs. Les couleurs, ainsi que la dorure, ont conservé leur fraîcheur pendant quelques milliers d'années." *Histoire de l'Art, par Winkelmann, tom. I. pp. 191, 192. Paris, An 2 de la République.*

(2) The author mentions this tree merely from its importance as a land-mark. *Pococke* seemed aware that "THE SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS" (mentioned *2 Chron. xxi. 20*) might be situated somewhere near this spot; for he says, "Near this Pool (*Siloe*), at a white mulberry-tree, they say *Isaiah* was sawn asunder, by the order of *Manasseh*; and here it is to be supposed he was buried, under the *Oak Rogel*. IT IS

PROBABLE

we ascended to the summit of the MOUNT OF OLIVES; passing, in our way, a number of *Hebrew* tombs³. The *Arabs* upon the top of this mountain are to be approached with caution, and with a strong guard. Here indeed we stood upon holy ground; and it is a question, which might reasonably be proposed to *Jew, Christian, or Mahomedan*, whether, in reference to the history of their respective nations, it be possible to attain a more inter-

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Olives.

PROBABLE THE KING'S GARDENS WERE OVER THIS VALE, IN WHICH THE TREE OF ROGEL IS MENTIONED." See *Pococke, vol. II. part 1. p. 24. Lond. 1745.* If we can once ascertain the situation of the *Gardens*, that of the *Sepulchres* will be thereby determined. He notices the "*great number of grottos cut out of the rock, some of which have porticos, and are adorned with the plain Egyptian cornish;*" and adds, "*they seem to be antient Sepulchres.*" Seem to be! Is it possible to entertain a doubt of the fact? The truth is, that the real nature of antient *sepulchres* has been too little attended to, even where *inscriptions* upon them clearly explain their history. Even *Benjamin of Tudela* might have satisfied *Pococke* on this head: he expressly mentions the *sepulchres*. He is proceeding by the same road to the *Mount of Olives*, when he says, "*Mount Sion is without Jerusalem:—fronting the city are three Jewish burying-places, where they buried their dead in antient times: in one of them there is a sepulchre with the date remaining.*" *Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, p. 74. ed. by Gervais. Lond. 1784.*

(3) "Toute la coste de la montagne est creusée d'une infinité de Sepulchres des anciens Juifs, qui sont taillés comme des fours dans la roche; et plus bas, dans le fonds de la vallée, sont les sépultures de ceux, de cette nation, qui vivent à present en Jerusalem; qui ne sont autre chose que des fosses, comme les nostres, couvertes d'une, deux, ou trois, pierres, mal polies et sans ornement." *Doubdan, Voyage de la T. S. p. 130. Paris, 1657.*

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VIII.View from
the sum-
mit.

esting place of observation. So commanding is the view of *Jerusalem* afforded in this situation, that the eye roams over all the streets, and around the walls, as if in the survey of a plan or model of the city. The most conspicuous object is the *Mosque*, erected upon the site and foundations of the TEMPLE OF SOLOMON: this edifice may perhaps be considered as the finest specimen of *Saracenic* architecture existing in the world. But this view of *Jerusalem* serves to strengthen the objections urged against the prevailing opinion concerning the topography of the antient city. *D'Anville* believed that antient and modern *Jerusalem* were very similarly situate; that by excluding what is now called *Calvary*, and embracing the whole of what is now called *Mount Sion*, we should have an area equal in extent to the space which was occupied by the walls and buildings before the destruction of the *Holy City* by *Vespasian* and *Titus*¹. But this is by no means true²: a spectator upon the *Mount of Olives*, looking down upon the space inclosed by the walls of *Jerusalem* in their present state, as they have remained since

Difference
between
the Mo-
dern and
Antient
City.

(1) See the Treatise of Mons. *D'Anville* (*sur l'Ancienne Jerusalem*, Paris, 1747.) as cited by *Gibbon*, vol. IV. p. 82. Lond. 1807.

(2) See the observations in Note (59.) chap. xxiii. of *Gibbon's Hist.* *Ibid.*

they were restored in the *sixteenth* century by *Solyman* the son of *Selim*, and perhaps have existed from the time of *Adrian*, must be convinced that, instead of covering *two* conspicuous hills, *Jerusalem* now occupies *one* eminence alone'; namely, that of *Moriah*, where the *Temple* stood of old, and where, like a *Phoenix* that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent, the famous *Masque of Omar* is now situate. It is probable that the whole of *Mount Sion* has been excluded; and that the mountain covered by ruined edifices, whose base is perforated by antient *sepulchres*, and separated from *Mount Moriah* by the deep trench, or *Tyropæon*, extending as far as the *Fountain Siloa*, towards the *eastern* valley, is, in fact, that eminence which was once surmounted by the "bulwarks, towers, and regal buildings" of the

Situation
of Mount
Sion.

(3) After the city was rebuilt by *Adrian*, A.D. 137, or 138. (See *Tillemont*, Note 9. sur l'Empereur *Adrian*,) and called *Ælia Capitolina*, (which name subsisted in the age of *Chrysostom*, and is still retained in the country,) the whole of *Mount Sion*, and not part only, was excluded. See the numerous evidences adduced by *Tillemont* (*Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. IV. p. 294. Paris, 1702.) who, speaking of *Mount Sion*, says, "Au milieu du iv. siècle la montagne de Sion estoit entièrement inhabitée, se labouroit comme une plaine campagne;" thereby fulfilling the prophecy which declared (*Micah* iii. 12.) that *Zion* should be "plowed as a field." The authorities referred to by *Tillemont* are derived from *Eusebius*, *Cyril*, and the *Itinerary* from *Bourdeaux* to *Jerusalem*, written A.D. 333. His Note is founded principally upon evidences from *Vopiscus*, *Dio Cassius*, *Jerom*, and *Eusebius*.

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House of DAVID. There seems to be no other method of reconciling the accounts given by antient authors of the space occupied by the former city, which in no wise correspond with its present appearance: and the strange temerity which endeavours to warp the text of an historian¹, so as to suit existing prejudices, and the interests of a degrading superstition, cannot be too eagerly scouted by every friend of truth and science. *Eusebius* allows a distance of twenty-seven *stadia*, or three miles and three furlongs, for the circumference of the antient city². The circuit of the modern town does not exceed two miles and a half³, or twenty *stadia*, according to the measure of *Eusebius*. We cannot therefore, without including this mountain, embrace an area sufficiently extensive

(1) "We must not take in a literal sense" (*says Mons. De Châteaubriand, Trav. vol. II. p. 85. Lond. 1811.*) "the text of *Josephus*, when the historian asserts that the walls of the city advanced to the north, as far as the *Sepulchres of the Kings*." In what sense, then, are we to take the text of an historian? It however happens, that the text of *Josephus* (*lib. vi. de Bell. c. 6.*) contains no such assertion. The words *σπηλαιῶν βασιλικῶν* do not refer to the tombs of the *Kings of Judah*, but to the royal caves of *Helena's Sepulchre*, which were quite in a different situation, these lying to the north of *Jerusalem*; whereas the *Sepulchres of the Kings* were upon the south side of the city.

(2) *Eusebii Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 36. Paris, 1659.*

(3) See *Maunderell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 110. Oxf. 1721.* *De Châteaubriand* walked round it in about an hour. We were rather more than an hour employed in riding round, a foot's pace, but we kept at a short distance from the walls.

even for the dimensions afforded by *Eusebius*. But supposing that the antient *Cryptæ*, described at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, do mark the position of the *regal sepulchres*, in the midst of the vast cœmety of the antient *Jews*, where the *Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea* was also possibly situate; then it will appear evident, that the mountain standing to the *south* of that deep trench or valley, which *Sandys* has described as the *Valley of Gehinnom*⁴, (where the *sepulchres* appear which now exhibit, in so many instances, the words of an inscription, ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ,) was, in fact, MOUNT SION; opposed, upon the *south*, to MORIAH, and divided from it by this valley⁵. That the summit of this mountain

(4) That the *Valley of Gehinnom*, Γῆ Ἐννὸμ, or Γῆ Βεννὸμ, VALLIS FILII HINOM, (*Reiland. Palest. Illust. tom. I. p. 353. Utr. 1714.*) was a place of *sepulture*, may be proved by reference to various authorities, *Heathen, Jewish, and Christian*. In the *Latin Version of the Hebrew Itinerary of PETACHIAS*, (*vid. Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. B. Ugolini, tom. VI. 1207, 1208. Venet. 1746.*) the following passage occurs: "*Est hic terra fissa, atque dicitur Vallis filiorum Hinom, ubi τῶν Τῶν Cœmeterium.*" But *Eusebius* (*ad vocem Γαιννὸμ*) places this valley upon the *eastern side* of the city. All the valleys around *Jerusalem* were places of *sepulture*; particularly that now called *Jehosaphat*, which is upon the *eastern side*. But whenever the observations of an early writer tend to interfere with the notions entertained by the *Catholics* of the topography of *Jerusalem*, they endeavour to accommodate the text to their notions, or else explain away its meaning.

(5) *Rauwolf*, speaking of the *Tyropæon* mentioned by *Josephus*, says, "This valley hath been, since the desolation, so filled up, that

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was formerly included within the walls of the antient city, the remains upon it, at this hour, not only of walls, but of sumptuous edifices¹, seem forcibly to demonstrate. In this view of the subject, the topography of the city seems more reconcileable with antient documents. The present *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, and all the trumpery belonging to it, will, it is true, be cast into the back ground; but the *Sepulchres of the Kings of Judah*, so long an object of research, then become a prominent object in the plan: the possible site of our Saviour's *Tomb* may be determined, and

———*Siloa's brook, that flow'd*
Fast by the Oracle of God,——

will continue in the situation assigned for it by *Christian writers of every sect and denomination*²,

no depth at all appeareth in our days, but only without the Fountain Gate, by the Fountain *Siloh*." (See '*Travels into the Eastern Countries*,' *Ray's edition*, p. 289. *Lond.* 1693.) A deep valley filled up, so that even the marks of its existence have disappeared! Is it possible to credit this; especially when such a valley was of use in fortifying the city, by rendering the walls above less accessible? *Josephus* says (*lib. vi. de Bell. c. 6. Colon.* 1691.) that the oldest of the three walls was extremely strong, owing to the depth of the inferior valley.

(1) "Whose height yet shews the relics of no meane buildings." *Sandys' Trav.* p. 186. *Lond.* 1637.

(2) *Josephus* (*lib. vi. de Bell. Jud. c. 6.*) describes the valley which separated the upper town from the lower, as terminating with the Fountain *Siloh*; and this is the case with *Sandys' Valley of Gehinnom*.

since the age of the *Apostles*, and the earliest Fathers of the Church.

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It was upon the *Mount of Olives* that the MESSIAH delivered his prediction concerning the downfall of *Jerusalem*; and the army of *Titus* encamped upon the very spot³ where its destruction had been foretold. Not that, by the introduction of this fact, any allusion is here intended to the particular place shewn as “the rock of the prediction.” The text of the Evangelist⁴ proves that our SAVIOUR, when he delivered the prophecy, was “at the descent of the *Mount of Olives*,” although in such a situation that “he beheld the city, and wept over it.” Whether the tenth legion of the *Roman* army were stationed upon the summit or the side of the mountain, cannot now be ascertained; neither is the circumstance worth a moment’s consideration. We found, upon the top, the remains of several works, whose history is lost. Among these, were several subterraneous chambers, of a different nature from any of the *Cryptæ* we had before seen. One of them had the shape of a cone, of immense size; the vertex alone appearing level with the soil, and exhibiting, by

Pagan Remains upon Mount Olivet.

(3) *Josephus*, De Bell. *Jud.* lib. vi. cap. 5. Colon. 1691.

(4) *Luke*, ch. xix. 37.

its section at the top, a small circular aperture: the sides, extending below to a great depth, were lined with a hard red stucco, like the substance covering the walls of the subterraneous galleries which we found in the sandy Isle of *Aboukir*, upon the coast of *Egypt*. This extraordinary piece of antiquity, which, from its conical form, may be called a *subterraneous pyramid*, is upon the very pinnacle of the mountain. It might easily escape observation, although it be of such considerable size; and perhaps this is the reason why it has not been noticed by preceding travellers¹. We could not find any appearance of an entrance, except by the circular aperture, which is not unlike the mouth of a well, level with the surface of the mountain. This *Crypt* has not the smallest resemblance to any place of *Christian* use or worship. Its situation upon the pinnacle of a mountain rather denotes the work of *Pagans*, whose sacrilegious rites upon "the high places" are so often alluded to in *Jewish* history. Perhaps some light may be thrown upon its history by the

(1) All hope of information from the *Monks of Jerusalem* concerning antiquities not included in their catalogue of "*local sanctities*," (or "*stations*," as they sometimes call them,) is quite forlorn. The very search after *Heathen* antiquities is by them deemed heretical and profane. *Vid. Quaresmius* "De externâ profanâ, sed detestabili ac vitiosâ peregrinatione," *apud Bluc. T. S. lib. iij. c. 34. Antv. 1639.*

observations of *Adrichomius*²; who speaks of the *fane* constructed by *Solomon* upon the top of the *Mount of Olives*, for the worship of *Astaroth*, the idol of the *Sidonians*³. The *Venus* of *Paphos* was represented by a symbol which had the peculiar form of this *Crypt*, that is to say, a cone; but the Phœnician *Astaroth*, and the Paphian *Venus*, were one and the same divinity. When *Josias* overthrew the *Heathen* idols, and cut down the groves⁴, which happened rather more than six centuries⁵ before the time of our SAVIOUR, the *Adytum*, or *Crypt*, appropriated to the rites of *Astaroth*, remained; for it is plainly stated in Scripture, that the place was not destroyed, but “defiled,” and made a receptacle for “the bones of men;” the greatest of all pollutions, as may be seen by reference to the history of the

(2) *De Loc. extra Urb.* 192, apud *Theat. T. S.* p. 170. *Colon.* 1628.

(3) The three points, or summits, of the *Mount of Olives*, whereof the centre, being the highest, was set apart for the worship of *Astaroth*, are thus described as having been polluted by *Heathen* abominations: “And the high places that were before *Jerusalem*, which were on the right hand of the *Mount of Corruption*, (i. e. *Mount of Olives*,) which *Solomon* the king of *Israel* had builded for *Ashtoreth*, the abomination of the *Sidonians*; and for *Chemosh*, the abomination of the *Moabites*; and for *Milcom*, the abomination of the *Children of Ammon*, did the king DEFILE.” 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13. -

(4) “And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men.” *Ibid.* v. 14.

(5) *B. C.* 624.

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building of *Tiberias* upon the Lake *Gennesareth*; when, owing to the *sepulchres* found there, it was necessary to grant extraordinary privileges to persons who would reside on the polluted spot¹. To this species of pollution the *Crypt* now mentioned seems to have been condemned, from a very remote period; and it may be presumed, that a place which had once become an ossuary, or charnel-house, among the *Jews*, would never be appropriated to any other use among the inhabitants of *Judæa*. If it be observed, that the painted stucco, with which the interior of this is coated, denotes a more recent epocha in the history of the arts; then the walls of the *Cryptæ* near the *pyramids* of *EGYPT*, and in other parts of the *East*—nay, even the surface of the *Memphian Sphinx*², which has remained so many ages exposed to all attacks of the atmosphere—may be instanced, as still exhibiting the same sort of cement, similarly coloured, and equally unaltered³.

(1) See p. 221 of this Volume. Also *Josephi Antiquit.* lib. xviii. c. 3. *Colon.* 1691.

(2) The author will have occasion to refer to this fact again, in the sequel.

(3) At the same time, in determining the real origin of the subterraneous *conical Crypt* upon the summit of the *Mount of Olives*, the learned Reader must use his own judgment. For this purpose, it is necessary he should be informed, that it is not upon the spot which is shewn to travellers as the place of our Saviour's Ascension; this last being

About forty years before the idolatrous profanation of the *Mount of Olives* by Solomon, his afflicted parent, driven from *Jerusalem* by his son *Absalom*, came to this eminence, to present a less offensive sacrifice; and, as it is beautifully expressed by *Adrichomius*⁴, “FLENS, ET NUDIS PEDIBUS, DEUM ADORAVIT.” What a scene does the sublime, though simple, description given by the Prophet⁵ picture to the imagination of every one who has felt the influence of filial piety, but especially of the traveller standing upon the very spot⁶ where the pious monarch gave to Heaven the offering of his wounded spirit. “And DAVID went up by the ascent of *Mount Olivet*⁷; and wept as he went up, and

being lower than the summit of the mountain. There are passages in the writings both of *Eusebius* and of *St. Willibald's* biographer which seem to point at this place, the first, referring to a Cave (τῆς ἀντροῦ), honoured by *Constantine* as that of the Ascension, situate ἐν τῇ ἀσπέρῳ (Vid. cap. xli. lib. iii. de Vit. Constant. Paris, 1659.) and the last, describing this sanctuary as “*Ecclesia desuper patula et sine tecto.*” (Vid. Vit. S. Willibald. apud Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæcul. 3. Pars 2. p. 376. L. Paris. 1672.) But another of *St. Willibald's* biographers, (Auct. Anonym.) alluding to the same sanctuary, says, “HODIE ETIAM DOMINICORUM VESTIGIA PEDUM.” (Vid. Mabillon. &c. ubi supra, p. 387.) and this remark does not apply to the Crypt.

(4) *Theatrum Terr. Sanct.* p. 170. Colon. 1628.

(5) 2 Sam. xv. 20.

(6) “And it came to pass, that when David was come to the top of the Mount, where he worshipped God,” &c. 2 Samuel, xv. 32.

(7) Ibid. v. 30.

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had his head covered; and he went bare-foot : and all the people that was with him covered every man his head; and they went up weeping." Abstracted from every religious view, and considered solely as a subject for the most gifted genius in poetry or in painting, it is perhaps impossible to select a sublimer theme. Every thing that is great and affecting seems to be represented in the description¹ of the procession or march of *David*, in his passage across the *Kedron*; and particularly in the moment when the Ark of the Covenant is sent back, and the king, having in vain entreated *Ittai*² to leave him, begins to ascend the mountain, preceded by the various people said to form the van of the procession. Every wonderful association of natural and of artificial features, of landscape and of architecture, of splendid and diversified costume, of sacred pomp, and of unequalled pathos, dignify the scene: here a solemn train of mourners; there

(1) See the whole of the Fifteenth Chapter of the Second Book of *Samuel*.

(2) "Then said the king to *Ittai* the *Gittite*, Wherefore goest thou also with us? Return to thy place, and abide with the king; for *thou art a stranger*, and also an exile. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee wander in going up and down with us? Seeing I go whither I may, return thou, and take back thy brethren: mercy and truth be with thee!" *Ibid.* *vv.* 19, 20.

the seers³, the guardians and companions of the ark; men, women, children⁴, warriors, statesmen, citizens, priests, Levites, counsellors;—with all the circumstances of grandeur displayed by surrounding objects; by the waters of the torrent; by the sepulchres of the valley; by the lofty rocks, the towers, bulwarks, and palaces of *Sion*; by the magnificent perspective on every side; by the bold declivities and lofty summits of *Mount Olivet*; and, finally, by the concentration of all that is great and striking in the central group, distinguished by the presence of the afflicted sovereign. If it should be urged, that this subject is too crowded, it is only so in description; a painter, by the advantages of perspective, easily obviates every objection of this nature. Haste and tumult are, in a certain degree, the requisite characteristics of such a representation; but these a judicious artist would know how to introduce. *Milton*, as a poet, and *Le Bruyn*, as a painter, might have done justice to this stupendous theme; nor

(3) "The king said also unto *Zadok* the priest, *Art not thou a Seer?* Return into the city in peace." *Ibid.* v. 27.

(4) "And *Ittai* the *Gittite* passed over, and all his men, and all the little ones that were with him." *Ibid.* v. 22.

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would any one despair of success, who should be told that the genius of our *Northern Minstrel*, or the pencil of a *West*, was exercised in the undertaking.

LAKE AS-
PHALTITES.

