

In the third crusade, after the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip Augustus of France, the English Richard, Cœur de Lion, led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea coast, and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan.* It was here that he is said to have leaped himself the foremost on the beach, when the castle was relieved by his presence, and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning, and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates, with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge; and we learn, from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career. Well might the historian ask, "Am I writing the history of Orlando, or Amadis?"†

After the last crusade of St. Louis the ninth of France, who expired in his camp before Tunis in Africa, Jaffa fell with the other maritime towns of Syria, under the power of the Mamlouks of Egypt, who first shut up the Franks within their last hold at Acre, and soon after closed by its capture the bloody history of these holy wars.

It was, no doubt, long before it recovered from the repeated shocks which these successive sackings, plunderings, and con-

before, and but one Christian captive, called James Auernus, in that conflict was overthrown.

"From thence king Richard proceeding further, went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the city of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming: Ascalon, the Saladine threw down to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, thro' all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with king Richard." The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, king of England, into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens. Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 62. 4to.

Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 69. p. 146.

† Ibid, vol. ix. c. 6. p. 148.

flagrations had given it; and, indeed, it even seems to have been, only a century or two ago, almost destitute of inhabitants. Moneonys, in 1647, describes the town as having only an old castle, and three caverns hollowed out of the rock; and Thevenot, some years afterwards, says, that the monks of the holy land erected wooden huts before the caverns, but that they were forced to demolish them by the Turks.

Le Bruyn, who travelled in 1675, has given two highly characteristic views of the place in the relation of his voyage, from which it appears even then to have been, as he expresses it, a place of no importance.* Since that period, however, it must have gradually increased; though, in 1776, it again suffered all the horrors of war, having its population, young and old, male and female, barbarously cut to pieces, and a pyramid formed of their bleeding heads as a monument of a monster's victory.†

Its history, since that period, is numbered among the events of our own day; and will be long remembered as giving to the world one of the earliest pledges of Bonaparte's disregard to the fate of his associates in arms, when his own safety could be purchased by their sacrifice.

Jaffa, as it is now seen, is seated on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above its level, having a desert coast to the north and south, the Mediterranean on the west, and fertile plains and gardens behind it on the east.

It is walled around on the south and east, towards the land, and partially so on the north and west towards the sea. There are not more than a thousand habitations in all the town, and the number of three mosques, one Latin convent, and one Greek church, will afford a guide to estimate the relative proportions of these religious bodies to each other.

There is a small fort near the sea on the west, another on the

* *Voyage au Levant*, p. 249. † Volney's *Travels in Syria*, vol. i. p. 150. 8vo.

north, and a third near the eastern gate of entrance, mounting in all from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; which, with a force of five hundred horse, and nearly the same number of infantry; would enable the town to be defended by a skilful commander.

The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running north and south before the promontory, leaving a confined and shallow space between these rocks and the town. Here the small trading vessels of the country find shelter from south and west winds, and land their cargoes on narrow wharfs running along before the magazines. When the wind blows strong from the northward, they are obliged to warp out, and seek shelter in the small bay to the north-east of the town, as the sea breaks in here with great violence, and there is not more than three fathoms water in the deepest part of the harbour; so accurately do the local features of the place correspond with those given of it by Josephus. *

Strabo mentions an opinion, that Jerusalem could be seen from hence †; but this has been observed to be impossible, since the hills between these places are actually higher than that on which Jerusalem stands. Josephus says, that from the tower Psephinus, which was elevated to the height of seventy cubits above the third wall, where Titus pitched his own tent, there was seen a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. ‡ The tower Hippicus is described as fourscore cubits in height, and that of Phasaelus as ninety, which latter is said to have resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. §

It has been attempted to explain the passage of Strabo, by supposing that these towers from their great altitude might have been seen from Joppa, and thus, too, the sight of the sea from Psephinus be confirmed. But this last might easily have been

* See the Vignette at the head of this chapter.

† Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. v. c. 4.

‡ Strabo, l. xvi.