The view of *Jerusalem* from this eminence is from east to west. Towards the south appears the Lake *Asphaltites*, a noble expanse of water, seeming to be within a short ride from the city; but the real distance is much greater; and the journey thither was at this time attended with such imminent danger from the *Arabs*, that it was no longer attempted¹. Lofty mountains inclose it with prodigious grandeur, and resemble, by their position, the shores of the Lake of *Geneva*, opposite to *Vevay* and *Lausanne*. To the north of the lake are seen the verdant and fertile pastures of the Plain of

General
Appear-
ance of
Judæa.

(1) Mr. *Seetzen*, a most enterprising German traveller, who is now exploring the interior of *Africa* to the south of *Abyssinia*, has since succeeded in traversing the eastern borders of the *Dead Sea*. The intrepid *Burckhardt*, communicating this intelligence to his friend the author, in a Letter from *Syria*, adds the following judicious remarks: "It has become a conviction with me, that travels in these countries, if extended beyond the great caravan roads, admit only two modes to ensure the traveller's safety. He must either travel with a Pasha's retinue, to ensure his safety by an imposing appearance, and by never-ceasing presents; or else he must throw himself, as an object of compassion, upon the mercy and good-natured disposition of the natives. Any half measures cannot fail to expose him to embarrassment and danger."

Jericho, watered by the *Jordan*, whose course may be distinctly discerned. For the rest, nothing appears in the surrounding country but hills, whose undulating surfaces resemble the waves of a perturbed sea. They seemed to be bleak, and destitute of any marks of cultivation; but their real state cannot be ascertained by a distant view: we often observed that mountains, which, when remote, appeared like uncultivated and barren rocks, were, when we drew near to them, covered with little terraces, like a series of steps, and abundantly fertile. At a short distance from the summit, we were desired to notice the famous impression of a man's *left foot* in the rock, which has so long been shewn as that made by our SAVIOUR at his *ascension*. Over this, *Helena*

Miraculous
Impression
of our
Saviour's
Foot.

(2) Mons. *De Châteaubriand* (*Trav. vol. II. p. 49. Lond. 1811.*) says, it is an impression of our Saviour's *left foot*, but that the mark of the *right* was once visible. *Bernard de Breidenbach* saw the impression of the *right foot* in 1483. "—ET PRESERTIM PEDIS DEXTREI." *Vid. Peregrinatio Sacra, Spir. 1490.**

(3) The account of which is thus given by *Adrichomius*—CREDAT JUDEUS APPELLA, NON EGO! "*Atque ex hujus summitate coram assistantibus et intuentibus discipulis, data eis benedictione, in cælum ascendit, facie (ut etiam ex ultimis pedum ejus vestigiis ad tantæ rei memoriam petroso monti, instar ceræ, impressis, etiamnum evidenter colligitur) ad occidentem versus Catholicam ex gentibus Romanam spectans Ecclesiam, ad quam ipse ejus caput, tanquam geminos et illustres oculos D. Petrum suum in terris vicarium Pastorem ac apostolorum coriphæum, et D. Paulum gentium doctorem, missurus erat.*" *Adrichomii Theatrum Terr. Sanct. p. 170. Colon. 1628.*

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constructed one of her churches¹. It is not our intention to add a single syllable to all that has been already written upon this subject²: those who can receive amusement or edification from the legend, in its most interesting form, may be referred to the entertaining Work of Mons. *De Châteaubriand*, from the perusal of which the reader rises as from a pleasing romance³. So fully is this miracle believed, even at this hour, that it is mentioned in the certificate given to pilgrims at the *Franciscan Convent*, as one of the proofs of the sanctity of the place

Garden of
Gethse-
mane.

As we descended from the mountain, we visited an *Olive-ground*, always noticed as the

(1) *Adrichomu Theatrum Terr. Sanct.* p. 170. Colon. 1628.

(2) The Reader wishing to examine the history of this *marvellous impression*, in its utmost detail, may consult *Doubdan*, and the authors by him cited. (See *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, ch. xxvii. p. 227. Paris, 1657.) *Doubdan's* account is full of the miracles that have taken place upon the spot—"Miracles," says he, "*qui aujourd'hui ont cessé—la Divine Providence agissant de la sorte, pour ne pas jeter les perles devant les porcs.*"

(3) Mons. *De Châteaubriand*, from *Gregory Nazianzen* and others, even describes the attitude of our SAVIOUR during his *ascension*: from *Adrichomius* he derives the particular point of the compass to which the MESSIAH's face was turned, as he rose. See "*Travels in Greece, Palestine,*" &c. p. 49. Lond. 1811.

(4) These are the words: "*Mons Oliveti, ubi videntibus discipulis, ad caelos ascendit Dominus, suorum pedum vestigia in aeternam relinquens memoriam.*"

*Hortus Oliveti*⁵, or GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.

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This place is, not without reason, shewn as the scene of our SAVIOUR'S agony the night before his crucifixion, both from the circumstance of the name it still retains, and its situation with regard to the city⁶. *Titus*, it is true, cut down all the wood in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*⁷: and were this not the case, no reasonable person would regard the trees of the place as a remnant of so remote an age; notwithstanding the story of the *olive* formerly shewn in the Citadel of *Athens*, and supposed to bear date from the foundation of the city⁸. But, as a spontaneous produce, uninterruptedly resulting from the original growth of this part of the mountain, it is impossible to view even these trees with indifference. We found a grove of

*Olives of
the Mount.*

(5) *Matt.* xxvi. *Mark* xiv. *Luke* xxii. *John* viii. It is mentioned by *St. Jerom.* (*Vid. Hieron. in Loc. Heb. Lit. G.*) *Adrichomius* distinguishes "*Gethsemani, villa ad radices Montis Oliveti,*" from the "*Hortus Oliveti,*" although they are both contiguous. "*Hortus erat in Monte Oliveti non longè à Gethsemani rupi eadem concave adhaerens Ubi aetate Hieronymi desuper Ecclesia erig. adificata, quæ adhuc ostenditur.*" *Adrichomii Theut. Sanct.* p. 170. *Colon.* 1628. See also *Brocard. Riner.* 6. *Breidenbach.* 14. *Jul. Sol. tom.* IX. cap. 2. &c. &c.

(6) Upon the subject of this garden, *Doubdan* offers a genuine specimen of *Monkish* writing. "*C'est là où croissent les lys de l'innocence entre les épines de la douleur; le cyprès odoriférant de la dévotion; et la merrière, de la componction; les pommes d'or, d'un sensible amour de Dieu,*" &c. &c. *Voy. de la T. S.* p. 287. *Par.* 1657.

(7) *Joseph. De Bell. Jud.* lib. vii. c. 15. *Colon.* 1691.

(8) See *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1811.

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aged olive-trees, of most immense size, covered with fruit, almost in a mature state: from this circumstance we were unable to examine or to collect blossoms from any of those trees, and are yet ignorant of their specific nature. That the *olive of Jerusalem* is of the same species with the *European olive*, we do not absolutely affirm; the leaves being considerably broader, and more silvery underneath than in any, either of the wild or cultivated varieties, which we have seen¹. We provided ourselves with specimens from these trees for our *herbarium*; and have found few things more gratifying than were these trifles, as presents to those friends who wished to obtain memorials from the *Holy Land*. It is truly a curious and interesting fact, that, during a period of little more than two thousand years, *Hebrews*, *Assyrians*, *Romans*, *Moslems*, and *Christians*, have been successively in possession of the rocky mountains of *Palæstine*; yet the *olive* still vindicates its paternal soil, and is found, at this day, upon the same spot² which

(1) It is highly probable that the supposed varieties of *OLEA EUROPEA*, at present enumerated in the *Species Plantarum*, include several distinct species.

(2) "Quis enim dubitet Montem Oliviferum illum esse qui nunc illo nomine dicitur? Et si quis dubitet, omnia loca adsita et valles et fontes et rivi abundè ostendent nulli alii monti præter hunc ea convenire quæ de Monte Olivifero veteres tradiderunt." *Reland. Palæst. Ilust. lib. i. c. 4. tom. I. p. 22. Trav. Bat. 1714.*

was called, by the *Hebrew* writers, "*Mount Olivet*," and "*the Mount of Olives*," eleven CHAP. VIII.
centuries before the *Christian* æra.

The rest of this day's journey was spent in viewing antiquities justly entitled to the highest consideration among the curiosities of JERUSALEM,—the "*Sepulchre of the Virgin Mary*," and the "*Tombs of the Patriarchs*:" all of these are in the valley between the *Mount of Olives* and the city, on the *eastern* side of the torrent *Kedron*, at the foot of the mountain³. The "*Sepulchre of the Virgin*" is to the north of the other *tombs*; these being nearly opposite to the area of *Solomon's Temple*, where the *Mosque of Omar* is now situate. Quitting, therefore, the "*Garden of Gethsemane*," we descended a short distance farther toward the north, and arrived at the entrance to the "*Virgin's Sepulchre*."

*Tomb of
the Virgin
Mary.*

(3) 2 *Samuel*, xv. 30. Generally referred to the year 1023 B. C.

(4) The Book of *Zechariah* has reference to a much later period; the following prophecy being generally ascribed to the year 587 B. C. "*And his feet shall stand in that day upon 'the Mount of Olives,' which is before Jerusalem upon the east; and the Mount of Olives shall cleave, in the midst thereof, toward the east and toward the west.*" *Zechariah*, xiv. 4.

"(5) See the *Plan*.

(6) On the disputed authenticity of the tradition concerning this sepulchre, *Butler* rests an opinion, that the *Virgin* ended her earthly career at JERUSALEM. "*Tillemont*," says he, "and some others, conjecture

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This, like the *tombs* where we discovered the *inscriptions*, is also a *Crypt*, or cave, hewn with marvellous skill and most surprising labour, in a stratum of hard compact *limestone*. Whatever may have been the real history of its origin, there can be no doubt but that it was intended as a repository for the dead, and, from all appearance, as the receptacle of many bodies. It seems also to be evident, that the persons here interred were held in veneration by the living, from the commodious and magnificent descent leading to the interior of the *Crypt*, together with the dome and altar which appear within, as for a sanctuary. Neither *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, nor *Jerom*, mentions a syllable to authorize even the tradition concerning this *sepulchre*. The earliest notice of it, as the *Tomb* of the *Virgin*, occurs in the writings of *Adamnanus*, the *Irish* monk and abbot of *Iona*, who described it from the testimony of *Arculfus*¹ in the *seventh*

conjecturè that she died at *Ephesus*; but some think, rather, at *Jerusalem*; where, in later ages, mention is made of her *sepulchre*, cut in a rock at GETHSEMANI." *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. VIII. p. 178. *Edinb.* 1799.

(5) Sanctorum locorum sedulus frequentator sanctus Arculfus Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam in valle Josaphat frequentabat: cujus dulciter fabricatæ inferior pars sub lapideo tabulato mirabili rotunda structura est fabricata: in cujus orientali parte altarium habetur; ad dexteram verò ejus partem, sanctæ Mariæ inest saxum cavum sepulchrum, in quo aliquando sepulta pausavit." *Adamnan. De Loc. Sanct. apud Mabilhon. Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sac. 3. Pars 2. p. 507. L. Par. 1612.*

century, according to its present situation. *Bede* CHAP. VIII. gives also, from *Adamnanus*, a similar account². It is moreover mentioned by *John Damascenus*, who lived about the year 720³. A sepulchre was pointed out to *Willibald*, twenty years afterwards, called the "*Tomb of the Virgin*," in the valley, at the foot of *Mount Olivet*⁴. Among the *Greeks*, *Andrew of Crete*, in the eighth century, affirmed that the *Virgin* lived upon *Mount Sion*, and there died⁵. It is however presumed, by other writers, that she retired with *St. John* to *EPHESUS*. *Pococke*, upon the authority of certain authors whom he has not named, thinks it probable that this sepulchre belonged to *Melisendis*, queen of *Jerusalem*⁶. We descended to it by a noble flight of fifty marble steps: each of these was twenty feet wide. This commodious

(2) *Beda*, ex eo, *De Loc. Sanct.* p. 502.

(3) See *Doubdan* (*Voy. de la T. S.* p. 121. *Par.* 1657.) Also *Quaresmius*, who cites the passage, (*Elucid. T. S.* tom. II. p. 246. *Antv.* 1639.) and candidly states the arguments "*contra veritatem Sepulchri*," which he is unable, although he endeavours, to refute.

(4) "Et in illa valle est Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, et in Ecclesiâ est sepulchrum ejus. . . . Et ibi orans adscendit in Montem Oliveti, qui est ibi juxta vallem in orientali plagâ." *Vita S. Willibaldi, apud Mabillon. Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sec. 3. Pars 2. p. 376. L. Par.* 1672.

(5) *Orat. in Dormit. B. M. Butler's "Lives of the Saints,"* vol. VIII. p. 179. Note (*).

(6) See "*Pococke's Description of the East*," vol. II. Part I. p. 22. *Lond.* 1745.

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descent may possibly have been owing to the notion entertained by the Empress *Helena* concerning its origin; but the *sepulchre* itself is of great antiquity. It is the largest of all the *Cryptæ* near *Jerusalem*. Appropriate chapels, within a lofty and spacious vault, distinguish the real or the imaginary *Tombs* of the *Virgin Mary*, of *Joseph*, of *Anna*, and of *Caiaphas*'. Struck with wonder, not only in viewing such an astonishing effort of human labour, but in the consideration that History affords no light whatsoever as to its origin, we came afterwards to examine it again; but could assign no probable date for the æra of its construction. It ranks among those colossal works which were accomplished by the inhabitants of *Asia Minor*, of *Phœnicia*, and of *Palæstine*, in the first ages; works which differ from those of *Greece*, in displaying less of beauty, but more of arduous enterprise; works which remind us of the people rather than of the artist; which we refer to as monuments of history, rather than of taste.

Proceeding hence towards the south, along

(1) There is an accurate representation of this *sepulchre* in the curious and rare work of *Bernardino*, (*"Trattato delle Pianta ed Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa,"* &c. *Firenza*, 1620.) where the different parts of the *Crypt* are exhibited according to geometrical surveys.

the eastern side of the valley, between the *Mount of Olives* and *Mount Moriah*^a, towards the bridge over the *Kedron*, across which our SAVIOUR is said to have passed in his visits to the *Garden of Gethsemane*^a, we came to the *sepulchres of the Patriarchs*," facing that part of *Jerusalem*. where the *Temple of Solomon* was formerly erected. The antiquities which particularly bear this name are four in number. According to the order in which they occur from north to south, they are severally called the *Sepulchres of Jehosaphat*, of *Absalom*, the *Cave of St. James*, and the *Sepulchre of Zechariah*. From the difficulty of conveying any able artist to *Jerusalem*, and the utter impossibility of finding any of the profession there, these monuments have never been faithfully delineated. The wretched representations given of them in books of Travels, convey no adequate idea of

Sepulchres
of the Pa-
triarchs.

(2) The Plate engraved for *Doubdan's* Work (facing p. 120 of his '*Voyage de la Terre Sainte*,' published at *Paris* in 1657) affords a very accurate representation of the situation of the ancient *sepulchres* along the eastern side of the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, at the foot of the *Mount of Olives*, facing *Jerusalem*.

(3) "He went forth with his Disciples over the brook *Kedron*, where was a garden, into the which he entered, and his Disciples. And *Judas* also, which betrayed him, knew the place, for *Jesus* oft-times resorted thither with his Disciples." *John* xviii. 1, 2.

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the appearance they exhibit'. There is a certain air of grandeur, and of sublimity, in their massy structure, in the boldness of their design, and in the sombre hue prevailing not only over the monuments themselves, but over all the surrounding rocks whence they were hewn, which is lost in the minuteness of engraved representation*. In order to form the *sepulchres* of *Absalom* and of *Zechariah*, the solid substance of the mountain has itself been cut away: sufficient areas being thereby excavated, two monuments of prodigious size appear in the midst; each seeming to consist of a single stone, although standing as if erected by an

(1) The engravings in *Pococke's* Second Volume of his '*Description of the East*, Lond. 1745,' may be considered as affording the most faithful delineation of these monuments; but they are by no means adequate to the effect produced by the originals.

(2) Mons. *De Châteaubriand*, considering these monuments as designed by *Jews*, who had adopted something of the *Grecian* model, is particularly happy in describing the singular taste which resulted from the alliance. "But," (*Trav. vol. II. p. 102. Lond. 1811.*) "in naturalizing at *Jerusalem* the architecture of *Corinth* and *Athens*, the *Jews* intermixed with it the forms of their peculiar style. The *tombs* in the *Valley of Jehosaphat* display a manifest alliance of the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* taste. From this alliance resulted a heterogeneous kind of monuments, forming, as it were, the link between the *Pyramids* and the *Parthenon*." This observation is not less remarkable for its truth than for the judicious taste which it displays.

architect, and adorned with columns' appearing to support the edifice, of which they are in fact themselves integral parts; the whole of each *mausoleum* being of one entire mass of stone. These works may therefore be considered as belonging to *sculpture* rather than to *architecture*; for, immense as are these *tombs*, they are hewn, instead of being built. The *Doric* order appears in the capitals of the columns: hence it has been inferred, that some persons have decorated these places according to the rules of *Greek* architecture since the time when they were originally constructed; but there is not the slightest reason for this conjecture. The columns are of that antient style and character which yet appear among the works left by *Ionian* and *Dorian* colonies, in the remains of their *Asiatic* cities; particularly at *Telmessus*, where even the *inscriptions* denote a period in history long anterior to the æra when such a modification of these antient structures

(3) "The ornaments of this sepulchre (*Absalom's*) consist of twenty-four semi-columns of the *Doric* order, not fluted, six on each front of the monument." *Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 100. Lond. 1811.

(4) See *Pococke's Descript. of the East*, vol. II. Lond. 1745. *Pococke* described the columns as of the *Ionic* order, and so designed them. According to Notes in the author's Journal, they are *Doric*; and they are so described by Mons. *De Châteaubriand*. See *Trav. in Greece, Palest. &c.* p. 100, Lond. 1811.

might have taken place. It has never yet been determined when these *sepulchres* were hewn, nor by what people¹. They are a continuation of one vast cœmety, extending along the base of all the mountainous elevations which surround *Jerusalem* upon its *southern* and *eastern* sides; and their appearance alone, independently of every other consideration, denotes the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people. To relate the legends of the monks with regard to these places would be worse than silence concerning them, even if they had not often been told before. The "*Sepulchre of Jehosaphat*," and the "*Cave of St. James*," are smaller works, of the same nature with the monuments ascribed to *Absalom* and *Zechariah*. All of them contain apartments and receptacles for the dead, hewn in the same marvellous manner. *Josephus* mentions a monument erected by *Absalom*; but he describes it as a marble *Stélé*, distant two *stadia* from *Jerusalem*². The same, however, is said in

(1) Mons. *De Châteaubriand* places them among the *Greek* and *Roman* monuments of *Pagan* times (See *Trav.* vol. II. p. 95.) erected by the *Jews*. "If I were required," says he, (*Ibid.* p. 101.) "to fix precisely the age in which these *Mausoleums* were erected, I should place it about the time of the alliance between the *Jews* and the *Lacedæmonians*, under the first *Maccabees*."

(2) *Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 9. Colon.* 1691.

Scripture to have borne the name of "*Absalom's Place*," in the beginning of the *eleventh* century before the *Christian æra*³. A very extraordinary circumstance respecting the two principal *sepulchres* is, that, at present, there is no perceptible entrance to the interior. The only way of gaining admittance to that of *Absalom* is through a hole recently broken for the purpose: and to that of *Zechariah*, although the *Jews* pretend to a secret knowledge of some such opening, there is no entrance of any kind. After viewing these monuments, and having now examined all the antiquities to the *south* and to the *east* of *Jerusalem*, we crossed the bed of the torrent *Kedron* by the bridge before mentioned: then, ascending to the city by a very steep hill, on which tradition relates that *St. Stephen* was stoned, we made the circuit of the walls upon the *northern* and *western* side; and, having found nothing remarkable, entered by the *Gate of Jaffa*.