§ Ibid.

true without the other necessarily following ; since, from the great elevation of Jerusalem, the visible horizon to seaward would be extended to a point not only far beyond Joppa, but even beyond the range of vision westerly from thence. The light of the fire occasioned by the conflagration of the Jamnites' fleet in the harbour of Joppa by Judas Maccabeus, might, however, have been easily seen at Jerusalem, as it is said to have been *, from its illuminating the higher parts of the atmosphere in its ascent.

On returning from our excursion around the town and port, we sat down to a dinner of as meagre a kind as could well be prepared in an European manner, and had to drink large potions of the weakest and sourest wines that I had ever yet tasted, even in this country. Here we were unexpectedly joined by a Greek doctor whom I had met at Jedda, on my last voyage from India to Egypt by the Red Sea. This man, rushing suddenly into the room, clasped me round the neck, and, after a profusion of kisses in the fashion of the East, told me that he had just arrived with some pilgrims from Damietta, and begged that we would detain ourselves for him, that he might have the honour of entering Jerusalem with a " Milord Inglese."

I was glad to evade this ill-timed flattery by pressing a subject on which I had determined to make minute enquiry. The fact of Bonaparte's having murdered his prisoners here in cold blood had been doubted, from the mere circumstances of the consul having omitted to mention it, though he had not been once questioned as to the point. This, however, I was resolved to do ; and in reply we were assured by this same consul's son, Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place ; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

It was related to us, that Bonaparte had issued a decree, order-

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 9.

ing that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature ; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea, as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppe had of old practised on the Jews, and which their heroic defender had so amply avenged. *

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 39.



CHAPTER IX.

VISIT TO RAMLAH, AND ENQUIRIES INTO ITS HISTORY.

It was about four o'clock when we quitted Yafah, on our journey towards Jerusalem ; and, after leaving the gate, we went on through a road bordered on each side by formidable fences of the prickly-pear, within which were gardens filled with orange-trees bending beneath the weight of their yellow fruit.

In about half an hour we halted at an highly ornamented fountain, similar to that within the gate at Yafah. It was probably the same spring which, in the time of Pausanias, was celebrated as

that at which Perseus washed the blood from his wounds; though the structure around it is purely Turkish. We could answer to the fact of its waters being no longer tinged, however, either from that or any other cause; since we admired their refreshing coolness and crystal purity, and, after slaking our thirst from their stream, renewed our way, till darkness soon bounded our view on every side.

After about four hours' ride, chiefly across a fine plain, with here and there a gentle ascent, passing several small villages at a little distance on the left by the way, and seeing marks of fertility and cultivation, we approached Ramlah. The town of Lydd, the Lydda of the Scriptures, was on our left within sight, when we entered Ramlah through a road similar to that leading from Jaffa, bordered with fences of prickly-pears, and having an abundance of trees scattered on each side.

We were directed to the convent, for the superior of which the president at Nazareth had given us a letter; and we were kindly received by the good old friars. We were scarcely entered, before there arrived from Jerusalem two Christian pilgrims, ecclesiastics of Turin, who had left Trieste in the vessel now at Caypha, which was to have brought hither the Prince of Sweden, and all his brother pilgrims, but which could not accommodate them. These ecclesiastics had been at Jerusalem for the last two months, and had spent their Christmas there. They were seemingly devout and sincere, and spoke with enthusiasm of the pleasures of pilgrimage, and of the joy of suffering in the performance of it. Neither of them seemed to be above twenty years of age; and being full of spirits, their society was extremely agreeable.

17th. After an early breakfast with the pilgrims, who were journeying towards their home, we procured a guide from the convent to direct us in our examination of the town and its environs; where, as throughout the greater part of Palestine, the ruined portion seemed more extensive than that which was inhabited.

This city appears in the early history of the kings of Israel, as the residence of Samuel. In the account of Saul's malice against David, he is described to have been first saved from his anger by Jonathan hiding him in a cave; again, by slipping aside from a thrust of his javelin; and, lastly, by being let down through a window by Michal his wife, who substituted an image covered with a cloth, lying on a pillow or bolster of goat's hair*, in his place, pretending it to be David lying sick in bed. On this last occasion he is said to have fled to Ramah, where Samuel dwelt. †

It might seem doubtful, however, whether Ramah here meant a town or a district; the latter being rather probable, from the expression of "Naioth in Ramah," where it is said David was; but it is after his arrival in safety at Ramah, that it is said, "And he and Samuel went and dwelt at Naioth;" which might be interpreted, therefore, as the name of a distinct town.

In the history of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, with which the first book of Samuel commences, he is called a man of Ramathaim-zophim, of Mount Ephraim. ‡ This was the name of a city, as it is added, "And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and sacrifice unto the Lord of Hosts in Shiloh." § That this too was the same with Ramah, may be inferred from a subsequent verse, which says, on describing their return from Jerusalem, "And they rose up in the morning early, and worshipped before the Lord, and returned and came to their house to Ramah." ||

* Josephus tells this story of the stratagem of David in another way; saying that his wife put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver, which, by its still quivering or leaping in motion, seemed to those who beheld it, like the respirations of an asthmatic person. Whiston says, on the translation of this word by liver, instead of a pillow or bolster of goat's hair, "Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, *Cebîr*; and since the LXX, as well as Josephus, render it the liver of the goat; and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those of others; 'tis almost unaccountable that our commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation." Notes to Josephus, vol. 1. p. 400, 8vo.

† See the 19th chapter of 1 Samuel, throughout.

‡ 1 Samuel, c. i. ver. 1.

§ Ibid. ver. 3.

|| Ibid. ver. 19.

It continues to be frequently mentioned in the history of Samuel, their son, who was born here, continued to visit it often during his life, and at last ended his days in this place. "And Samuel died, and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah." *

In the history of the Maccabees, it resumes its first name of Ramathaim, in a letter of king Demetrius to his father Lasthenes, of which he sends a copy to his brother Jonathan and the nation of the Jews. "King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting. We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with us, because of their good will toward us. Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Appharema, Lydda, and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the fragments which the king received of them yearly aforetime, out of the fruits of the earth and of trees." †

It has been conceived, that the Ramah of Samuel was nearer to Jerusalem, and between it and Bethlehem; though the data on which that is assumed are at least ambiguous. The earliest authentic notice which I have met with of the Ramah there mentioned, as still bearing the same name, is in Le Bruyn's "Voyage au Levant," where that name is given to some insignificant ruins; and this rested only on the tradition of the people of the country, whom he accuses of confounding this Ramah with Ramatha, which was on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. ‡

* 1 Samuel, c. xiv. ver. 1. In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, this Ramah had a synagogue, in which the Jews kept the body of Samuel, who was buried there. Of this Ramah, the learned Reland, who did not conceive it to be the place of Samuel's birth and sepulchre, says, "Scriptorem antiquiorem qui hujus Ramæ mentionem facit, non novi Bernardo Monacho, qui sacculo nono vixit, et iter instituit in loca sancta anno 870, et in libro de locis sanctis ita ejus meminit: 'Deinde venerunt Alarixa: de Alarixa in Ramula juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. De Ramula ad Emmaus castellum, de Emmaus ad sanctam civitatem Hierusalem.'" †

† 1 Maccabees, c. xi. ver. 32. *et seq.*

‡ Aux environs de cette tour il y a quantité de grosses pierres, et de vieux fonde-

Pococke, in passing through the same place, saw only some signs of the foundation of a house, and equally doubted of this being the Ramah of the Scriptures.*

Chateaubriand, for the sake of introducing with effect a specimen of Hebrew eloquence, sees lights in the village of † Ramah, though no such village existed; but he says nothing more of it in his way to Bethlehem. And Dr. Clarke, though he notices minutely, not only all that he passed, but all that could be seen from the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, does not even mention any thing regarding the site of Ramah there.‡

Phocas, a very accurate writer, describes the distance of Ramah from Jerusalem as equal to thirty seven miles §; “and if this be true,” says the writer, from whom this is quoted, “Jaffa is forty-seven miles at the least from Jerusalem,” evidently, therefore, meaning the Ramah in the plain between. This same place is fixed at thirty miles from Jerusalem by Quaresimus ||; and Phocas,

mens de bâtimens qui y ont été autrefois. Les gens du pays disent que ce sont les restes de l'ancienne ville de Rama, dont il est parlé dans Jérémie, xxxi. 15. “Ainsi a dit l'Eternel, Une voix de lamentation et de pleurs très-amer a été ouïe en Rama, Rachel pleurant ses enfans, elle a refusé d'être consolée touchant ses enfans, de ce qu'il n'y en a plus.” Les habitans du pays confondent, mal-à-propos, ce Rama avec Ramatha, qui est sur le chemin de Joppe à Jérusalem, et qu'ils appellent, sans raison, Rama. Chap. lii. p. 284. folio.