The streets of *Jerusalem* are cleaner than those of any other town in the *Levant*; but, like all of them, they are very narrow. The houses are lofty; and, as no windows appear on any

(3) "Now *Absalom*, in his life-time, had taken and reared up for himself a *Pillar*, which is in the *King's Dale*; for he said, I have no son to keep up my name in remembrance: and he called the *pillar* after his own name; and it is called unto this day, *Absalom's Place*." 2 *Sam.* xviii. 18.

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Bazars.

of the lower stories, and those above are latticed, the passage seems to be between blank walls. We visited the *bazars*, or shops; which are in a most unwholesome situation, being covered over, and, to all appearance, a nursery for every species of contagion. Hardly any thing was exposed for sale: the various articles of commerce were secreted, through fear of *Turkish* rapacity. Our inquiry after *medals* was not attended with any success; but an *Armenian* produced a very fine antique *gem*, a *carneian* deeply cut, representing a beautiful female head decorated with a laurel chaplet. He asked a *piastre* for it, smiling at the same time, as if he thought it not worth a *parè*. Upon being paid his demand, he threw down the *gem*, eagerly seizing the money, and burst into an immoderate fit of laughter. After leaving the *bazars*, we visited the ruin which is called by the *Monks* the remains of the *Judgment-seat of Pontius Pilate*. It is part of a contemptible modern building. But here the author found, upon the very spot which is called the "*Judgment-seat*," a curious undescribed herbaceous plant, of the natural order of *Boragineæ*¹.

(1) It has the habit of a *Lycopsis*, but the flowers of a *Symphytum*, and seeds attached nearly as in *Cynoglossum*; but the form is peculiar to itself. The fruits of the order not having been yet thoroughly examined, we have for the present arranged it in *Symphytum*; denominating

On the following morning, *July* the eleventh, we left *Jerusalem* by the *Gate of Damascus*, on the north-west side, to view the extraordinary burial-place erroneously called the "*Sepulchres of the Kings of Judah*," distant about a mile from the walls. This place does not exhibit a single sepulchral chamber, as in the instances so lately described, but a series of subterraneous chambers, extending in different directions, so as to form a sort of labyrinth, resembling the still more wonderful example lying westward of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, by some called the "*Sepulchres of the Ptolemies*." Each chamber contains a certain number of receptacles for dead bodies, not being much larger than our coffins, but having the more regular form of oblong parallelograms; thereby differing from the usual appearance presented in the sepulchral crypts of this country, where the *soros*, although of the same form, is generally of very considerable size, and resembles a large cistern. The taste manifested in

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Sepulchres
of the
Kings.

it, from the remarkable spur near the base of the seed, *SYMPHYTUM CALCARATUM*. The stems are very slender, and crooked; the leaves an inch to an inch and a half in length; the flowers upon short pedicles, turned to one side, with the calyx nearly half an inch long, but shorter than the bract at the base of the pedicle.

Symphytum caulibus flexuosis debilibus; foliis lato-lanceolatis, integris, ciliatis, hirsutis; racemis bracteatis secundis laxis; bracteis oblongo-lanceolatis; corollis calyce hirsuto brevioribus, acutis; seminibus obtusè triangulis calcaratis, scabris.

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the interior of these chambers seems also to denote a later period in the history of the Arts: the skill and neatness visible in the carving is admirable, and there is much of ornament displayed in several parts of the work¹. We observed also some slabs of *marble*, exquisitely sculptured: these we had never seen in the burial-places before mentioned. The entrance is by an open court, excavated in a stratum of white *limestone*, like a quarry. It is a square of thirty yards. Upon the western side of this area appears the mouth of a cavern, twelve yards wide, exhibiting, over the entrance, an architrave with a beautifully sculptured frieze. Entering this cavern, and turning to the left, a second architrave appears above the entrance to another cavern, but so near to the floor of the cave as barely to admit the passage of a man's body through the aperture. We lighted some wax tapers, and here descended into the first chamber. In the sides of it were other square openings, like door-frames, offering passages to yet interior chambers. In one of these we found

(1) "Opus verè singulare, magnâ industriâ, admirabile visu, dignumque Regiis sepulchris. Neque verò crediderim huic simile, aut vetustius toto orbe terrarum reperiri posse." *Joannes Zuallardus, apud J. B. Pitalpandum. Vid. Quaresm. Elucid. T. S. lib. vi. c. 8. Ant. 1639.*

the lid of a white marble coffin²: this was entirely covered with the richest and most beautiful sculpture, but, like all the other sculptured work about the place, it represented nothing of the human figure, nor of any animal, but consisted entirely of foliage and flowers, and principally of the leaves and branches of the vine.

As to the history of this most princely place of burial, we shall find it difficult to obtain much information. That it was not what its name implies, is very evident; because the *Sepulchres* of the *Kings of Judah* were in *Mount Sion*. The most probable opinion is maintained by *Pococke*³, who considered it as the *Sepulchre* of *Helen*, Queen of *ADIABENE*. *De Châteaubriand* has since adopted *Pococke's* opinion⁴. But both these writers, speaking of the *Pyramids* mentioned by *Josephus* at *Helena's Monument*⁵, have overlooked the testimony of *Eusebius* upon the subject, and of his commentator *Valesius*.

History
of this
Cemetery.

(2) This is engraved in *Le Bruyn's Travels*. See *Plate facing p. 185*, tom. II. *Voy. au Levant*. Paris, 1725.

(3) *Description of the East*, vol. II. p. 20. Lond. 1745. See the *Plan* of these *Sepulchres*, beautifully engraved in the *Fifth Plate* of that volume.

(4) See *Trav. in Greece, Palest. &c.* vol. II. p. 106. Lond. 1811.

(5) *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. xx. c. 2. Colon. 1691.

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According to EUSEBIUS', *conspicuous Pillars*, rather than *Pyramids*, ΣΤΗΛΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΑΝΕΙΣ, denoted, in his time, the site of *Helena's* burial-place: and it may be urged, that *Stélæ*^s are indeed very appropriate characteristics of the interior of an antient *sepulchre*, and more reconcileable with the fact of their subsequent disappearance. *Valesius*^s, commenting upon these words of *Eusebius*, is at a loss to reconcile the *Stélæ* with the *Pyramids* noticed by the *Jewish Historian*. "Twice," says he, "does JOSEPHUS, in the

(1) Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνης ἥτις δὴ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐκείνησιν ἀπομνημονεύει, εἰσέτι νῦν στήλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προσοτείαις διακινύμεναι τῆς νῦν Ἀλίας· ταῦ δὲ Ἀδιαβηνῶν ἰθινοὺς αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαντες ἐκάλουντο. "Ceterum Helenæ illius cujus mentio fit à Josepho, illustres etiamnum extant cippi in suburbiis Hierosolymorum, quæ mutato nomine nunc Ælia appellatur: eamque Adiabenorum reginam fuisse perhibent." *Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 12. p. 59. Paris, 1659.*

(2) The Reader is requested to examine the observations concerning *sepulchral pillars*, pp. 1, 3, 10, of the author's *Account of the Greek Marbles at Cambridge*; to which he is now able to add the following remarks from VALESIUS. "In hoc Eusebii loco στήλαι sunt columnæ, seu cippi sepulchrales in quibus humalorum nomina perscribebantur. De his scholiastes Aristophanis in *Equitibus* et in *Avibus*. Earum usus etiam apud Romanos. Nam Dio, in lib. 67. de funebri cenâ, αὐτῶν στήλαι ταφικαὶ ἐκάλουντο ἐπὶ ταφίσσῃ, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. Idem in lib. 69. de equi Borythenis sepulchro, eandem vocem usurpat. In veteribus glossis στήλην cippus redditur. Cicero, in libro 2. de Legibus, columnas dixit, ubi agit de sepulchris. Clemens Alexandrinus, in libro 5. Stromat. scribit Hipparchum Pythagoreum ἐδὲ quoddam arcana magistri divulgasset, ἐκ collegio ejectum fuisse, et cippum ei positum fuisse tanquam mortuo, καὶ στήλην ἵεν' αὐτῷ γινώσκον, ΟἷΑ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ." *Valesii Annot. in lib. ii. Hist. Eccl. Euseb. p. 32. Ibid.*

(3) Ubi supra.

same book, call them *Monuments* (Μνημεία). RUFINUS uses the word *Sepulchre*; and JEROM³ calls it a *Mausoleum*, which still existed in his time." *Valesius* then proceeds to cite *Pausanias*⁴; who, speaking of the two most memorable *sepulchres* that were known, mentions those of *Mausolus* in *CARIA*, and that of *Helena* in *JUDÆA*. But *Villalpandus* notices a *pyramid* yet visible at these caves⁵; meaning, probably, a *pillar* with a *pyramidal* summit. *Josephus* describes the *Sepulchre* of *Helena* as being to the north of the city⁶; and although he mentions the "*Royal Caves*" immediately after the notice of *Helena's Sepulchre*, the circumstance of his allusion to the *Pyramids* at the latter⁷, one of which, actually seen by *Villalpandus*⁸, having since disappeared, and thereby warranted the possible annihilation

(3) *Hieronymus* in *Oratione de Obitu Paulæ*.

(4) *Pausan.* in *Arcadicis*. Vid. cap. xvi. p. 633. ed. *Xyland.* Lips. 1696.

(5) Vid. *Johann. Baptist. Villalpand.* tom. III. *Apparatus*, lib. iii. cap. 1. et in sua *Antiquæ Jerusalem Descriptione*.

(6) *Josephus*, *De Bell. Jud.* lib. vi. c. 6. *Colon.* 1691.

(7) Ὅ δὲ Μουζαζες τὰς ἐκείνης ὁστᾶ, καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σίμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, αἳ ἡ μήτηρ κατισκευάσκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀπίσθεν. "Monobazus autem ossa ejus et fratris sui misit Hierosolyma, condenda in extructis ab ipsâ pyramidibus tribus numero, tertio ab urbe Hierosolymitana stadio diasitis." *Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 2. p. 689. Colon.* 1691.

(8) See *Pococke*, "*Descript. of the East*," vol. II. p. 20. *Lond.* 1745.

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of the other two, is deemed sufficient by *Pococke* to identify 'the place alluded to by the *Jewish* historian. Indeed it seems evident, that by the "*Royal Caves*" nothing more is intended by *Josephus* than the *regal Sepulchre* of *Helena* he had before mentioned; thus repeated under a different appellation. "*The third wall*," says he', "*began at the tower Hippicus; whence extending to the north, to the tower Psephinus; then reaching onward, opposite to the Sepulchres of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates; and being prolonged by the Royal Caves (i.e. Cryptæ of Helena's sepulchres,) it bent, with a tower at the corner, near the monument called the Fuller's.*" The Historian, in this passage, is not necessarily referring to two distinct places of burial: the "*Sepulchre of Helena*," and the "*Royal Caves*," are, in all probability, only different names of the same place. Nothing seems to have excited more surprise than the doors of these chambers, of which *Maundrell* published a very particular description². Only one remained hanging in

(1) Τῷ τετίσθαι δὲ ἢ ἀρχὴ ὁ Ἰστανὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μίχρη τοῦ βορείου κλίματος καταστῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ψήφινος πύργον, ἵστωτα καθήκον ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἑλλήνης μνημείων Ἀδριαβηνῆ βασιλῆς ἢ αὐτῆς, Ἰζάτου βασιλέως μήτῃς καὶ διὰ σσηλαίων βασιλευσῶν μακρυόμινον ἐνέμαρτιτο μὲν γυναικί πύργον κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γισφίως προσεγορευμένον μνημα. *Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 4. tom. II. p. 328. Ed. Havercampi*, 1726.

(2) Journ. from *Alep.* to *Jerus.* p. 77. *Oxf.* 1721.

his time. "It consisted of a plank of stone, about six inches in thickness, carved so as to resemble a piece of wainscot. This turned upon two hinges, which were of the same entire piece of stone with the door." *Maundrell* afterwards explains the method by which this work was accomplished³. The same sort of door exists among the *sepulchres* at *Telmessus*, and is described in a former part of this volume⁴. But the Antients possessed the art of being able to close these doors in such a manner, that no one could have access to the *sepulchres*, who was not acquainted with the secret method of opening them, unless by violating the *sepulchre*, and forcing a passage through their *stone* pannels. This has been done by the moderns, in some instances, at *Telmessus*, with a view to rifle the tombs; and the doors, although broken, still remain closed, with their hinges unimpaired. *Pausanias*, describing the *Sepulchre of Helena at Jerusalem*, mentions⁵ this device: "*It was so*

(3) Journ. from *Alep.* to *Jerus.* p. 78. *Oxf.* 1721.

(4) See Chap. VIII.

(5) 'Εβραῖοις δὲ Ἑλλήσις γυναικὶς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἰστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις ἦν ἡ Ἰδαφος κατέβαλιν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς μηχανήνεται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν ὁμοίως πάντα οὕσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἰσανοίγισθαι πρὶν ἢν ἡμίραν τι αὐτὴ καὶ ἄρα τὸ ἴσος ἰσπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτὴν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοίχθῃσιν καὶ οὐ πολλὸ ἰσπαχῶσα συνεχλαίσθῃ δι' ἐλίγης. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸν δι' ἄλλων χρόνοι ἀνοίξαι περιέμενος, ἀνοίξας μὲν οὐκ ἔαν, κατὰξῃ δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βαλίζμενος. *Pausan.* in *Attad.* cap. xvi. p. 633. edit. *Kuhnii.* Lips. 1696.

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contrived, that the door of the sepulchre, which was of stone, and similar in all respects to the sepulchre itself, could never be opened, except upon the return of the same day and hour in each succeeding year: it then opened of itself, by means of the mechanism alone; and after a short interval, closed again. Such was the case at the time stated: had you tried to open it at any other time, you would not have succeeded, but have broken it first, in the attempt." PAUSANIAS here evidently alludes to the art thus possessed, and to a door like that which Maundrell has described as belonging to this Sepulchre. When doors of this kind were once closed, it is not very probable that any one would attempt to open them by violence; although some instances may be adduced of the plunder of tombs, as in the example mentioned by *Josephus* in the history of *Herod*¹. But such conduct was always considered to be, in a very high degree, impious²; and the superstition alluded to by *Quaresmius*, as recorded by *Livy*³, which considered a ruined sepulchre an ill omen, must have tended, together with the veneration

(1) *Josephus*, lib. xvi. *Antiq.* c. 11. *Colon.* 1691.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) "Quòd si apud priscos, sepulchrum dirutum fuisset, res fuit habita mali ominis, ut testatur *Livius*, et *Alexander* conciso sermone retulit; *Hannibali*, inquit, cum ex Italia Africam peteret, sepulchrum diruptum auspiciu ferele." *Quaresm. Eluoid. T. S.* lib. iv. c. 8. *Antv.* 1639.

in which *tombs* were held, towards their constant preservation.

After leaving these *tombs*, we again made the circuit of the whole city, keeping as close to the walls as possible, and remaining the whole time on horseback. In this manner we were exactly one hour and a half employed, from the moment when we left the *gate of Damascus* until we returned to it again, our horses proceeding at a foot's pace. As soon as we entered the city, we waited again upon the Governor, to thank him for the civilities we had received. Upon this occasion we used all the interest we had with him, by means of *Djezzar Pasha's* own interpreter, to obtain admission into the MOSQUE OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON, the *mosque* erected upon the site of that temple by the Caliph *Omar*, in the *seventh* century*. He entreated us not to urge the request, saying his own life would certainly be forfeited as the price of our admission: we were therefore compelled to rest satisfied with the interesting view of it afforded from his windows, which regarded the area of the temple. The sight was so grand,

Mosque of
Omar.

(4) A. D. 637.

that we did not hesitate in considering it as the most magnificent example of modern architecture in the *Turkish* empire; and, externally, superior to the *Mosque of Saint Sophia in Constantinople*. By the sides of the spacious area in which it stands, are certain vaulted remains, which plainly denote the masonry of the Antients; and evidence may be adduced to prove that they belonged to the foundations of SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. We observed also that *reticulated stucco*, which is commonly considered as an evidence of *Roman* work. This extraordinary appearance of the *opus reticulatum*¹, being irreconcilable with *Jewish* masonry, may lead to a very curious if not important inference concerning these foundations. The author was at first inclined to believe, with *Phocas* and with *Golius*², that they are the remains of the *Temple of Solomon*, as it was restored by *Herod* a few years before the *Christian æra*³. *Judæa*, it is true, was then a *Roman* province; but it does not necessarily follow, either that *Roman* workmen were employed⁴, or that the *Roman* taste

(1) See *Winkelmann Hist. de l'Art*, tom. II. p. 561. *Par. An.* 2.

(2) See p. 392, of this Volume.

(3) *Josephus*, lib. xv. *Antiq.* c. 14. *Colon.* 1691.

(4) Indeed the text of *Josephus* seems to prove the contrary; for he states, that the *Jewish* priests were employed to superintend the plan of the work, and the labours of the artificers. *Vid. lib. xv. de Antiq. ibid.*

was consulted in the style of the superstructure. Upon maturer deliberation, after duly considering what has been written upon the subject, particularly by *Chrysostom*, there seems every reason for believing, that, in the foundations here mentioned, we have A STANDING MEMORIAL OF JULIAN'S DISCOMFITURE, when he attempted to rebuild the temple; and perhaps of a nature which might have satisfied *Lardner* himself⁵, that his doubts concerning the fact were unwarrantable. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whose testimony, as that of a *Heathen* writer, confounded even *Gibbon's* incredulity⁶, pretty plainly indicates that some progress had been made in the work before the prodigy occurred which rendered the place inaccessible to the artificers whom *Julian* had employed. It is expressly stated by him⁷, that, *Alypius* of *Antioch* was earnestly employed in carrying on the building, and that the Governor of the province was assisting the operations when the flames burst forth.

Existing
Evidence
of *Julian's*
Discomfi-
ture.

(5) *Lardner* made objection to the miraculous interposition, and even doubted the attempt. (*Testimonies*, vol. IV. pp. 61, 64.) All the authorities for the fact are brought together by *J. Alb. Fabricius*. *Lardner* however is not satisfied with them; although *Gibbon* was compelled to say, "such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind."

(6) *Hist.* vol. IV. c. 23. *Lond.* 1807.

(7) *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxiii. c. 1. *Jips.* 1779.

Chrysostom, alluding to the fact, as notorious, and attested by living witnesses, says¹, "YEA, THEY MAY VIEW THE FOUNDATIONS LYING STILL BARE AND NAKED; AND IF YOU ASK THE REASON, YOU WILL MEET WITH NO OTHER ACCOUNT BESIDES THAT WHICH I HAVE GIVEN." From these concurring testimonies, and from the extraordinary remaining evidence of the *opas reticulatum*, it can hardly be denied but that an appeal may be made to these remains as the very work to which *Chrysostom* alludes. The words of *Ammianus*² seem to warrant a similar conclusion: "*Metuendi globi flammarum PROPE FUNDAMENTA crebris assultibus erumpentes.*" On what authority *Mosheim* asserts³ that the Jews, who had "set about this important work, were obliged to desist, before they had even begun to lay the foundations of the sacred edifice," does not appear; except it be upon a passage of *Rufinus*⁴. *Warburton*, who has cited this passage⁵, is

(1) *Chrysostom. advers. Jud. &c.* as cited by *Whitby* in his General Preface. See also *West* on the Resurrection; and *Newton* on the Prophecies, (*Works*), vol. I. p. 447. *Lond.* 1782.