* In the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, “we came to a place where there are some signs of the foundation of a house, and near it there are caves and cisterns, which, they say, was the house of Jacob, where Rachel died. Some, though probably without foundation, think that this was Ramah, and others, with as little reason, that it was the house of Keli, the father of Joseph, who was the husband of the Blessed Virgin.” Vol. ii. part i. p. 39.

† We perceived in the mountains, for night had come on, the lights of the village of Ramah. Profound silence reigned around us. It was, doubtless, in such a night as this that Rachel's voice struck the ear. “A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted because they were not.” Here the mothers of Astyanax and Euryalus are outdone; Homer and Virgil must yield the palm of pathos to Jeremiah.—Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 390. 8vo.

‡ Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 18.

§ Ibid. Note, p. 624.

|| “Via à Rama usque ad Jerusalem est triginta circiter miliarium. Eleucid. T. S tom. ii. p. 12.

already quoted as an authority for the distance of ~~for~~ thirty-seven miles, places Armathem, the city of Samuel, at only six miles, and Ramplex or Ramola at twenty miles, making them decisively distinct places.*

There are unfortunately neither local features nor accurate distances, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus, who copies from them, by which we could determine precisely the place of the Ramah of Samuel, or distinguish it from the many other towns of that name which are said to have existed in Palestine. † Cellarius, who had all the authorities for deciding the question within his reach, evidently considered this Ramah to be the same with that mentioned in the Book of Samuel, and notices the variation of its names in different passages. ‡ Adrichomius may not, therefore, have confounded these, as he is accused of doing, in differing from

* "A sancta civitate Hierusalem, ad sex milliaria, Armathem urbs conspicitur, in qua Samuel magnus ille propheta ortum habuit. Inde post alia septem et amplius milliaria Emmaus, urbs magna, in media valle supereminenti dorso jacet. Sic ad passuum fere viginti millia Ramplexæ (hæc est Ramola, sic leg. Reland) regio effunditur: et templum ingens in eadem, sancti magni martyris Georgii visitur." Phocæ Descrip. Loc. Sanct. apud Leon. Allat. Συμμ. Colon. 1653.

† There seems to have been a place called Ramah, somewhere near both to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem, as in the story of the Levite and his concubine, related in the 19th chap. of Judges, when they were come in the evening near to Jebus, which is Jerusalem, they proposed to pass over to Gibeah, or Ramah, to lodge for the night, rather than enter "*this city of strangers*;" and there were others of the same name, with variations of Ramath, Ramatha, Ramathon, Ramoth, &c. in various parts of Judea. See Reland's Palestina Illustrata.

‡ Vicina Lydda fuit Ramah sive Ramathah, nisi hæc forma ex illa est cum He locali adfixa: prior occurrit 1 Sam. c. xix. 19—22, posterior in notione termini ad quem, 1 Sam. c. i. 19—22; c. ii. 11; c. xix. 18—22. Eadem dicta Ramathaim-zophim, 1 Sam. c. i. 1. Montibus Ephraim adhærabat, ut ibidem dicitur: ideo alia ab Rama Benjamin, quæ et Saulis vocatur, de qua infra lxx pluribus locis Ἀρμαθαίμ, Armathæm, tribus syllabis ut in libris est (et inde 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Παμαθέμ,) at 1 Sam. c. xix. 18, 19. εν Ραμᾷ. Patria Samuelis fuit: qui ed ibi habitavit, c. xv. 34; c. xvi. 13; c. xix. 18. Joseph. lib. v. c. xi. est Παμδα, dicenti de Elkana Samuelis patre, Παμαθᾶν πόλιν κατοικῶν Ramatham urbem incolens. Una ex tribus fuit, quæ ex Samaritide detractæ, et contributæ regione Judæ sunt, 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Posteriori ævo dicta fuit Ramula—Guilielmus Tyrius, lib. vii. c. 22. "In vicini (Lyddæ) nobilis civitas est Ramula nomine. Est in viâ quæ à Joppæ fert Hierosolymam."—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. c. xiii. p. 323, 4to.