(2) *Ammian. Marcellin. ubi supra.*

(3) *Mosheim Hist. Eccles. Sæc. iv. Par. 1. c. 1. Helmstad. 1755.*

(4) "Apertis igitur fundamentis calces cæmentaue adhibita: nihil omnino deerat, quin die postera, veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta." *Rufin. Hist. Eccl. lib. x. c. 37.*

(5) *Warburton's Julian*, p. 73. Note (A). *Lond.* 1750.

nevertheless careful, in weighing the evidence as to the fact, to consider the testimony of *Chrysostom* as of a superior nature, being that of a living witness; whereas *Rufinus*, who lived in the subsequent age, could only relate things as they had been transmitted to him: therefore the appeal made by *Chrysostom* to the existence of the foundations, may be supposed to supersede any inference likely to be derived from the words of *Rufinus*, as to their not having been laid before the prodigy took place; and the present appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry, proves the workmanship to be strictly Roman⁶. *Prideaux*, in his "Letters to the Deists," makes indeed a bold assertion, and without veracity, in saying, that there "is not now left the least remainder of the ruins of the temple, to shew where it once stood; and that those who travel to Jerusalem have no other mark whereby to find it out, but the Mohammedan mosque erected on the same plat by Omar." There is, in fact, a much better mark; namely, the mark of *Julian's* discomfiture, in the remains of Roman masonry upon the spot: And if this be disputed, it can only be so, by admitting that the

(6) Vid. *Vitr. lib. ii. c. 8. Amat. 1649. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. L. Bat. 1625. Winkelmänn Hist. de l'Art, &c. &c.*

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VIII.Observa-
tions of
Mosheim
and Moyle.

foundations now "*lying bare and naked*," were those of the temple built by *Herod*; in direct opposition to authenticated records concerning their demolition by *Titus*, who commanded his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of the temple and the city¹. "Both the *Jewish Talmud* and *Maimonides* affirm," says *Whitby*², "that *Terentius Rufus*, the captain of his army, caused a ploughshare to rase the soil whereon the foundations of the temple stood." The words of *Mosheim*, and of the learned and acute *Moyle*, with regard to the miracle itself, are well worthy of being cited upon the present occasion; and if the foundations here alluded to be actually the work of *Julian's* masons, as the *opus reticulatum* seems to prove they were, the observations of those celebrated writers will be read with more than usual interest; for both *Mosheim* and *Moyle* have always ranked among the most candid inquirers after truth. "All, however," says *Mosheim*³, "who

(1) *Joseph. de Bell. Jud.* See *Whitby's* General Preface; *West* on the Resurrection, *Lond.* 1807; &c. &c.

(2) *Gen. Pref.* as cited by *West*.

(3) This passage is taken literally from *MacLaine's Translation of Mosheim*, vol. I. p. 332. *Lond.* 1782. *Mosheim's* words are: "*Sed æquamente qui rem considerare volent, haud difficulter sentient accedendum ad eos esse, qui præpotenti Supremi Numinis voluntati eam tribuunt; nihilque asferre superatu difficile quos, vel ad causas naturales, vel ad artes et dolos prodigium hoc referre, juvat.*" *Mosheimii Hist. Eccles. Sæc. 4. Par. 1. c. 1. p. 148. Helmstad. 1755.*

consider the matter with attention and impartiality, will perceive the strongest reasons for embracing the opinion of those who attribute this event to the almighty interposition of the Supreme Being; nor do the arguments offered by some to prove it the effect of natural causes, or those alleged by others to persuade us that it was the result of artifice and imposture, contain any thing that may not be refuted with the utmost facility." *Moyle's* words are still more emphatical. Speaking of the miracle, he says, "It is so extraordinary in all its circumstances, and so fully attested by all the *Christian* and by *Heathen* historians of that age, that I do not see with what forehead any man can question the truth of it."

After all that has been said, let the reader bear carefully in mind, that the prophecy of *CHRIST*, existing in full blaze, needs not any support from the establishment of *Julian's* miraculous discomfiture. The ruins of the temple, and of the

(4) See *Moyle's* Posthumous Works, vol. II. p. 101. Lond. 1726.

(5) Yet even this is attested by four contemporary writers; by *Ammianus Marcellinus*; by *Chrysostom*; by *Gregory of Nazianzen*; and by *Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*. The author, however, has endeavoured to keep this out of the discussion; his object being solely to prove that *Julian* was discomfited; whether by a natural or by a preternatural cause, others may determine.

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city; the abolition of the *Mosaical dispensation*; the total overthrow and dispersion of the *Jews*; these constitute all together an EXISTING MIRACLE, perplexing the sceptic with incontestable proof of the divine origin of our religion.

Phocas believed the whole space surrounding this building to be the antient area of the temple¹; and *Golius*, in his Notes upon the Astronomy of *Alferganes*², says, the whole foundation of the original edifice remained³. As to the mosque itself, there is no building at *Jerusalem* that can be compared with it, either in beauty or riches. The lofty *Saracenic* pomp so nobly displayed in the style of the building; its numerous arcades; its capacious dome, with all the stately decorations of the place; its extensive area, paved and variegated with the choicest marbles⁴; the extreme neatness observed in every

(1) 'Εν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ δαπιδᾷ τοῦ περιουμένου τοῦ ἱερέου τοῦ Σολομῶντος θεωρεῖ-
μενος. And again, in another part of the same chapter, Ἐξωθεν δὲ τοῦ
ναοῦ ἵσται περιουλίον μίγα λιθόστρωτον τὸ σελαιὸν, ὡς οἶμαι, τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ
δαπιδον. *Phocæ Descript. T. S. cap. 14. Colon. 1653.*

(2) *Alferganes*, *Alfragan*, or *Alfergani*, flourished about the year
800, of our æra. *Golius*, Professor of Mathematics at *Leyden*, pub-
lished the third and best translation of his writings, in 1663. See
Lalande's Astronomy, tom. I. p. 122. *Paris*, 1792.

(3) "Totum antiqui sacri fundum."

(4) Ἐντὶς καὶ ἑντὶς, πινυλοῖς μαρμάρους, καὶ ψαφίδι ἰσχυροῦς.
"Iatus exteriusque variis marmoribus, et tessellato opere condecora-
tum." *Phocæ Descript. T. S. cap. 14. Colon. 1656. p. 22. Lægis
Allatū ΣΤΗΜΙΚΤΑ.*

avenue towards it; and, lastly, the sumptuous costume observable in the dresses of all the *Eastern* devotees, passing to and from the Sanctuary, make it altogether one of the finest sights the *Moslems* have to boast.

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We afterwards visited the *Greek* and *Armenian* convents. The former consists of many separate establishments, which, although small, are well supported. The *Armenian* Monastery is well worth seeing, being the largest in *Jerusalem*: it is maintained in a degree of splendour, accompanied at the same time with neatness, cleanliness, and order, which are very remarkable in this part of the world; and particularly so, because every thing belonging to it is *Oriental*. The *Patriarch* makes his appearance in a flowing vest of silk instead of a *Monkish* habit, and every thing around him bears the character of *Eastern* magnificence. He receives his visitors in regal stateliness; sitting amidst clouds of incense, and regaling them with all the luxuries of a *Persian* Court. We conversed with him for some time, and were much struck with his polished manners and his sensible conversation. He seemed to be quite as well aware of what was passing in the *Western* world, as if he had regularly received the *Gazettes of Europe*, and

*Greek and
Armenian
Convents.*

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had himself figured in the Cabinets of its Princes' The approaching downfall of the *Turkish* empire is an event which of course every reflecting mind must contemplate with eager anticipation; and every means conducive to this end is hailed as an instrument in the hand of God. Whether the armies of *France* or the fleets of *England* occasion signs of its approximation, the universal Church of *Syria*, howsoever distributed and divided by sects—*Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, Catholics, Syrians, Druses, Maronites*,—together with all distinctions of *Jewish* worshippers—*Samaritans, Karaites, Rabbinites*,—are ready to bestow upon them their praises and their blessings. Thus, if a *Frenchman* arrive in *Jerusalem*¹, they talk to him of the victories of *Buonaparté*, and the prowess of *Frenchmen* in the *Holy Land*, as if they were preaching for a new *Crusade*. If an *Englishman*, they lavish commendations and benedictions upon the heroes of the *British Navy*; dwelling with enthusiasm upon the exploits of *Nelson* at *Aboukir*, upon those of *Sir Sidney Smith* at *Acre*, and upon the glorious fate of the lamented *Abercrombie*.

(1) A monk at the Convent of *St. Saba*, near the *Dead Sea*, began to reveal to Mons. *De Châteaubriand* "the secrets of the Court of *Russia*." See *Trav.* vol. I. pp. 405, 406. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) As in the recent instance of *De Châteaubriand*.



An Arab exhibiting the Feats of a Goat.

CHAP. IX.

THE HOLY LAND.—JERUSALEM, TO BETHLEHEM, JAFFA, AND ACRE.

Journey to Bethlehem — Singular Example of Dexterity in a Goat — View of Bethlehem — Prospect of the Dead Sea — Erroneous Notions entertained of this Lake — Cause of those Opinions — Authors by whom it is described — Precautions upon entering Bethlehem — Descent into the Valley — Critical Examination of a Passage in Josephus — David's Well — Interesting Circumstances connected with its History — Antiquity of Eastern Wells — Account of Bethlehem — Tomb of Rachel

Rachel—*Caverns*—*Terebinthine Vale*—*Valley of Jeremiah*—*Vegetable Productions*—*Arabs*—*Bethoor*—*Rama*—*History of that City*—*St. George of Diospolis*—*Ravages caused by the Plague*—*Jaffa*—*Antient History of Jaffa*—*Voyage along the Coast*—*Cæsarea*—*Return to Acre*.

CHAP.
IX.

Journey to
Bethlehem.

WHEN we had seen all, and much more than is worth notice, in *Jerusalem*; and had obtained from the Superior of the *Franciscan Monastery* the usual Certificate given to pilgrims¹, of the different places we had visited in the *Holy Land*; we prepared for our departure. The worthy Friars, who had treated us with very great attention, finding that we were determined to go to *Bethlehem*, where the plague then raged with fatal violence, told us, with expressions of regret, that they could not again receive us, if we persisted in our intention. We therefore took leave of them, resolved at all events to see the place of our SAVIOUR's nativity, and then continue our journey to *Jaffa*, without entering *Jerusalem* in our return.

Singular
dexterity of
a Goat.

Upon our road, we met an *Arab* with a goat, which he led about the country for exhibition, in

(1) This *Certificate* entitles persons of the *Greek Church* to the title of *Hadgi*. It is a curious document, and has therefore been preserved for the *Appendix* to this volume.

order to gain a livelihood for itself and its owner. He had taught this animal, while he accompanied its movements with a song, to mount upon little cylindrical blocks of wood, placed successively one above the other, and in shape resembling the dice-boxes belonging to a backgammon-table. In this manner the goat stood, first upon the top of one cylinder; then upon the top of two, and afterwards of three, four, five, and six, until it remained balanced upon the summit of them all, elevated several feet from the ground, and with its four feet collected upon a single point, without throwing down the disjointed fabric upon which it stood*. The practice is very antient. It is also noticed by *Sandys*†. Nothing can shew more strikingly the tenacious footing possessed by this quadruped upon the jutting points and crags of rocks; and the circumstance of its ability to remain

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

(†) *Sandys* saw this in *Grand Cairo*. "There are in this city, and have been of long, a sort of people that do get their livings by shewing of feats with birds and beasts, exceeding therein all such as have bin famous amongst us. . . . I have seen them make both dogs and goates to set their foure feet on a little turned pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end than the palm of a hand: climbing from one to two set on the top of one another; and so to the third and fourth; and there turns about as often as their masters would bid them." *Sandys' Travels*, p. 126. Lond. 1637.

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thus poised may render its appearance less surprising, as it is sometimes seen in the *Alps*, and in all mountainous countries, with hardly any place for its feet, upon the sides, and by the brink of most tremendous precipices¹. The diameter of the upper cylinder, on which its four feet ultimately remained until the *Arab* had ended his ditty, was only two inches; and the length of each cylinder was six inches. The most curious part of the performance occurred afterwards; for the *Arab*, to convince us of the animal's attention to the turn of the air, interrupted the *da capo*: as often as he did this, the goat tottered, appeared uneasy, and, upon his becoming suddenly silent in the middle of his song, it fell to the ground.

View of
Bethlehem.

After travelling for about an hour, from the time of our leaving *Jerusalem*, we came in view of *Bethlehem*, and halted to enjoy the interesting sight. The town appeared covering the ridge of a hill on the southern side of a deep and extensive valley, and reaching from east to

(1) "On the cliffs above hung a few goats; one of them danced, and scratched an ear with its hind foot, in a place where I would not have stood stock-still—

For all beneath the Moon."

See "*Gray's Letter to Wharton*," p. 375. *Memoirs by Mason*. Lond. 1775.

west; the most conspicuous object being the *Monastery*, erected over the *Cave of the Nativity*, in the suburbs and upon the eastern side. The battlements and walls of this building seemed like those of a vast fortress. The *Dead Sea* below, upon our left, appeared so near to us, that we thought we could have rode thither in a very short space of time. Still nearer stood a mountain upon its western shore, resembling, in its form, the cone of *Vesuvius*, and having also a *crater* upon its top, which was plainly discernible. The distance, however, is much greater than it appears to be; the magnitude of the objects beheld in this fine prospect causing them to appear less remote than they really are. The atmosphere was remarkably clear and serene; but we saw none of those clouds of smoke which, by some writers, are said to exhale from the surface of *Lake Asphaltites*, nor from any neighbouring mountain. Every thing about it was, in the highest degree, grand and awful. Its desolate, although majestic

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Prospect
of the
Dead Sea.

(2) It is pleasing to confirm, by actual observation, the strong internal evidences of the genuineness of *Sandys'* narrative. These were his remarks upon the same spot: "From this ridge of hills, the *Dead Sea* doth appear as if neere at hand: but not so found by the traveller; for that those high declining mountaines are not to be directly descended." *Sandys' Travels*, p. 176. *Lond.* 1637.

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Erroneous
Notions
entertained
of this
Lake.

features, are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror, seeming to shrink from the narrative of its deceitful allurements and deadly influence. "Beautiful fruit," say they," grows upon its shores, which is no sooner touched, than it becomes dust and bitter ashes." In addition to its physical horrors, the region around is said to be more perilous, owing to the ferocious tribes wandering upon the shores of the lake, than any other part of the *Holy Land*. A passion for the marvellous has thus affixed, for ages, false characteristics to the sublimest associations of natural scenery in the whole world; for, although it be now known that the waters of this lake, instead of proving destructive of animal life, swarm with myriads of *fishes*¹; that, instead of falling victims to its exhalations, certain *birds*² make it their

(1) "About midnight, I heard a noise upon the lake. The *Bethlehemites* told me, that it proceeded from *legions* of small fish, which come and leap about on the shore." *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. I. p. 411. *Lond.* 1811.

(2) See *Murndrell's Journey*, p. 84. *Oxf.* 1721. There were many lakes where the same fable was related of birds falling dead in flying over them. A lake of this nature was called *Avernus*, i. e. *ÆRNUUS*, without birds. *Reland* refutes the fable, as applied to the *Lake Asphaltites*: "*Quod verò quidam scribunt aves supra lacum hunc volantes necari, nunc quidem certè experientia repugnat.*" *Palæst. Illust.* lib. i. cap. 38. *Utr.* 1714.

peculiar resort; that *shells* abound upon its shores³; that the pretended “fruit, containing ashes,” is as natural and as admirable a production of nature as the rest of the vegetable kingdom⁴; that bodies sink or float in it, according to the proportion of their gravity to the gravity of the water⁵; that its vapours are not more unwholesome than those of any other lake⁶; that innumerable *Arabs* people the neighbouring district⁷;—notwithstanding all these facts are now well established, even the latest authors by whom it is mentioned, and one,

(3) See *Maundrell, Hasselquist, &c.*

(4) It is the fruit of the *Solanum Melongena*. *Hasselquist* found it in abundance near the *Dead Sea*. When the fruit is attacked by an insect (*Tenthredo*), the inside turns to dust; the skin only remaining entire, and of a beautiful colour. See *Hasselquist's Trav.* p. 288. *Lond.* 1766.

(5) *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. I. p. 416. *Lond.* 1811. This author gives (*ibid.* p. 412.) the analysis of its waters, being the result of an experiment made in *London*, upon a bottle of it, brought home by Mr. *Gordon*. Its specific gravity is 1,211. It is perfectly transparent, and contains the following substances, in the under-mentioned proportions:

Muriat of Lime . . .	3,920
Magnesia	10,246
Soda	10,360
Sulphat of Lime054
	<hr/> 24,580 in 100

(6) “The pestilential vapours said to issue from its bosom, are reduced to a strong smell of sea-water, &c.” *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. I. p. 416.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 417.

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among the number, from whose writings some of these truths have been derived, continue to fill their descriptions with imaginary horrors¹ and ideal phantoms, which, although less substantial than the "black perpendicular rocks" around it, "cast their lengthened shadows over the waters of the *Dead Sea*³." The *Antients*, as it is observed by the traveller now alluded to², were much better acquainted with it than are the *Moderns* : and, it may be added, the time is near at hand when it will be more philosophically examined⁴. The present age is not that, in which countries so situate can

(1) "A dismal sound proceeded from this lake of death, like the stifled clamours of the people engulfed in its waters!!!" *De Châteaubriand's Travels*, vol. I. p. 413.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 407.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 416.

(4) The present state of *Europe* has driven many travellers towards this part of *Asia*, gifted with every qualification requisite for the undertaking. Those who shall first make us acquainted with the natural history and productions of this extraordinary and unfrequented region, will be amply rewarded for their enterprise. Such travellers will of course have learned to deride the idle rumours circulated concerning the country. Even the danger to be apprehended from the *Arabs*, may, with proper precaution, be avoided. While this is writing, labourers are in the vineyard, and the harvest is begun. A SEETZEN and a BURCKHARDT have explored the country*, and they will not return without due proofs of their industry. But let us also hope that some of our own countrymen, from the number of those now travelling in the *East*, will contribute their portion towards the illustration of regions so little known to the geographer and the philosopher.

* See pp. 219, Note (5); 230, Note; 362, Note.

long continue unexplored. The thirst of knowledge, and the love of travel, have attained to such a pitch, that every portion of the globe will be ransacked for their gratification. Indeed, one of the advantages derived from the present perturbed state of nations is that of directing the observation of enlightened travellers to regions they probably would not otherwise have noticed.

Reland, in his account of Lake *Asphaltites*¹ after inserting copious extracts from *Galen*, concerning the properties and quality of the water, and its natural history, proceeds to account for the strange fables that have prevailed with regard to its deadly influence, by shewing that certain of the Antients confounded this lake with another, bearing the same appellation of *Asphaltites*² (which signifies nothing more than *bituminous*³), near *Babylon*; and that they attributed to it qualities which properly belonged to the *Babylonian waters*⁴. An account

(5) *Palæst. Illustr.* lib. ii. cap. 38. tom. I. p. 238. *Trag. Bat.* 1714.

(6) "Mare mortuum, in quo nihil poterat esse vitale, et mare amarissimum, quod Græci λίμνη Ἀσφαλείτη, id est *Stagnum bituminis*, vocant." *Hieron. in Comm. ad. Ezek.* xlvii.

(7) "Credo itaque confudisse quosdam veterum hunc lacum Asphaltitem cum alio lacu ejusdem nominis circa Babylonem, et uni tribuisse quod alteritribuendum fuerat."

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of the properties of the *Babylonian Lake* occurs in the writings of *Vitruvius*¹, of *Pliny*², of *Athenæus*³, and of *Xiphilinus*⁴: from their various testimony it is evident that all the phænomena supposed to belong to the *Lake Asphaltites*, near *Babylon*, were, from the similarity of their names, ultimately considered as the natural characteristics of the *Judæan Lake*; the two *Asphaltites* being confounded⁵. Thus, when *Dioscorides*, extolling the *Bitumen Judaicum* above all other, adds, that it is also found in *Babylon*⁶, he is evidently referring to the bituminous sources mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*⁷. The *Arabian* geographers, and among these *Ibn Idris*⁸, admitted all the fabulous opinions concerning the

(1) *Vitruv.* lib. viii. cap. 3. *Amst.* 1619.

(2) *Plin.* lib. xxxv. cap. 15. tom. III. pp. 459, 460. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(3) *Athen.* lib. ii. cap. 5. *L. Bat.* 1612.

(4) *Xiphilin.* in *Epitome Dionis*, p. 252.

(5) "Ita quod de lacu Asphaltite *Babyloniæ* fama ferebatur, de hoc lacu Asphaltite Judææ narrarunt, et duos hos lacus confuderunt." *Reland. Pal. III* lib. i. tom. I. c. 38 p. 245. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

(6) *Dioscorides de Re Medicâ.* lib. i. cap. 99. *Francof.* 1598.

(7) Ἰσχυρῶν δὲ καὶ παραδόξων ὄντων θαυμάτων κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οὐκ ἔκαστα θαυμάζονται, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γινωσκμένης ἀσφάλτου, κ. τ. λ. "Multa sane *Babyloni* continet spectatu digna et admiranda: scilicet inter hæc non minimum admirationis meretur bituminis copia illa exsurgens, &c." *Diodor. Sic.* lib. ii. cap. 12. *Amst.* 1746.

(8) "Appellatur autem mare mortuum, quia nihil in quo anima est ibi invenitur, nec piscis, nec reptile, nec aliud quidpiam quod in reliquis aquis generari solet." *Vid. Test. Georg. Arab. in Rel. Pal. Illust.* lib. i. cap. 38. tom. I. p. 249, &c.

Dead Sea which were found in the writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. According to them, no animal found in other waters existed here. Among the numerous assertors of the remarkable specific gravity of the water, almost every antient author may be included, by whom the lake has been mentioned: this is noticed by *Aristotle*: and it can hardly be doubted but that their testimonies have some foundation in reality. *Maundrell*, ΑΥΤΟΠΤΗΣ, as he is emphatically styled by *Reland*¹⁰, is entitled to implicit confidence in this, as in all other matters where he speaks from his own practical observation. "Being willing," says he¹¹, "to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that men wading into it were buoyed up to the top as soon as they go as deep as the navel, I found it, upon experiment, not true." There is scarcely a single antient geographer

(9) Εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ μυθολογοῦσι τίνες, ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τιναύτη λίμνη, εἰς ἣν ἰάν τις ὑμβάλλῃ συνδύσας ἄνθρωπον ἢ ὑπόζυγιον ἱππέλι, καὶ αὐ κατεδύσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος, μαρτύριον ἂν εἴη τοῖς ἀληθεύουσιν. "Si autem, uti quidam narrant, in Palestina ejusmodi locus sit, in quem si quis hominem aut jumentum ligatum injecerit, supernatet nec mergatur, id ea quæ diximus confirmabit." *Aristot.* lib. ii. cap. 3. *Meteorologicorum.* Paris, 1629.

(10) *Pal. Illustr.* tom. I. p. 244. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

(11) *Maundrell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 64. *Oxf.* 1721.

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who has not mentioned something concerning this inland sea. *Josephus*, *Julius Africanus*, and *Pausanias*, describe it from their own ocular evidence. The first of these often introduces allusions to it, under the appellation of *Lake Asphaltites*. Its water, although limpid, like that of the *Sea of Galilee*, and resulting from the same river, the *Jordan*, instead of being, as that is, sweet and salutary, is in the highest degree salt, bitter, and nauseous'. Its length, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, is above seventy-two *English* miles, and its breadth nearly nineteen'. *Julius Africanus* mentions the abundance of *balsam* found near its shores'. The observations of *Pausanias* contain merely a repetition of remarks already introduced.

The temptation to visit *Bethlehem* was so great, that, notwithstanding the increasing alarms concerning the ravages of the plague as we drew near the town, we resolved, at all events, to

(1) *Maunderell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 84. *Oxf.* 1731.

(2) *Vid. Diod. Sic.* lib. xix. *Amst.* 1746. Reckoning the *stadia* as being equal to our furlong.

(3) "Ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐτῇ γάρ τε πολλὸν τοῦ βαλσάνου ἐννέον. "Circumquaque magna balsami copia est." *Jul. African. de Lacu Asphalt.* *Vid. Rel. Pol.* III. lib. i. c. 38.

(4) *Pausanias*, lib. v. cap. 7. *Dips.* 1696.

venture thither. For this purpose, calling all our troop together, we appointed some of the party to keep a look-out, and to act as guards in the van, in the centre, and in the rear of the cavalcade, to see that no person loitered, and that none of the inhabitants might be permitted to touch any of our persons, or any of our horses and camels. In this manner we passed entirely through the town, which we found almost deserted by the inhabitants, who, having fled the contagion, were seen stationed in tents over all the neighbouring hills. It appeared to be a larger place than we expected to find: the houses are all white; and they have flat roofs, as at *Jerusalem*, and in other parts of the country. A nephew of the Governor of *Jerusalem*, mounted upon a beautiful *Arabian* courser, magnificently accoutred, rode near to the centre of our caravan. He had volunteered his company, as he said, to ensure us respect, and as a mark of the Governor's condescension. To our very great embarrassment, we had no sooner arrived, in the middle of *Bethlehem*, than some of the inhabitants, at the sight of this man, came towards him to salute him; and, in spite of all our precautions and remonstrances, a *Bethlehemite* of some consideration came and conversed with him, placing his arm upon the velvet saddle-cloth which

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covered his horse's haunches. This, we knew, would be sufficient to communicate the plague to every one of us; therefore there was no alternative, but to insist instantly upon the young grandee's immediate dismissal. However, when our resolutions were made known to him, he positively refused to leave the party: upon this, we were compelled to have recourse to measures which proved effectual; and he rode off, at full speed, muttering the curses usually bestowed on *Christians*, for our insolence and cowardice. We reached the great gate of the *Convent of the Nativity* without further accident; but did not choose to venture within it, both on account of the danger, and the certainty of beholding over again much of the same sort of mummery which had so frequently put our patience to the proof in *Jerusalem*. Passing close to its walls, we took our course down into the deep valley which lies upon its north-eastern side; visiting the place where tradition says the angel, with a multitude of the heavenly host, appeared to the shepherds of *Judæa*, with the glad tidings of our SAVIOUR'S nativity¹; and, finally, halting in

Descent
into the
Valley.

(1) *Bernard the Monk*, who visited *Bethlehem* in the year 870, speaks of a *monastery* in this place, which he describes as a mile distant from the town. We saw nothing of the *monastery* alluded to by him; neither does the place here mentioned agree with his distance.

an olive plantation at the bottom of the valley below the convent and the town. We found it necessary to station an armed guard upon the outside of the olive-ground, which was fenced with a low wall, in order to keep off those whom curiosity attracted towards us, and who expressed their astonishment at our fear of them; having withdrawn, they said, from the town, expressly to avoid the contagion, and therefore they considered themselves to be secure from receiving or communicating infection. The Arab soldiers of our escort were, however, of opinion that we should do well to keep them at a distance, and therefore we did not allow them to come within the wall. There was a well stationed upon the outside of our little rampart, near to the spot; and as it was necessary to send to this place for water to boil our coffee, we fixed upon a single individual for this purpose, upon whose discretion we could rely.

distance. "*Miliario denique uno à Bethleem est monasterium sanctorum Pastorum, quibus Angelus Domini apparuit in nativitate Domini.*" Vid. *Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi*, apud *Mutallon*. [Act. Sanct. Ord. *Benedict.* Sæcul. 3. Pars ii. p. 525. *Lut. Paris*. 1672. *Doubdun* saw the ruins of a church, built, he says, by *Helena*, mother of *Constantine* (*Voy. de la T. S.* p. 167. *Paris*, 1657.); but his description of their situation answers to the place where we halted. "*C'est une petite campagne plaine et unie au fond du vallon . . . une terre labourable . . . fermée d'une petite mur ; &c. &c.*"

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IX.

Critical
Examina-
tion of a
Passage in
Josephus.

BETHLEHEM, written *Bethlehem* by *Reland*¹, is six miles from *Jerusalem*. This distance, allowed by almost all authors, exactly corresponds with the usual computed measure, by time, of two hours. Some inaccuracy might therefore be acknowledged to exist in the printed text of *Josephus*, describing the interval between the two cities as equal only to twenty stadia². *Jerom*³, who passed so many years at *Bethlehem*, and therefore was best qualified to decide this point, together with *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Phocas*⁴, all agree in the distance before stated. But *Reland*, with his usual critical acumen, observes, that the apparent inaccuracy of the *Jewish* historian arises only from a misconstruction of his words; that he is speaking of the distance from *Jerusalem* to the camp of the *Philistines* in the valley between the two cities, and not of their distance from

(1) *Palæst. Illustr.* tom. II. p. 642. *Utrecht*, 1714.

(2) Τῆς δὲ πῶς ἰχθῶν παραβολῆς ἐν τῇ πελάδι κειμένης, ἡ μίχρη πόλεως Βηθλεὴμ διαστίν, σταδίων ἱεροσολύμων ἀντιχούσης ἰκασί. "Castris verò hostium in ed valle positis quæ usque ad Bethleem urbem pertingit, viginti stadiis ab Hierosolymis distantem." *Josephus Antiq. Jud.* lib. vii. cap. 12. tom. II. p. 402. Edit. *Havercampi. Batav.* 1726.

(3) *Hieronymus*. in lib. *de Locis Hebraicis*.

(4) Ἡ δὲ Βηθλεὴμ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως ἀπὸ μίλια ἑξ. "Urbs verò Bethleem à cunctâ civitate sex ferè mille passibus distat." *Phocæ Descript. T. S.* apud *Leo. Allat.* in *Σύμμ.* *Colos.* 1653.

each other⁵. There is at present a particular reason for wishing to establish the accuracy of *Josephus* in this part of his writings. In the same passage he makes allusion to a celebrated *Well*, which, both from the account given by him of its situation, and more especially from the text of Sacred Scripture⁶, seems to have contained the identical fountain, of whose pure and delicious water we were now drinking. Considered merely in point of interest, the narrative is not likely to be surpassed by any circumstance of *Pagan* history. It shall be related both with reference to the words of *Scripture*, and to the account given by *Josephus*. *DAVID*, being a native of *Bethlehem*, calls to mind, during the sultry days of harvest⁷, a *well* near to the gate of the town, of whose delicious water he had often tasted; and expresses an earnest desire to assuage his thirst by drinking of that limpid spring. "AND DAVID LONGED, AND

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David's
Well.

Interesting
Circum-
stances
connected
with its
History.

(5) "Sed error hic non est Josephi, verum ex verbis ejus male intellectis natus. Inspice verba Græca. Illud ἀρχαίου refertur ad πόλιν Βεθλὴμ, sic ut sensus sit urbem Bethleem distare 20 stadiis ab urbe Hierosolymitanâ : Sed refer illud ad vocem παρεμβολή, et hostilem exercitum ; atque ita Josephus scripsit castra inimicorum, quæ erant in valle se extendente usque ad urbem Bethleem, abfuisse Hierosolymis 20 stadia ; non ipsam urbem Bethleem Hierosolymis abfuisse 20 stadiorum intervallum. Peccant itaque versiones quæ Josephum ita loquentem inducunt." *Reland. Pal. Ælust. lib. ii. c. 9.*

(6) 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

(7) Ibid. ver. 13.

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SAID, OH THAT ONE WOULD GIVE ME DRINK OF THE WATER OF THE WELL OF BETH-LEHEM, WHICH IS BY THE GATE!" The exclamation is overheard by "three of the mighty men whom David had;" by Adino, by Eleazar, and by Shammah'. These men, the most mighty of all the chiefs belonging to DAVID'S host, sallied forth, and, having fought their way through the Philistine garrison* at Bethlehem, "drew water from the well, that was by the gate," on the other side of the town, "and took it, and brought it to DAVID." Josephus lays the scene of action in the valley³, calling these renowned warriors by the names of Jessaem, Eleazar, and Sebas⁴: he further says, that as they returned back, bearing the water through the Philistine camp, their enemies, gazing in wonder at the intrepidity of the enterprise, offered them no molestation⁵. Coming into the presence of

(1) 2 Sam. xliii. 8, 9, 11.

(2) "And the garrison of the Philistines was then in Beth-lehem." Ibid. ver. 44.

(3) Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. c. 12. tom. I. p. 402. ed. præced.

(4) Vid. Joseph. Antiq. ibid. p. 401. Without attempting to reconcile Adino with Jessaem, it may be observed that Sebas was probably Semas: the antient Greek *b* and *m* being, in MS, scarcely distinguishable from each other.

(5) Ὡς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταπλάγιντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐφυλίαν, ἠρίστησαν, καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ' αὐτοῦς τολῆσαι, &c. "Adeo ut Palestini, eorum audaciam animique fortitudine attoniti, quieverint, nihilque in ipsis ausi fuerint, &c." Ibid. p. 402.

the king, they present, to him the surprising testimony of their valour and affection. DAVID receives from their hands a pledge they had so dearly earned, but refuses to drink of water every drop of which had been purchased by their blood⁶. He returns thanks to the Almighty, who had vouchsafed the deliverance of his warriors from the jeopardy they had encountered; and making libation with the precious gift, pours it upon the ground, an offering to the Lord⁷. The ancient character and history of the early inhabitants of *Judæa* are beautifully illustrated by this brief record; but it presents a picture of manners which has not lost its prototype among the *Arabs* of the same country at this day. The *well*, too, still retains its pristine renown; and many an expatriated *Bethlehemite* has made it the theme of his longing and regret. As there is no other *well* corresponding in its situation with the description

(6) That is to say, which was the *price of blood*.—"Is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?" (2 *Sam.* xxiii. 17.) It was contrary to the *Jewish* law to use any thing which might be considered as the *price of blood*. Thus it is recorded by *St. Matthew*, (xxvii. 6) "And the chief-priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the *price of blood*."

(7) Ἐστρωσὶ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ Θιῇ, καὶ παρὰ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν θυγατρῶν αὐτοῦ. "Deo autem inde libavit, eique pro virorum incolumitate gratias egit." *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. vii. c. 12. tom. I. p. 402. 1726.

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Antiquities
of Eastern
Wells.

given by the sacred historian and by *Josephus*,—and the text of *Scripture* so decidedly marks its locality, at the farthest extremity of *Bethlehem* (with reference to *Jerusalem*), that is to say, near the gate of the town on the *eastern side* (for *DAVID*'s captains, had to fight through all the garrison stationed within the place, before they reached it^a,)—this may have been *DAVID*'s WELL. It is known to travellers, who have seen the wells of *Greece* and of the *Holy Land*, that there exists no monument of antient times more permanent than even an artificial well; that vases of *terra cotta*, of the highest antiquity, have been found in cleansing the wells of *Athens*: and if they be natural sources, springing from cavities in the *limestone* rocks of a country where a well is the most important possession of the people, (in which number this well of *Bethlehem* may be classed,) there seems no reason to doubt the possibility of its existence in the remote ages to which a reference is now

(1) "Bethlehem in dorso sita est angusto, ex omni parte vallibus circumdato. Ab Occidente in Orientem mille passibus longa, humili sine turribus muro: in cujus orientali angulo quasi quoddam naturale semiantrum est," &c. *Beda in libro de Locis Sanctis, cap. viii.*

(2) This appears by the context, (2 *Sam.* xxiii. 14. 16.) "And the garrison of the *Philistines* was then in *Beth-lehem* And the three mighty men brake through the host of the *Philistines*, and drew water out of the Well of *Beth-lehem*, that was by the gate," &c.

made. It has not hitherto excited the attention of any writer by whom *Bethlehem* is described: for *Quaresmius*', who has written a chapter "*De Cisternâ Bethlehem quæ et David nuncupatur*," places this upon the road to *Jerusalem*, at a considerable distance from the town.

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The tradition respecting the *Cave of the Nativity* seems so well authenticated, as hardly to admit of dispute. Having been always held in veneration, the oratory established there by the first *Christians* attracted the notice and indignation of the *Heathens* so early as the time of *Adrian*, who ordered it to be demolished, and the place to be set apart for the rites of *Adonis*. This happened in the *second* century, and at a period in *Adrian's* life when the *Cave of the Nativity* was as well known in *Bethlehem* as the circumstance to which it owed its celebrity. In the *fourth*, or in the beginning of the *fifth* century, we accordingly find this fact appealed to by *St. Jerom* as a notorious testimony by which the *Cave* itself had been identified.

Account of
Bethlehem.

(3) *Elucidatio Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 614. Antv. 1639.*

(4) "*Bethleem nunc nostram, et augustissimum orbis locum de quo Psalmista canit (Ps. 84. 12.) Veritas de terrâ orta est, lucus inumbrabat Thamam, id est, Adonidis; et in specu ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris Amasius plangebatur.*" *Hieronymus, Epist. ad Paulin. p. 564.*

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Upon this subject there does not seem to be the slightest ground for scepticism; and the evidence afforded by such a writer as *Jerom*, VIR IN SÆCULARIBVS VALDE ERVDITVS, IN DIVINIS SCRIPTVRIS INTER OMNES DOCTORES ERVDITISSIMVS¹, will be deemed a sufficient authority for believing that the *Monastery* erected over the spot, and where he resided himself, does at this day point out the place of our SAVIOUR'S birth. The situation of the town upon the narrow ridge of a long and lofty hill, surrounded on all sides by valleys, is particularly described by the *Abbot of Iona*, from the account given to him by *Arculfus*²: and for a description of the interior of the *Monastery*, the Reader may be referred to the very recent publication of Mons. *De Château-briand*³. He considers the church as of high

(1) *Tritheim*. in Script. Eccles. p. 25.

(2) "Quæ civitas non tam situ grandis, (sicuti nobis *Arculfus* retulit, qui eam frequentavit,) quàm famâ prædicabilis per universarum gentium ecclesiam diffamata, in dorso (*montis*) sita est angustâ, undique ex omni parte vallibus circumdato. Quod utique ferrè dorsum ab occidentali plagâ in orientalem partem quasi mille passibus porrigitur. In ejus campestri planicie superiore, humilis siue turribus murus, in circuitu per ejusdem monticuli extremitatis supercilium constructus, valliculis hinc et inde circumjacentibus supereminet: mediâque intercapedine intra muros per longiorem tramitem habitacula civium sternauntur." *Adamnani de Loc. Sanct. lib. ii. c. 1. V. d. Mabillon. Acta Ord. Bened. Sec. 3. L. Par. 1672.*

(3) See *Travels in Greece, Egypt, and Palestine*, vol. I. p. 392. Lond. 1811.

antiquity; being unmindful of the entire destruction of the convent by the Moslems, towards the end of the *thirteenth* century*. We felt very little disappointment in not seeing it. The degrading superstitions maintained by all the *Monkish* establishments in the *Holy Land* excite pain and disgust. The *Turks* resort to the *monastery* when they travel this way, as they would to a common *caravanserai*; making the church, or any other part of the building that suits their convenience, both a dormitory and a tavern while they remain. Neither is the sanctuary more polluted by the presence of these *Moslems*, than by a set of men whose grovelling understandings have sunk so low as to vilify the sacred name of *Christianity* by the grossest outrages upon human intellect. In the pavement of the church, a hole, formerly used to carry off water, is exhibited as the place where the *star* fell, and sunk into the

(4) "Sainte Paule fit bastir ce Monastère pour des Religieux, où le grand saint Jerosme demeura plusieurs années, mais il fut ruiné par les Infidèles l'an 1263." (*Doubdan Voy. de la T. S. p. 163. Paris, 1657.*) PAULA was a *Roman* matron, one of the first women who, with MARCELLA, SOPHRONIA, and PRINCIPIA, professed a *monastic* life at *Rome*. MARCELLA had been instigated by *Athanasius*, but the others were instructed by *Jerom*. PAULA and MELANIA accompanied him to the *Holy Land*: the former of these erected four monasteries, three for women, and one for men, where *Jerom* lived for many years, as he testifies in his Epitaph of PAULA.

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earth, after conducting the *Magi* to the *Cave of the Nativity*. A list of fifty other things of this nature might be added, if either the patience of the reader or of the author were equal to the detail: and if to these were added the inscriptions and observations contained in the bulky volumes of *Quaresmius* upon this subject alone¹, the *Guide to Bethlehem*, as a work concentrating the quintessence of mental darkness, would leave us lost in wonder that such a place was once enlightened by the precepts of a scholar whom *Erasmus* so eloquently eulogized². They still pretend to shew the tomb of *St. Jerom*³ (although his relics were translated to *Rome*), and also that of *Eusebius*⁴. The same manufacture of *crucifixes* and *beads* which supports so many of the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, also maintains those of *Bethlehem*; but the latter claim, almost exclusively, the privilege of marking the limbs and bodies of *pilgrims*, by means of gunpowder, with crosses, stars,

(1) *Élucid. T. S.* lib. vi. p. 614 ad p. 695. tom. II.