Phocas*; and though Bethoron and Ramah are said by St. Jerome to have been built by Solomon†; yet, as no earlier authority is given for that opinion, it might have been merely tradition in his time, in a country where all great works are attributed to that monarch‡, and would not, therefore, invalidate the claim to its being the Ramah to which that monarch's father fled.§

Its origin has been similarly ascribed by an Arabic writer to "Suliman Abd-el-Melek," who is said to have built it from the ruins of Lydda, in the vicinity ||; but even this may refer only to the same tradition of Solomon, son of David, being its founder, or relate to repairs and augmentations actually made by such a person as the one named.

St. Jerome conceived it to be the Arimathea of the ¶ Scriptures; and Adrichomius, who entertained a similar opinion, traces its various names through all their changes, from Ramathaim and Ramah, as it is called in the Old Testament**, to Ramatha or

* Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 636. Note 7.

† Ibid. vol. ii, p. 629. Note 1. * "Rama et Bethoron et reliquæ urbis nobilis à Salomone constructæ pauci viculi demonstrantur." St. Jerome.

‡ "Dans toute la Syrie les Mahométans, comme les Juifs et les Chrétiens, attribuent tous les grands ouvrages à Salomon." — Volney, *Etat. Politique de la Syrie*, vol. ii. p. 134.

§ The learned Reland separated this Ramah of Samfue! from the Ramah of the plain, as he says at the word רַמָּה urbs in Benjamin. (Jos. xviii. 25.) *Inter Ramah et Bethel in montanis Ephraim* (Jud. iv. 5. Legitur, Jud. xix. 13.) *Perge ut Gibeac, vel Ramac pernoctemus*, unde situs Ramæ illustratur. . . . Aberat 6 miliaria, ab Delia, sive Jerusalem, ad septentrionem contra Bethel. testi Eusebio in *Cenamastico*, . . . *Rama quæ est juxta Gabaa in septimo lapide à Jerosolymis sita*, scribit Hieron. ad. cap. 5. . . . Est porro Rama in Ephraim, ubi Samuel habitavit et sepultus est. — *Palestina Illustrata*, 4to. 1714. p. 963, 964.

|| Urbem hanc idem non antiquam, sed conditam esse scribit. (Abulfeda in geographia sua manuscripta) ab Solimanno, filio Abd-el-Melek, vastato urbe Lydda, et aquæductu, cisterna, aliisque rebus ornatam abesse ab urbe Hierosolymitana iter unius diei, Lyddam inde abesse tres parasangas (فارسخم) versus ortem (في ناهية الشرق) at etiam versus septentrionem, ut alii referunt. Reland, tom. ii. p. 959.

¶ Haud procul ab ea (Lydda) Arimathiam viculum Joseph. qui Dominum sepelevit. Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulæ.

** 1 Samuel, as already referred to.

Armatha* the seat of Samuel, as Josephus has it, and to the Arimathea† of the New Testament, and the Ramla of the present day.‡

The oriental geographers speak of this as the metropolis of Palestine§, and every appearance of its ruins even now confirm the opinion of its having been once a considerable city. Its situation, as lying immediately in the high road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, made it necessarily a place of great resort; and from the fruitfulness of the country around it, it must have been equally important as a military station or a depôt for supplies, and as a magazine for the collection of such articles of commerce as were exported from the coast.

In its present state, the town of Ramlah is about the size of Jaffa, in the extent actually occupied. The dwellings of this last, however, are crowded together around the sides of a hill, while those of Ramla are scattered widely over the face of the level plain on which it stands.

The style of building here, is that of high square houses with flattened domes covering them; and some of the terraced roofs are fenced around with raised walls, in which are seen pyramids of hollow earthenware pipes, as if to give air and light without destroying the strength of the wall itself.