(2) *St. Jerom* passed great part of his life in this retirement. *Erasmus* says of him, "*Quis docet apertius? quis delectat in banis? quis movet efficacius? quis laudat candidius? quis suadet gravius? quis hortatur urdentius?*"

(3) He died at the age of 91, in the beginning of the fifth century, A.D. 422.

(4) *Quaresmius*, tom. II. p. 676, et seq.

and monograms. A *Greek* servant who accompanied us, thought proper 'to have his skin disfigured in this manner; and the wound was for many days so painful, and accompanied with so much fever, that we had reason to apprehend a much more serious consequence than he had expected. This practice is very antient; it is noticed by *Virgil*⁵, and by *Pomponius Mela*⁶: indeed, it is worthy of being remarked, that there rarely exists an instance among the popular minor superstitions of the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, but its origin may be found in more remote antiquity, and very often, among the religious customs of the *Heathen* nations.

Leaving our halting-place by the *well*, we made a wide circuit in the valley, to keep clear of the town; and returning again to *Jerusalem*, instead of entering the city, took the road leading to *JAFFA*. No notice has been taken of what is called the *Tomb of Rachel*⁷, between

*Tomb of
Rachel.*

(5) *Æneid*, lib. iv. ver. 146.

(6) *Pompon. Mela*, lib. xxi.

(7) "Est quædam via regia, quæ ab *Æliâ* contra meridianam plagam *Chebron* ducit, cui viæ *Bethlehem* vicina, sex millibus distans ab *Hierosolymâ*, ab orientali plagâ adhæret. Sepulchrum verò *Rachel* in eadẽ viæ extremitate ab occidentali parte, hoc est in dextro latere,

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Bethlehem and *Jerusalem*, because it is a work of no antiquity. The place, however, is held in veneration, not only by *Christians* and *Jews*, but also by *Arabs* and *Turks*. The whole distance from *Jerusalem* to *Jaffa* does not much exceed forty miles¹; and this, according to the usual time of travelling, might be performed in about thirteen hours: but owing to rugged and pathless rocks over which the traveller must pass, it is impossible to perform it in less than a day and a half. When it is considered that this has been always the principal route of pilgrims, and that during the *Crusades* it was much frequented, it is singular that no attempt was ever made to facilitate the approach to the *Holy City*. The wildest passes of the *Apennines* are not less open to travellers. No part of the country is so much infested by predatory tribes of *Arabs*. The most remarkable circum-

habetur pergentibus Chebron cohærens; vili operatione collocatum, et nullam habens adorationem, lapideâ circumdatur pyramide." *Adamyn. De Loc. Sanct. apud Mabillon. Act. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. 3. Par. 2. p. 512. L. Par. 1672.*

(1) *Quaresmus* gives the distance from *St. Jerom.* (*Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 4.*) making it equal to forty miles. His own knowledge of the country also adds weight to the high authority he has cited. But *Phocas*, also a very accurate writer, describes the distance of *Rama* from *Jerusalem* as equal to thirty-seven miles. See *Phoc. Descr. Loc. Sanct. apud L. Atlas. Σύμμ. p. 44. Col. 1653.* If this be true, *Jaffa* is forty-seven miles, at the least, from *Jerusalem*.

stance which occurred in this route, although a very general characteristic of the *Holy Land*, was the number of artificial excavations in the rocks. It must remain for others to determine their origin, whether they were solely used as sepulchres, or as dwellings belonging to the antient *Philistines*. At present, they serve for retreats to bands of plunderers dispersed among the mountains. After three miles of as toilsome a journey, over hills and rocks, as any we had experienced, we entered the famous *Terebinthine Vale*, renowned, during nineteen centuries, as the field of the victory gained by the youngest of the sons of *Jesse* over the uncircumcised champion of the *Philistines*, who had “defied the armies of the Living God.” The *ADMONITUS LOCORUM* cannot be more forcibly excited than by the words of Scripture²: “And *Saul* and the men of *Israel* were gathered together, and pitched by the Valley of *Elah*, and set the battle in array against the *Philistines*. And the *Philistines* stood on a mountain on the one side, and *Israel* stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them.”

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Caverns.

*Terebin-
thine Vale.*

(2) 1 *Sam.* xvii. 2, 3.

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Nothing has ever occurred to alter the appearance of the country: as it was then, so it is now. The very brook whence *David* "chose him five smooth stones," has been noticed by many a thirsty pilgrim, journeying from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*; all of whom must pass it in their way'. The ruins of goodly edifices attest the religious veneration entertained, in later periods, for the hallowed spot: but even these are now become so insignificant, that they are scarcely discernible; and nothing can be said to interrupt the native dignity of this memorable scene.

Valley of
Jeremiah.

Seven miles, not less laborious than the preceding, brought us to another valley, called that of *Jeremiah*, from a church once dedicated to the prophet¹. We intended to have passed the night in *Jeremiah*; but the drivers of our camels, perhaps by design, had taken them

(1) "Torrens verò ex quo *David* accepit quinque limpidissimos lapides, quibus dejecit et prostravit gigantem, proximus est; et pertransitur proseguendo iter versus sanctam civitatem." *Quarism. Elucid. T. S. lib. iv. tom. II. p. 16. Antv. 1639.* See also *Adrichomius in Judah, num. 235. Brocard. Itin. 7. Breidenbach. cod. &c. &c.*

(2) In a miserable village of the same name, Mons. *De Châteaubriand* was gratified by the sight of a troop of young *Arabs*, imitating the *French* military exercise with palm sticks, and by hearing them exclaim, in his own language, "*En avant! marche!*" *Travels in Greece, Palest. &c. vol. I. p. 383. Lond. 1811.*

forward, with our baggage, to the village of *Bethoor*, where they were seized by the *Arabs*. All our *journals* were with the baggage; and as we travelled with a recommendation from the Governor of *Jerusalem*, and from *Djezzar Pasha*, we thought there would be little risk in venturing to claim our effects: after a short deliberation, we therefore resolved to proceed. Barren as are the hills in this district, the valleys seem remarkably fertile. We found the latter covered with plentiful crops of *tobacco, wheat, barley, Indian millet, melons, vines, pumpkins, and cucumbers*. The *gourd or pumpkin* seems to be a very favourite vegetable in the *East*, and many varieties of it are cultivated. The prospect among the hills resembles the worst parts of the *Apennines*. Mountains of naked *limestone*, however broken and varied their appearance, have rarely in their aspect any thing either grand or picturesque. Their summits and defiles are tenanted by the wildest *Arabs*³; a party of whom, attended by their

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Vegetable
Productions.

(3) "I was told of the tribe between *Rama* and *Jerusalem*. The *European Monks*, who are now the only *pilgrims* that visit the *Holy Land*, describe those *Arabs* as devils incarnate, and complain dolefully of their cruelty to the poor *Christians*. Those lamentations, and the superstitious pity of good souls in *Europe*, procure large alms to the Convent of *Franciscans* at *JERUSALEM*." *Niebuhr's Trav. in Arabia*, vol. II. p. 182. *Edin.* 1792.

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Prince, favoured us with their company, at a well where we halted : but fortunately, from the paucity of their number, they offered us no molestation. We were therefore permitted to admire, without apprehension, the very interesting group they exhibited ; their wild and swarthy looks ; the beauty of their horses ; and their savage dress. Some of them dismounted, and, having lighted their pipes, sat smoking tobacco with us at the well. They make no secret of their mode of life, but seemed rather vain of it. Had but a few of their friends upon the hills descended to their aid, they would have stripped us of every thing, even of our clothes. Their chief advanced to kiss the hand of the captain of our guard, expressing his reverence for *Djezzar Pasha*, and making him as much compliment and ceremony as if they had been his slaves. This officer told us, that their servile behaviour when their force is inferior is as much their characteristic as their ferocity when in power. We bargained with this chief to accompany us to *Bethoor*, in order to recover our camels and baggage ; to which, after a short parley, he consented ; and, having dismissed his attendants, accompanied us from the well, riding in the van of our cavalcade, armed with a long lance, such as the *Cossacks*

of *Tahtary* always carry on horseback. In this manner we reached *Bethoor* late in the evening. Concerning this place, not a syllable of information occurs, either in the accounts given by travellers who have visited the *Holy Land*, or of authors who have written for its illustration. This is the more remarkable, as it occurs in the high way from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*. Yet such was the situation of ΒΕΘΟΡΟΝ mentioned by *Josephus*¹, and written also ΒΑΙΘΟΡΟΝ. Hence it really seems as if the accident which had compelled our visit to a place we should otherwise have disregarded, has also enabled us to ascertain the disputed situation of *Bethoron*, written *Bethchoron* by *Reland*²: for, after the most diligent examination of the authorities necessary to fix the position of this place, they all seem to bear directly upon *Bethoor*; especially the relative position of places with which *Bethoron* is named by antient writers. *St. Jerom*, speaking of *Rama* and *Bethoron*, (which, it is to be

(1) The distance of *Bethoor* from *Jerusalem* also agrees with the account given by *Josephus* of *Bethoron*, as it is stated by *RELAND*. "Quanto intervallo Βαθὸρ ἀβσφuerit Hierosolymis colligitur ex lib. 2. de Bell. cap. 2. ubi supellex Casaris dicitur illic esse direpta, si conseras cum lib. 20. Antiquit. 4. ubi idem narratur, et id factum esse legitur centesimo ab urbe Hierosolymitanā studio κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν αὐτὴν in vid. publicā." *Palæst. Illust.* tom. II. p. 634. *Utrecht*, 1714.

(2) *Reland. Palæst. Illust.* tom. II. p. 623.

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observed, he seems to associate, as if they were not remote from each other,) says, that, together with other noble cities built by *Solomon*, they are now known as poor villages, preserving only in their names a memorial of what they once were¹. *Rama*, indeed, notwithstanding the alterations made there by the *Moslems*, is little better than a village at the present moment. *Bethoron* was two-fold; there was a city *superior*, and *inferior*. It stood upon the confines of *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*; which exactly answers to the situation of *Bethoor*. *EUSEBIUS* mentions two villages of this name², twelve miles distant from *ÆLIA* (*Jerusalem*); one called, from its situation, *Bethoron superior*, the other *Bethoron inferior*. Frequent notice of both occurs in the *Apocryphal* writings³. Also in the *Old Testament* it is recorded⁴, that a woman of the tribe of *Ephraim*, by name *Sherah*, “BUILT *Beth-horon* THE NETHER AND THE UPPER.” *Beth-horon* of the *Old Testament*

(1) “*Rama et Bethoron et reliquæ urbes nobiles a Salomone constructæ parvi viculi demonstrantur.*” *Hieron. in Commentario ad Sophoniam, cap. 1.*^s

(2) *Eusebius in Onomast. Reland, ubi supra.*

(3) Ἐν Βαιθὼρῶν (1 Macc. vii. 39.) τὴν Βαιθὼρῶν (1 Macc. ix. 50.) Ἀράβας Βαιθὼρῶν (1 Macc. iii. 16.) Ἐν παραβάσι Βαιθὼρῶν ἰσ τοῦ πᾶντος. (Ibid.)

(4) 1 Chron. vii. 24.

stood on a hill, which the *Canaanites*, flying from *Gibeon*, 'ascended': "The Lord chased them along the way that goes up to *Beth-horon*." But from *Beth-horon* to *Azekah* the way lay down the hill, on another side⁵: "In the going down of *Beth-horon*, the Lord cast down great stones upon them, unto *Azekah*." But the most remarkable evidence respecting its situation is afforded by *Josephus*, in several passages following his account of the destruction of *JOPPA* (*Jaffa*) by the *Romans*; where he mentions the march of *Cestius* by the way of *Lydda*, and. *Bethoron*, to *Jerusalem*⁶: and, *Lydda* is known to have stood near the spot where *Rama* now stands⁷. Also in the description given of the situation of the *Roman* army, in the *defiles* and *crag*s about *Bethoron*⁸. From these, and many other testimonies that might be adduced, it seems evident that the modern village of *Bethoor* was the *Bethoron superior* of the *Antients*.

(5) *Josh.* x. 10.

(6) See *Dr. Wells's Hist. Geog.* vol. I. p. 295. *Oxf.* 1801.

(7) *Josh.* x. 11.

(8) *Joseph. de Bell.* lib. ii. c. 23. *Colon.* 1691.

(9) *Reland. Pal. Illust.* tom. I. p. 959. *Utr.* 1714.

(10) *Joseph. ibid.* c. 24. *Colon.* 1691.

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The scene which ensued upon our arrival at *Bethoor* was highly interesting. We found the *Arabs* in great number, squabbling, and seizing every thing they could lay their hands upon. We were not allowed even to pitch our tent, until the result of a general council among them had taken place. Presently the *Sheik* of *Bethoor* made his appearance, and a conversation began between him and the *Arab* who had undertaken to escort us through his territory. Then they all formed a circle, seated upon the ground, in the open air; the *Sheik* being in the centre, with an *iron mace* or *sceptre* in his hand, about three feet in length, with a ball at the upper extremity so longitudinally grooved as to exhibit edges on every side. This *regal* badge, evidently a weapon of offence, thus borne as a symbol of power in time of peace, only proves, that among the wildest *Arabs*, as among the most enlightened nations, the ensigns of dignity have been originally instruments of terror. The consultation lasted for some time: during this we observed our *Arab* as a very principal speaker, addressing the conclave with great warmth, and apparently remonstrating against propositions that were made. When it ended, we found that if we had better understood what was going on, we should have been more

interested in the result, of their debate than we imagined; for the discussion tended to nothing less than a determination, whether or not we should be considered as prisoners of war. As soon as they all rose, the *Sheik* came towards us, and told us, that we might pass the night where we then were; that we were indebted for our liberty to the presence of the *Arab* we had brought with us, and to the recommendation of the *Pasha* of *Acce*; that the countenance of the Governor of *Jerusalem* availed nothing in our favour; that in the morning he should mount upwards of one thousand *Arabs* against the *Pasha* of *Gaza*; but that he would send a party to escort us as far as *Rama*. It may be easily believed, that after this intelligence of our situation we passed the night in considerable uneasiness. We had the tent pitched; but we collected into it all those upon whom we could rely, and stationed others around it; keeping guard until day-light appeared, when we recommenced our journey. The *Arabs* appointed to guaranty our safety, took their station, as the young chief had done on the preceding evening, in the front of our party, bearing their long lances upright. In this manner they preceded us until we arrived within sight of *Rama*, when, suddenly

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fling to the right and left, without bidding us farewell, they galloped off as fast as their horses could carry them.

Rama. RAMA is about thirty miles from *Jerusalem*, according to *Quaresmius*¹; but *Phocas* makes the distance to be greater². The last eight or ten miles of our journey was over a more pleasing tract of country; but all the preceding afforded the most fatiguing and difficult route³

(1) "Via à Ramâ usque ad Jerusalem est triginta circiter milliarium." *Elucid. T. S. tom. II. p. 12.*

(2) 'Απὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡσεὶ μίλια εἴ. ἑστὶν ἡ Ἀρμαθὴμ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ Σαμουὴλ ὁ μέγας ἐκείνος προφήτης γενήνηται. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου ὡσεὶ μετ' ἑπτὰ μιλίων ἰσὰ, ἥ καὶ πλείον διαστήματα, ἑστὶν ἡ Ἐμμαοὺς πόλις μεγίστη, κοιλάδος μέσον καίμενη, ἐν ὑπερανιστηκότε ῥακίῳ, οὕτως ὡσεὶ μίλια ἑκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ἡ τοῦ Ῥαμπλῖα χώρα ὀφείλωται, καὶ ναὸς πάμμεγας ἐν ταύτῃ ὁράται τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου. "A sanctâ civitate Hierusalem, ad sex millia, Armathem urbs, conspicitur, in quâ Samuel, magnus ille propheta, ortum habuit. Inde post alia septem et amplius millia, Emmaus, urbs magna, in mediâ valle, supereminenti dorso, jacet. Sic ad passuum ferè viginti millia, *Ramplex* (hæc est *Ramola*, sic leg. Reland.) regio effunditur: et templum ingens in eadem sancti magni martyris Georgii, visitur." *Phocæ Descript. Loc. Sanct. apud Leon. Allat. Σύμμ. Colon. 1653.*

(3) "It seems never to have been otherwise. There is not even a trace of any antient paved way, so common even in the remotest provinces of the Roman empire. "*Exceptâ planitie Rama,*" says *Quaresmius*, (*Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 12.*) "*quæ pulchra est, spatiosa et secunda, ocio vel decem milliarium, tota residua difficilis satis, et ferè semper per montes et colles.*" Yet it appears to be recorded, (1 *Kings*, v. 9.) that the stones and timber for building *Solomon's Temple* were brought upon rafts, by sea, to the port of *Jaffa*, and thence carried by land to *JERUSALEM*. See also *Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 5. Antv. 1639.*

we had anywhere encountered since we landed at *Acre*. The town is situate in the middle of an extensive and fertile plain, which is a part of the great *Field of Sharon*, if we may bestow upon any particular region a name which was applied to more than one district of the *Holy Land*⁴. It makes a considerable figure at a distance; but we found nothing within the place, except traces of devastation and death. It exhibited one scene of ruin. Houses fallen or deserted appeared on every side; and instead of inhabitants, we beheld only the skeletons, or putrifying carcases of horses and camels. These were lying in all the streets, and even in the courts and chambers of the buildings belonging to the place. A plague, or rather a *murrain*, during the preceding year, had committed such ravages, that not only men, women, and children, but cattle of all kinds, and every thing that had life, became its victims. Few of the inhabitants of *Europe* can have been aware of the state of suffering to which all the coast of *Palæstine* and *Syria* was

(4) *Eusebius* and *Jerom* affirm, that all the maritime district from *Joppa* to *Cæsarea* was called *SARON*; and also, that the country between *Mount Thabor* and the *Lake of Tiberias* had the same name. *Vid. Hieronym. de Loc. Hebraic. Litt. S.* See also *Doubdan Voy. de la T. S.* p. 510. *Paris*, 1657.

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exposed. It followed, and in part accompanied, the dreadful ravages caused by the march of the *French* army: from the accounts we received, it seemed as if the exterminating hand of Providence had been exercised in sweeping from this territory every trace of animal existence. "In *Rama*¹ was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning; *Rachel* weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."

History of
that City.

The history of *Ruma* is more interesting than the neglect shewn to it by travellers would induce us to believe. Its origin has been ascribed to the *Moslems*, under *Soliman*, son of

(1)¹ This prophecy of *Jeremiah* (xxx. 15.), applied by *St. Matthew*, (ii. 17.) to the murder of the innocents by *Herod*, is not believed to refer to the place now mentioned, but to another *Rama*, noticed by *EUSEBIUS*. "*Meminit Eusebius Rama πρὸ τοῦ Βηθλεὲμ, de quâ dictum est, (Matth. ii. 17. Jerem. xxxi. 11.) VOX IN RAMA AUDITA EST. Sed vicum aut urbem eam non appellet, nec aliquid addat, &c.*" (*Rel. Palæst. tom. II. p. 964. Utrecht, 1714.*) *Rama* was a name common to many places in the *Holy Land*: and the learned Reader is requested to determine, whether the modern village of *Bethoor* and the modern *Rama* do not appear to be the places mentioned in the following passage cited in a former Note from *St. Jerom*: "*Rama et Bethoron et reliquæ urbes nobiles a Salomone constructæ parvi viculi demonstrantur.*" *RAMA* was a village in the time of *Jerom*; and the situation of *Bethoor* is distinctly marked in the *Apocrypha*, with reference to the Plain of *RAMA*: 'Εν παραβάσει Βαθὼρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. (1 *Maccab.* iii. 16. 24.)

Abdolmelic^s, who is stated to have built the town with materials from the ruins of *Lydda*^s, distant three miles from *Rama*. That this, however, is not true, may be proved by reference to the writings of *St. Jerom*: he speaks of its vicinity to *Lydda*, and calls it *Arimathea*^s, from an opinion very prevalent that it was the native place of *Joseph*, who buried our *Saviour*^s. The testimony of *St. Jerom*, given before the *Mohammedan* conquest of the country, is sufficient to prove that the city existed anterior to the invasion of *Palestine* by the *Moslems*. Indeed they, of all mankind, are the least likely to found a city; although the commercial advantages of situation

(2) "Urbem hanc idem non antiquam, sed conditam esse scribit (*Abulfeda*, in *Geographia sua manuscripta*) ab *Solimanno* filio *Abdolmelic*, vastata urbe *Lydda*, et aquæ ductu, cisternâ, aliisque rebus ornatam," &c. (*Rel. Pal. Illustr. tom. II. p. 959. Utr. 1714.*) "Hanc civitatem ædificaverunt *Arabes* prope *Lyddam*, quem peregrini primò iverunt ad partes illas post tempora *Mahumet*." *Sanutus in Secret. Fidel. Crucis*, pag. 152.

(3) Otherwise named *Diaspolis*. It was also called *St. George*. (See the *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*.) *Pliny* mentions it among the ten Toparchies of *Judea*. (*Vid. lib. v. Hist. Nat. c. 12. tom. I. p. 262. L. Bat. 1635.*) It was famous for a church dedicated to *St. George*, said by *Boniface* (*lib. ii. de perenni Cultu Terr. Sanct.*) to have been built by an *English* king. There was also a monastery of that name in *Rama*.

(4) "Hanc procul ab eâ (*Lydda*) *Arimathiam* viculum *Joseph* qui Dominum sepelivit." *Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulæ*.

(5) See also *Adrichomius, Theat. T. S. p. 29. Colon. 1628.*

CHAP.
IX.St. George
of Dios-
polis.

have sometimes augmented places where they reside. It is possible that *Rama*, from a small village, became a large town under their dominion; and of this opinion is *Quaresmius*¹. There seems very little reason to doubt but that this *Rama* was the village mentioned with *Bethoron*, by *St. Jerom*, in the passage already twice referred to², as the only remains of the two cities so named, which were built by *Solomon*³. *Reland* believed *Bernard* the Monk to be the oldest writer by whom *Rama* is mentioned⁴. *Bernard* visited the *Holy Land* in the ninth century⁵. Oriental geographers describe it as the metropolis of *Palestine*⁶. In this place the famous tutelar Saint of our ancestors in

(1) *Elucidat. Terr. Sanct.* tom. II. p. 8. *Antv.* 1639.

(2) See former Notes of this Chapter.

(3) Its most ordinary appellations have been, *Rama*, *Ramola*, and *Ramula*: although *Adrichomius*, who believed it to have been *Arimathea*, mentions the various modifications of *Ramatha*, *Ramatha*, *Ramathaim*, and *Arimatha*, or *Arimathia*, afterwards, says he, called *Rama*, and *Ramula*. *Vid. Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct.* p. 29. 1628.

(4) *Palest. Illust.* tom. II. p. 939. *Utr.* 1714.

(5) A.D. 879. His Itinerary was published by *Mabilon*, in the "*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti*," printed at *Paris* in 1672. It follows *Arculf's Itinerary*, as given by *Adamnanus*, abbot of *Iona*. These are *Bernard's* words: "Deinde venerunt Alariza; de Alariza in Ramula, juxta quam est Monasterium beati Georgii Martyris, ubi ipse requiescit." *Bernardus de Locis Sanctis*, ap. *Mabil.* p. 524.

(6) "Abulhasen Ferra, in *Geographia sua Mera*, vocat Ramotam caput *Palestine*." *Rel. Pal. Illust.* tom. II. p. 959. *Utr.* 1714.

England is said, by some, to have suffered martyrdom⁷; although, according to most authors, his relics reposed in a magnificent temple at *Lydda* or *Diospolis*⁸. We observed the remains of very considerable edifices within this desolated city: but no one was present, to give us any information concerning them; even the monastery, which for centuries had entertained pilgrims at *Rama*⁹, was deserted, and left to ruin. Its distance from *Jerusalem*, usually estimated at a day's journey¹⁰, is described by *Phocas* as equal to thirty-six or thirty-seven miles¹¹. *Phocas* distinguishes *Armatthem*, the native place of the prophet *Santuel*, from *Rampla*, or *Rama*, with which *Adrichomius* seems to have confounded it¹²; and places the Church of *St. George*

(7) Εἶτα ἡμεῖς ἐκτίλαμεν τὸ 'Ράμλ, ὃ ἔστι καὶ ὁ μεγάλαιος Τύργος μαρτυροῦμενος. "Postea tamen in *Ramel* transeunt, ubi magnus Martyr Georgius martyrium subiit." *Anna Comnena Alexiad.* lib. xi. p. 328. *Par.* 1651.

(8) See the long account given by *Antoninus*, de *Loc. Sanct.* No. iii. c. 4. Apud *Mabillon*, *Acta Ord. Benedict.* Sec. 3. p. 520. *Par.* 1672. Also *Quaresm.* tom. II. p. 9. *Antv.* 1639, &c.

(9) "Hospitantur enim peregrini in ea domo cum *Nicodemi*, Christi occulti discipuli, fuit. Hec domus in Monasterium fuit adaptata, nunc et Monasterium et Hospitium Peregrinorum est." *Benifacius*, lib. ii. de *primis Cultu Terra Sancte.* *

(10) "Abesse ab urbe Hierosolymitana iter unius diei." *Rel. Pal. Russ.* tom. II. p. 266. *Utr.* 1714.

(11) *Phocæ Descript. Terr. Sanct.* c. 29. p. 44. *Colon.* 1653.

(12) *Theatrum Terr. Sanct.* p. 29. *Colon.* 1628.

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IX.

within the latter city; which position, although disputed by *Reland*¹ and other authors, not only seems to coincide with the testimony already given from the *Alexiad* of *Anna Comnena*, but also with the evidence afforded by *Bernard* the Monk, who mentions a monastery of *St. George* near to *Ramula*². There is not a part of the *Holy Land* more fertile than the plain around *Rama*; it resembles a continual garden; but cultivation had been neglected at the time of our arrival, owing to the dreadful plague with which the whole country had been infested. *Rama* and *Lydda* were the two first cities of the *Holy Land* that fell into the hands of the *Christians* when the army of the *Crusaders* arrived. *Rama* was then in its greatest splendor; a fenced city, abounding in all the luxuries of the *East*. It was exceedingly populous, and was adorned with stately buildings, and well fortified with walls and towers. The *Count of Flanders* having been despatched by the princes and generals of the *Christian* army, with five hundred cavalry, to reconnoitre the place, and to summon the city to surrender, found the gates open; the inhabi-

(1) "Lyddam sive Diospolin intelligit, quæ patria est S. Georgii non longè a Ramolâ." *Rel. Pal. Ilust.* tom. II. p. 963. *Utr.* 1714.

(2) See a former Note.

tants, alarmed by the sudden approach of so powerful an army, had abandoned their dwellings and all their property during the preceding night. In consequence of this, a general rendezvous of the *Christian* forces took place in *Rama*, where they remained during three entire days, regaling themselves in the abundance the place afforded. During this time, *Robert* of *Normandy* was elected bishop of *Rama* and *Lydda*, to which bishopric all the revenues of the two cities and their dependencies were annexed; the whole army joining in thanksgiving to *St. George* the *Martyr*, the patron Saint of *Diospolis* and *Rama*, to whom the auspicious commencement of the enterprise was attributed. Hence probably originates the peculiar consideration in which *St. George* was held by the inhabitants of *England*, during the early periods of its history.

A more revolting sight cannot well be imagined than was presented during all the rest of our journey to *Jaffa*. The road was entirely strewn with dead bodies. Not a plantation was to be seen but traces of the deadly contagion were

Ravages
caused by
the Plague.

(3) "Cry—God for Harry! England! and St. George!" *Hen. V.*
Act 3. Scene 1.

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IX.

also visible. In the general mortality, a valuable and much-lamented British officer, General *Koehler*, of the Artillery, attached to the suite of the *Vizier*, together with his wife, became its victims. They had visited *Jerusalem*; and had occupied the apartment afterwards allotted to our use, in the Convent of *St. Salvador*. Upon their return to *Jaffa*, the fatal symptoms were speedily manifested. Other artillery officers, who were also stationed in *Jaffa* at that time, informed us, that General *Koehler* soon became delirious, and very ungovernable, insomuch that they were compelled to confine him to his chamber. His Lady, from the inevitable consequences of the pious offices she rendered to the General, was seized nearly at the same time; and, although unable, like another *Eleonora*, to save the life of her husband, by taking to herself the morbid venom, was not less conspicuous as an example of conjugal virtue. They expired together, insensible of the horrors of their situation, and were thereby spared the agonizing spectacle of each other's sufferings.

Jaffa.

Jaffa appeared to be almost in as forlorn a state as *Rama*: the air itself was still infected with the smell of unburied bodies. We went

to the house of the *English* Consul, whose grey hairs had not exempted him from *French* extortion. He had just ventured to hoist again the *British* flag upon the roof of his dwelling; and he told us, with tears in his eyes, that it was the only proof of welcome he could offer to us, sa the *French* officers, under *Buonaparté*, had stripped him of every thing he possessed. However, in the midst of all his complaints against the *French*, not a single syllable ever escaped his lips respecting the enormities supposed to be committed, by means of *Buonaparté*'s orders or connivance, in the town and neighbourhood of *Jaffa*. As there are so many living witnesses to attest the truth of this representation, and the character of no ordinary individual is so much implicated in its result, the utmost attention will be here paid to every particular likely to illustrate the fact; and for this especial reason, *because that individual is our enemy*. At the time we were in *Jaffa*, so soon after the supposed transactions are said to have occurred, the indignation of our Consul, and of the inhabitants in general, against the *French*, was of so deep a nature, that there is nothing they would not have said, to vilify *Buonaparté*, or his officers: but this accusation they never

Improbability of the supposed Massacre by *Buonaparté*.

even hinted'. Nor is this all. Upon the evening of our arrival at *Jaffa*, walking with Captain *Culverhouse* along the shore to the south of the town, in order to join some of our party who were gone in search of plants and shells, a powerful and most offensive smell, as from dead bodies, which we had before experienced more than once, in approaching the town, caused us

(1) Some years after, the late unfortunate Captain *Wright* waited upon the Author, at *Ibbinson's Hotel*, in *Vere Street, London*, to give an account of what he jocosely termed his *scepticism* upon this subject; when these and the following particulars were related to him, and an appeal made to the testimony of Captain *Culverhouse*, Mr. *Cripps*, Mr. *Loudon*, and others who were with us in *Jaffa*, as to the fact. Captain *Wright* still maintained the charge; and the Author, finding the testimony afforded by himself and his friends liable to give offence, reserved all he had to say upon the subject until it should appear in its proper place, as connected with the history of his travels; always, however, urging the same statement, when appealed to for information. A few months after Captain *Wright's* visit, Captain *Culverhouse*, who had been employed in a distant part of the kingdom, recruiting for the Navy, came to *London*, and meeting the Author in public company at table, asked him, with a smile, what he thought of the reports circulated concerning the massacre, &c. at *Jaffa*. The Author answered by saying, that it had long been his intention to write to Captain *Culverhouse* upon the subject, and that it was very gratifying to him to find the purport of his letter so satisfactorily anticipated. Captain *Culverhouse* then, before the whole company present, expressed his astonishment at the industrious propagation of a story concerning which the inhabitants of *Jaffa* were ignorant, and whereof he had never heard a syllable until his arrival in *England*. The Author knows not where this story originated; nor is it of any consequence to the testimony he thinks it now a duty to communicate.

to hesitate whether we should proceed or return. At this moment the author observed the remains of bodies in the sand; and Captain *Culverhouse*, being in doubt whether, they belonged to human bodies or to those of cattle, removed a part of the sand with his sword, and uncovered part of a hand and arm. Upon this, calling to our friends, we told them what we had discovered; and returning to the Consul's house, asked him the cause of the revolting spectacle we had witnessed. He told us, that these were the remains of bodies carried thither, during the late plague, for interment; but that the sea, frequently removing the sand which covered them, caused them to be thus exposed; and he cautioned us against walking in future that way, as the infection might possibly be retained, not only by those bodies, but by the clothes, and other things, there deposited.

Joppa, called also *Japha*, and now universally *Jaffa*, owes all the circumstances of its celebrity, as the principal port of *Judæa*, to its situation with regard to *Jerusalem*. As a station for vessels, its harbour is one of the worst in the *Mediterranean*. Ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to avoid the shoals and

Antient
History of
Jaffa.

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IX.

rocks of the place¹. In antient times it was the only place resorted to as a sea-port, in all *Judæa*. Hither *Solomon* ordered the materials of the Temple to be brought from *Mount Libanus*, previous to their conveyance by land to *Jerusalem*. A tradition is preserved, that here *Noah* lived and built his ark. *Pliny* describes it as older than the Deluge². In his time they pretended to exhibit the marks of the chains with which *Andromeda* was fastened to a rock: the skeleton of the sea-monster, to whom she had been exposed, was brought to *Rome* by *Scæurus*, and carefully preserved³;—proving

(1) "Minus tutus est, et non nisi parva navigia admittit. Nec etiam celebris est, quoniam propter portus incommoditatem haud multæ merces illuc advehuntur." *Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 5. Antv. 1639.*

(2) "Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione." *Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 13. tom. I. p. 262. L. Bat. 1635.*

(3) *Julius Solinus in Polyhistor. cap. 27. Norimb. 1777.* The ribs were forty feet in length; and from the account given of the animal, it was probably a whale. *Vid. Abulensis in cap. 14. Exod. quest. 11. Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 5. Antv. 1639. Strab. Geog. lib. i. c. lvi. Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 11, &c.* Thus we have evidence of whales in this sea, without having recourse to the testimony of Sacred Scripture. Mr. Bryant, however, in his "*Observations upon some passages in Scripture, which the enemies of Religion have thought most obnoxious, &c.*" 4to. pp. 243, 244, 245, is of the opposite opinion. But, if he be right with respect to the single whale in the *Mediterranean*, how came that fish, from earliest times, to have been an object of worship at *Joppa*, unless, as *Pliny* relates, *Joppa* had been founded before the Deluge? See p. 24.

that every Church has had its relics, so universal is a passion for the marvellous. Some authors ascribe the origin of *Jaffa* to *Japhet*, son of *Noah*, and thence derive its name. However fabulous such accounts may be now deemed, they afford proofs of the great antiquity of the place; having been recorded by historians, for so many ages, as the only traditions extant concerning its origin. *Jaffa* is also celebrated as the port whence the prophet *Jonas* embarked for *Tarshish*, when commanded to preach repentance to the inhabitants of *Nineveh*⁴. Here also *St. Peter* restored *Tabitha* to life⁵. In the time of *St. Jerom* it was called *Japho*⁶. *DOUBDAN* gives a long account of its history in later times⁷. It was fortified in the beginning of the thirteenth century, by *Louis* king of France⁸. An Arab fisherman at *Jaffa*, as we were standing upon the beach, came running to us with a fish he had just taken out of the water; and, from his eagerness to shew what he had caught,

(4) "But *Jonah* rose up to flee unto *Tarshish* from the presence of the LORD, and went down to *Joppa*; and he found a ship going to *Tarshish*." *Jonah* i. 3.

(5) *Acts* ix. 40.

(6) *Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct.* p. 23. Colon. 1628.

(7) *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, p. 496. Paris, 1657.

(8) A. D. 1280. Vid. *Adrichom. Theat. T. S.* ubi supra.

we supposed it could not be very common. It was like a small tench, but of a bright emerald green colour, such as we had never seen before, nor since; neither is it described by any author that we are acquainted with. We had no means of preserving it, and therefore would not deprive the poor man of an acquisition with which he seemed so delighted, but gave him a trifle for the gratification its very extraordinary appearance afforded to us, and left it in his hands. Notwithstanding the desolate appearance of the town, its market surprised us, by the beauty and variety of the vegetables it exhibited. •*Melons* of every sort and quality were sold in such number, that boats from all the coast of *Syria* came to be freighted with them. Among these, the *water-melons* were in such perfection, that, after tasting them at *Jaffa*, those of any other country do not seem like the same fruit¹. Finding that the vessel sent by

(1) We found near *Jaffa* four undescribed plants, with several others that were rare, particularly the *Anabatis spinosissima* of *Willdenow*. *Ed. Lin. Spec. Plantarum*. The new species were as follow.

- I. A non-descript species of *PLANTAGO*, with flat linear curved leaves, about two, or two and a half, inches long, bristly on both sides, and at the edges; the flower-stalks hoary, with flat pressed hairs, and rising above the leaves; the spikes cylindrical, a little curved, from one to two inches and a half long; the stamens longer than the blossom, but much shorter than the woolly style.

This

Djezzar Pasha to convey us to *Acre* had not arrived, and that boats laden with fruit were daily sailing thither, Captain *Culverhouse*, fearful of detaining his frigate a moment after the supplies for the fleet had been completed, judged it prudent to engage a passage for us in one of these boats. We therefore took leave of our aged and respectable host, the *English* Consul; and upon the evening of *July* the fifteenth, after sun-set, we embarked for *Acre*, to avail ourselves of the land-wind, which blows during the night, at this season of the year. By day-break the next morning we were off the coast of *CÆSAREA*, and so near to the land, that we could very distinctly perceive the

Voyage
along the
Coast.

This species seems to come nearest to the *Plantago cylindrica* of *Forskahl*, which is unknown to us. We have called it *PLANTAGO SETOSA*. *Plantago foliis linearibus planis utrinque marginibusque setoso-asperis; scapis pulis adpressis canescentibus foliis longioribus, calycibus nudis margine luceris; corollæ laciniis ovatis triangularibus; stylo pubescente longissimo.*

- II. A very small non-descript prostrate species of *St. John's Wort*, *HYPERICUM* *Linn.* with inversely ovate leaves and terminal flowers, and the teeth of the calyx entire at the margin. The stems are from one to four or five inches long, the leaves hardly the fourth of an inch; the blossoms yellow, rather more than half an inch across. We have called it *HYPERICUM TENELLUM*. *Hypericum prostratum, glabrum; floribus terminalibus trigynis subcorymbosis; calycis dentibus integerrimis margine glandulosis, ovulibus filiformibus; foliis cuneato-obovatis, punctatis glabris.*

CHAP.
IX.

Caesarea.

appearance of its numerous and extensive ruins. The remains of this city, although still considerable, have long been resorted to as a quarry, whenever building-materials were required at Acre. *Djezzar Pasha*, as it has been already mentioned, brought from hence the columns of rare and beautiful marble, as well as the other ornaments, of his palace, bath, fountain, and mosque, at Acre. The place at present is inhabited only by jackals and beasts of prey. As we were becalmed during the night, we heard the cries of these animals until day-

III. A minute, nearly stemless, umbelliferous plant, seldom rising to an inch in height, with simple linear leaves a little hispid at the edges; the fruit hispid, as in *Caucalis*, but the flowers and the whole habit of the plant as in *Bupleurum*; to which genus we have added it, by the name of *BUPLEURUM MINIMUM*; and the more willingly, as two other species, the *Bupleurum semicompositum* of *Linneus*, and the *Bupleurum procumbens* of *Desfontaines*, have also seeds more or less hispid. *Bupleurum subcaule, ramis quadrangulis brevissimis; foliis sublinearibus margine asperis; involucllo pentaphyllo umbellulâ vix breviorè; fructu hispidissimo.*

IV. A small downy annual species of *Scabiosa*: *SCABIOSA*, *Linn.* about five inches in height; the leaves pinnatifid, with their lobes distant from each other; the heads of flowers upon long peduncles, with a five-leaved common calyx; the flowers purple, unequally five-cleft, not radiating; the seeds with a downy plume of about fifteen rays. Not only the leaves, peduncles, and common calyx, but even the outside of the flowers, are downy. We have called it *SCABIOSA DIVARICATA*. *Scabiosa pulescens, annua; corollulis quinquefidis laciniis inequalibus; calycis laciniis septenis, inequalibus, lanceolatis; corond obsolete, pappo plumoso; foliis pinnatifidis.*

break. *Pococke* mentions the curious fact of the former existence of *crocodiles* in the river of *Cæsarea*¹. Perhaps there has not been, in the history of the world, an example of any city, that in so short a space of time rose to such an extraordinary height of splendor, as did this of *Cæsarea*²; or that exhibits a more awful contrast to its former magnificence, by the present desolate appearance of its ruins. Not a single inhabitant remains: Its theatres, once resounding with the shouts of multitudes, echo no other sound than the nightly cries of animals roaming for their prey. Of its gorgeous palaces and temples, enriched with the choicest works of art, and decorated with the most precious marbles, scarcely a trace can be discerned³. Within the space of ten years after laying the foundation, from an obscure fortress it became the most celebrated and flourishing city of all *Syria*. It was named *Cæsarea* by *Herod*, in honour of *Augustus*, and dedicated by him to that Emperor, in the twenty-eighth

(1) *Pococke's Observations upon the East*, vol. II. p. 58. Lond. 1745.

(2) See the account of it in *Josephus. De Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. 13.* (the buildings were all of marble;) *lib. xvi. c. 9. Colon. 1691.*

(3) *Herod* caused the *Tower of Strato* to be completely covered with white marble, against the arrival of *Augustus*.

year of his reign¹. Upon this occasion, that the ceremony might be rendered illustrious by a degree of profusion unknown in any former instance, *Herod* assembled the most skilful musicians, wrestlers, and gladiators, from all parts of the world². The solemnity was to be renewed every fifth year. It was afterwards called *Colonia Flavia*, in consequence of privileges granted by *Vespasian*³. But, as we viewed the ruins of this memorable city, every other circumstance respecting its history was absorbed in the consideration, that we were actually beholding the very spot where *St. Paul*, after two years' imprisonment, made that eloquent appeal, in the audience of the king of *Judæa*, which must ever be remembered with piety and delight.

As the day advanced, a breeze sprang up; and standing out farther from the shore, we lost sight of *Cæsarea*. The heat became intolerable; and the powerful odour from the melons, which constituted the freight of our

(1) In the 192d Olympiad.

(2) *Josephus* rates the expense of it at five hundred talents.

(3) "Eadem Cæsarea, ab Herode rege condita : nunc colonia prima Flavia, à Vespasiano Imperatore deducta." *Plinii Histor. Natural. lib. v. c. 13. tom. I. p. 262. L. Bat. 1635.*

little bark produced faintness and indisposition throughout all our party. Towards evening we made the point of *Mount Carmel*, and we saw the monastery very distinctly upon its summit. Afterwards doubling the promontory, we entered the Bay of *Acre*, and were greeted with the welcome sight of the *Romulus* at anchor. As we drew near, the Captain's barge came to meet us; and we quitted our vessel. Suddenly, as the boat's crew pulled stoutly for the frigate, a shout from all the sailors on board was repeated from the barge, the men standing with their oars erect, and waving their hats. Supposing this to be intended as an expression of welcome upon the return of the Captain, we congratulated him upon the mark of attachment manifested by his crew. This worthy officer shook his head, however, and said he should feel more satisfied without any such demonstration, which amounted to little less than a symptom of mutiny. Upon our arrival on board, we were informed that the men, having been employed in hard labour during the Captain's absence, in repairing the rigging and in painting the frigate, had thus thought proper to testify their satisfaction at the termination of what they considered to be tyrannical government in the inferior officers.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

COPY OF A CERTIFICATE

GIVEN TO THE AUTHOR

THE GUARDIANS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AT JERUSALEM,

AS A TESTIMONIAL

Of his *PILGRIMAGE* in the *HOLY LAND*, &c.

The Original bears the Seal of St. Salvador, together with the Signature of the President, and of the Secretary.

F. PRUDENTIUS FRASCHETTI DE FLORENTIA, *Ordinis Minorum Seraphici Sancti Patris nostri Francisci Almæ Observantis Provinciæ Tusciæ Lector, Prædicator, et Aggregatus; Sacræ Congregationi de Propagandâ Fide Responsalis; Missionum Ægypti; et, Cypri Præfectus; in Partibus Orientis Commissarius Apostolicus; Sacri Montis Sion, et Sanctissimi Sepulchri Domini nostri Jesu Christi Præses, Custos, et Visitor totius Terræ Sanctæ; et humilis in Domino Servus:—*

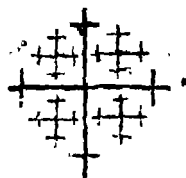
“NOVERITIS, qualiter illustrissimus Dominus EDVARDUS DANIEL CLARKE, *Armiger, Artium Magister,*

Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiæ Socius, devotionis gratiâ suscepit peregrinationem ad Sancta Loca, anno 1801, et die 9 mensis Julii, Ierosolymam appulit: inde, subsequentibus diebus, præcipua Sanctuaria, in quibus Mundi Salvator suum populum dilectum, imò et totius humani generis massam damnatam, a miserabili Dæmonum potestate misericorditer salvavit; utpotè *Calvarium*, ubi cruci affixus, devictâ morte, cœli januas nobis aperuit; *Sepulchrum*, ubi sacrosanctum ejus corpus reconditum triduò ante suam gloriosissimam resurrectionem quievit; *Montem Sion*, ubi cum Discipulis ultimam fecit cœnam; *Hortum Gethsemani*; *Montem Oliveti*, ubi, videntibus Discipulis, ad cœlos ascendit Dominus, suorum pedum vestigia in æternam reliquens memoriâ; cæteraque alia in et extra Ierosolymam constituta. Item et *Bethlehem*, ubi idem Salvator Mundi de Virgine Mariâ nasci non est sanè dedignatus; et quæ circa Bethlehem, et in viâ Bethlehemiticâ, conspiciuntur. Insuper et quæ in *Galilæâ* similiter continentur; nimirum domum *Nazareth*, ubi beata Virgo ab Angelo salutata, meruit Filium Dei concipere incarnatum; *Mare Tyberiadis*, cujus mentio sæpè fit in Sacris Evangelii paginis, propter assiduam Christi Domini consuetudinem; civitatem *Cana Galilææ*, ubi primum miraculum fecit Dominus; aliaque omniâ loca, quæ in *universâ Judæâ*, et *Galilæâ* continentur, gressibus Domini, ac beatissimæ ejus Matris consecrata, et a peregrinis visitari solita, vîsitavit;—in quorum omnium, et singulorum fidem, has manu nostrâ

subscriptas, et Sigillo majori Officii nostri munitas expediri mandavimus. Datum ex hoc' nostro Conventu Sancti Salvatoris Civitatis Jerusalem, Die 12 Mens. Julii, An. 1801.

(Signed)

"FR. PRUDENTIUS FRASCHETTI,
DE FLORENTIA, PRÆSES ET
CUSTOS TOTIUS TERRÆ SANCTÆ."



"DE MANDATO PRUDENTIÆ SUÆ REVERENDISSIMÆ,

F. DARIUS, DE GRACIJO,

SECRETARIUS TERRÆ SANCTÆ."

No. II.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE.

ACCORDING TO
DIURNAL OBSERVATION;

WITH
CORRESPONDING STATEMENT OF TEMPERATURE IN ENGLAND
During the same Period,

AS EXTRACTED FROM THE REGISTER KEPT IN THE APARTMENTS OF THE ROYAL
SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL.

N. B. *The Observations during the Journey were always made at Noon: those of
the Royal Society at Two P. M.; and both on the Scale of Fahrenheit.*

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
53°	Constantinople,	January 1, 1801.	47°
50	Constantinople,	January 2.	48
49	Constantinople,	January 3.	52
41	Constantinople,	January 4.	45
47	Constantinople,	January 5.	49
48	Constantinople,	January 6.	44
46	Constantinople,	January 7.	45
46	Constantinople,	January 8.	41
51	Constantinople,	January 9.	44
48	Constantinople,	January 10.	47
48	Constantinople,	January 11.	42
47	Constantinople,	January 12.	39
41	Constantinople,	January 13.	44
48	Constantinople,	January 14.	45

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Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	, When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
41°	Constantinople,	January 13.	49°
41	Constantinople,	January 16.	46
44½	Constantinople,	January 17.	49
41	Constantinople,	January 18.	46
39	Constantinople,	January 19.	43
41	Constantinople,	January 20.	54
41	Constantinople,	January 21.	46
46	Constantinople,	January 22.	43
46	Constantinople,	January 23.	38
61	Constantinople,	January 24.	36
59½	Constantinople,	January 25.	33
61	Constantinople,	January 26.	36
51	Constantinople,	January 27.	41
46	Constantinople,	January 28.	48
47	Constantinople,	January 29.	52
46	Constantinople,	January 30.	44
46	Constantinople,	January 31.	49
47	Constantinople,	February 1.	49
46	Constantinople,	February 2.	49
45	Constantinople,	February 3.	54
48	Constantinople,	February 4.	56
46	Constantinople,	February 5.	54
50	Constantinople,	February 6.	53
46	Constantinople,	February 7.	44
50	Constantinople,	February 8.	43
51	Constantinople,	February 9.	40
59	Constantinople,	February 10.	37
59	Constantinople,	February 11.	34
51	Constantinople,	February 12.	33
53	Constantinople,	February 13.	30
50	Constantinople,	February 14.	31
47	Constantinople,	February 15.	34
4	Constantinople,	February 16.	35

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
62 $\frac{1}{2}$	Constantinople,	February 17.	41°
60 $\frac{1}{2}$	Constantinople,	February 18.	38
63	Constantinople,	February 19.	39
64	Constantinople,	February 20.	45
65	Constantinople,	February 21.	50
61	Constantinople,	February 22.	43
51	Constantinople,	February 23.	46
50 ^a	Constantinople,	February 24.	44
61	Constantinople,	February 25.	51
50	Constantinople,	February 26.	51
46	Constantinople,	February 27.	49
45	Constantinople,	February 28.	50
44	Sea of Marmora,	March 1.	55
45	Sea opposite Gallipoli,	March 2.	58
51	Aiantium, on the Hellespont,	March 3.	59
55	Plain of Troy,	March 4.	53
52	Bonarbashy,	March 5.	51
54	Tchiblack Hill,	March 6.	49
52	Heights behind Bonarbashy,	March 7.	44
46	Road to Beyramitch,	March 8.	43
54 $\frac{1}{2}$	Beyramitch,	March 9.	50
32	Summit of Gargarus,	March 10.	45
52	Source of the Scamander,	March 11.	50
51	Ruins on Kuchunlu Têpe,	March 12.	53
49	Æné,	March 13.	52
49	Alexandria Troas,	March 14.	52
50 $\frac{1}{2}$	Udjok Têpe,	March 15.	44
61	Dardanelles,	March 16.	49
60	Dardanelles,	March 17.	51
62	Dardanelles,	March 18.	47
63	Dardanelles,	March 19.	47
65	Dardanelles,	March 20.	45
70	Dardanelles,	March 21.	45

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Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
66°	Dardanelles,	March 22.	47°
63	Dardanelles,	March 23.	47
66	Dardanelles,	March 24.	50
60	Dardanelles,	March 25.	50
58	Dardanelles,	March 26.	55
56	Dardanelles,	March 27.	56
53	At sea, off Tenedos,	March 28.	58
54½	At sea, between Scio and Samos,	March 29.	59
63	Harbour of Isle Stanchio,	March 30.	51
60½	{ Off the Triopian Promontory; Cape Crio, }	March 31	54
57	Entrance to Rhodes harbour,	April 1.	57
62	Rhodes,	April 2.	61
56	Rhodes,	April 3.	64
58	Rhodes,	April 4.	65
59	Rhodes,	April 5.	46
60½	Rhodes,	April 6.	50
63	At sea, off the Gulph of Glaucus,	April 7.	47
73	At anchor in the Gulph,	April 8.	49
71½	Genoese Isle in the Gulph,	April 9.	52
78	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 10.	51
71½	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 11.	48
70	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 12.	39
71	{ At sea, off Seven Capes, N. and by E. 5 leagues, }	April 13.	44
71½	Ditto,	April 14.	48
68	Ditto, lat. 33°. 32'.	April 15.	49
73	Ditto, lat. 32°. 51'.	April 16.	48
68	Ditto, lat. 31°.	April 17.	57
68	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 18.	59
69½	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 19.	62
68	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 20.	65

Observation on the
Scale of Fahrenheit.

Where made.

When made.

Observation in London
on the same Day.

69½°	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 21.	60°
69½	Camp near Alexandria,	April 22.	52
78	Camp near Alexandria,	April 23.	51
72	Aboukir bay,	April 24.	54
78	Landing-place of the British army,	April 25.	62
78	Rosetta,	April 26.	63
80	Rosetta,	April 27.	64
79	Rosetta,	April 28.	61
74	Rosetta,	April 29.	60
71	Rosetta,	April 30.	62
69	Etoko, in Egypt,	May 1.	54
73	Aboukir bay,	May 2.	52
81	Aboukir bay,	May 3.	57
69	Aboukir bay,	May 4.	64
70	Aboukir bay,	May 5.	62
69	Aboukir bay,	May 6.	61
67½	Aboukir bay,	May 7.	62
71	Aboukir bay,	May 8.	61
70	Off the mouth of the Nile,	May 9.	59
75	Rosetta,	May 10.	63
78½	Rosetta,	May 11.	66
84½	Rosetta,	May 12.	57
82	Rosetta,	May 13.	59
75	Rosetta,	May 14.	58
75	Rosetta,	May 15.	60
78½	Rosetta,	May 16.	65
78½	Rosetta,	May 17.	64
79½	Rosetta,	May 18.	60
77	Rosetta,	May 19.	64
73	Off the Nile,	May 20.	66
71	Aboukir bay,	May 21.	70
77	Aboukir bay,	May 22.	70

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Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
99°	Aboukir bay, wind South On this day an Arab died of a sun-stroke in the camp. The thermometer on shore, it is said, then indicated 120°.	May 23.	68°
72½		May 24.	71
72½	Aboukir bay,	May 25.	69
72	Aboukir bay,	May 26.	65
72	Aboukir bay,	May 27.	57
73½	Aboukir bay,	May 28.	63
73	Aboukir bay,	May 29.	66.
73½	Off the Nile,	May 30.	64
79	Ditto, North lat. 34°. 56'.	May 31.	59
78	Off the coast of Egypt, lat. 32°. 30'.	June 1.	59
74	Ditto, lat. 32°. 48'.	June 2.	62
77	Ditto, lat. 33°. 55'.	June 3.	65
80	Ditto, lat. 34°. 28'.	June 4.	68
81½	Ditto, lat. 34°. 27'.	June 5.	66
81½	Ditto,	June 6.	76
85	Larneca bay,	June 7.	67
82	Larneca,	June 8.	76
81	Nicotia,	June 9.	79
79	Larneca bay,	June 10.	80
79	Larneca bay,	June 11.	66
81	Larneca bay,	June 12.	66
78½	Larneca bay,	June 13.	48
77	Larneca bay,	June 14.	62
77	Larneca bay,	June 15.	65
77	Larneca bay,	June 16.	64
75	At sea, lat. 33°. 53'.	June 17.	64.
75	At sea, lat. 31°. 53'.	June 18.	70
74	At sea, lat. 31°. 4'.	June 19.	70
77	Aboukir bay,	June 20.	73

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same Day.
78°	Aboukir bay,	June 21.	66°
78	Aboukir bay,	June 22.	63
75	Aboukir bay,	June 23.	59
77	At sea, near Aboukir bay,	June 24.	65
77	Ditto, lat. 31°. 48'.	June 25.	69
82	Ditto, lat. 31°. 48'.	June 26.	73
81	Ditto, lat. 31°. 59.	June 27.	78
81	Off Cape Carmel,	June 28.	78
81	Bay of St. John D'Acre, lat. 32°. 57'.	June 29.	80
86	Ditto,	June 30.	70
83	Ditto,	July 1.	68
80	Bay of St. John D'Acre,	July 2.	70
82	Ditto,	July 3.	64
85	Nazareth (Holy Land),	July 4.	70
100	In a Cave near Turan,	July 5.	70
94	Lûbi,	July 6.	69
96	Arab tent in the Plain of Esdraelon,	July 7.	73
93	Napolose, in an olive-ground,	July 8.	70
98	Bethel,	July 9.	66
87	Jerusalem, Convent of St. Salvador,	July 10.	66
90	Ditto,	July 11.	67
87	Ditto,	July 12.	66
88	Bethlehem,	July 13.	70
86½	Rama,	July 14.	73
85	Jaffa,	July 15.	68
83	Off the coast of Cæsarea,	July 16.	60

No. III.

NAMES OF PLACES

VISITED IN THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE,

WITH

THEIR DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER,

ACCORDING TO CARAVAN TIME.

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N. B. It has not been attempted to state the Distances by Sea, because these are not exactly known.

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1801.	Hours	1801.	Hours
Mar. 1. } From Constantinople, by		Mar. 8. Araplar	1½
2. } water, to the Dardanelles.		To the basaltic column, in	
3. Dardanelles to Koum Kalé, 6		the cemetery called <i>Sarmosakitchy cupré</i> , or the	
Halil Elly	1½	Bridge of Sarmosakchi,	
Thymbreck	1½	the name of a Tacha	1½
4. Tchiblack	1½	Æné	1
Callifat Osmack	0¾	Turkmanlé	2½
Bonarbashy	1½	Bonarbashy of Beyramitch,	0¾
5, 6, { Three days making excursions in the plain near		Beyramitch	1
and 7. { Bonarbashy		Kâchânîlû Têpe	2
		Evgillar	3

1801.

	Hours
Mar. 10. Mount Gargarus . . .	6
Evgillar	6
11. Source of the Simôla, called, by the Turks, Bo- narbashy Evgillar . . .	3
12. Kûchûnlâ Têpe . . .	3
Beyramitch	2
Bonarbashy of Beyramitch, 1 Turkmanlé	0½
13. Aéné	2½
Berças	2
14. Chemalé	1
Lydia Hamam	0½
Alexandria Troas, or Eski Stambûl	0½
Chemalé	1½
Bergas	1
15. Udjek Têpe	2
Erkesy Keuy	0½
Yeny Cheyr	1½
Koum Kalé	0½
Yeny Cheyr	0½
16. Koum Kalé	0½
Dardanellés	6
Mar. 28, } Voyage down the Hellespont, to 30. } through the Straits of Scio and of Samos, to Stanchio.	
31, to } Voyage from Stanchio to	
April 1. } Rhodes.	
6, to 31 } Voyage from Rhodes to the Gulph of Glaucus.	
13, } Voyage from Asia Minor to	
to 18. } Egypt.	

1801.

April 25. } Journey from Efkò, across the Desert, to Rosetta.	
May 1. Visited the Isle of Aboukir, called Nelson's Isle.	
9: Returned to Rosetta.	
20. Returned to Aboukir.	
29. Voyage to Cyprus.	
June 7. Landed at Larneca.	Hours
8. Larneca to Attièn . . .	4
9. Attièn to Nicotia . . .	4
Return to Attièn . . .	4
10. Attièn to Larneca . . .	4
16, } Voyage to Aboukir.	
to 20. }	
24, } Voyage to Acre.	
to 29. }	
July 3. Acre to Shefhamer . . .	4
4. Sephoury	2
Nazareth	2
5. Rani	1
Cana of Galilee	1½
Turan	1
Hatti	1
Tiberias	2½
6. Lôbi	3
Return by the way of Turan and Cana to Nazareth—in the whole	5½
7. Plain of Esdraelon . . .	3
Jennîé	4
8. Castle of Santorri . . .	3
Napolose	4
9. Jerusalem	14

1801.		1801.	
	Hours		Hours
July 16. To Bethlehem	2	July 13. Bethoor	5½
Jerusalem	2	14. Rafha	4
Elah Vale	1	Jaffa	3
Jeremiah	2½	16. Voyage to Acra.	

END OF VOLUME THE FOURTH.