On the large mosque we noticed a square tower with pointed arched windows, like many of our country-church steeples in England, differing only from these in being surmounted by an open gallery, and a flat-domed summit. These last, it could be plainly seen, were subsequent additions, and did not harmonize with the tower itself, which was purely Gothic, and, no doubt, a

* Josephus, Index 3. Letter A.

† St. Luke, xxiii. 51.

‡ Vide Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

§ Abulhasen Persa, in geographia sua manuscripta, vocat راماه قصه بلاسطين Ramolam caput Palæstinæ. Liceat enim vocem قصه ita reddere, quæ metropolim significat, uti jam observavit Golius in notis ad Alferganum, pag. 279. Reb. F. Illust. p. 959. 4to. 1714.

Christian work at the period of the crusades. We saw also in other parts of the town, vestiges of Gothic edifices, of a character decidedly different from Saracen architecture, though both of them have the pointed arch in common; but all these were greatly ruined.

The convent of the Latins is large and commodious, though not equal to that of Nazareth. It has a good church, an open court, with a fine spreading orange-tree, and several wells of excellent water in it for their gardens.

The inhabitants are estimated at little more than five thousand persons, of whom about one-third are Christians of the Greek and Catholic communion, and the remaining two-thirds Mohammedans, chiefly Arabs; the men of power and the military only being Turks, and no Jews residing there.

The principal occupation of the people is husbandry, for which the surrounding country is highly favourable; and the staple commodities produced by them are corn, olives, oil, and cotton, with some soap and coarse cloth made in the town.

There are still remains of some noble subterranean cisterns at Ramlah, not inferior either in extent or execution to many of those at Alexandria. They were intended for the same purpose, namely, to serve in time of war as reservoirs of water; and they are, no doubt, those spoken of by the Arabian geographer, as quoted before.

Some writers place here the tomb of St. George the Martyr, the patron saint of our crusading kings*, from whom is descended to us the St. George's ensign, emblazoned with the symbol of the red-cross knights: but neither the fathers of the convent, nor the guide which they had given us, could tell us any thing regarding it.

Equally ignorant were such of the Mohammedans as we ques-

Deinde venerunt Alarici, de Alarixa in Ramula, juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii Martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. Bernardus de Locis Sanctis. Anno 870. apud Reland. p. 959.

tioned of the tomb of Lockman the sage, a man as celebrated among them for his wisdom, as St. George is with us for his valour.*

On our return to the convent, we found every thing ready for the prosecution of our journey, and thanking the friars for their hospitality, we mounted our mules, and set forward on our way.

* Le chapitre 31. de l'Alcoran, qui porte le nom de Locman, s'appelle Sourat Lokman. Mahomet y fait parler Dieu, qui dit ces paroles. Lécadatina Locman alhecmat. "Nous avons donné la sagesse à Locman." L'auteur du Tarikh Montekheb écrit que le sépulcre de Locman, se voyoit encore de son temps à Ramlah ou Ramah, petite ville que n'est pas éloignée de Jérusalem." Bib. Orient. tom. 2. p. 485.



CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM RAMLAH, THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS, TO JERUSALEM.

WE left the town of Ramlah through a road again bordered by the prickly-pear, and continued over a fine plain until nine o'clock, when we began to ascend, but gently, over land that was partially cultivated. At ten, we came to rugged hills, and saw on the left, in one or two places, vestiges of old Gothic buildings.

Passing the first range of hills, we came to a long narrow defile, in which we met a number of Mohammedan pilgrims, chiefly Barbary Arabs, returning from Mecca by way of Damascus and

Jerusalem ; there were some few women among them, who were all barefoot and miserably dressed ; and there was only one camel to carry the baggage of the whole party.

From hence we went up a steep ascent, and passing a small building on the left, at noon we reached another similar one, where a caphar, or toll, of sixteen paras was demanded of us.

Still ascending, we reached at length the summit of these hills, from whence we had a view of the extensive plains to the west, through a break in the line of the first range of smaller hills, distinguishing plainly, Ramlah, Lydda, and Jaffah, with a long line of coast on the north and south, and the distant horizon of the west. Stoney and rugged as the hills were here, there were yet patches of ploughed land, and evident marks of care to save every rood fit for cultivation.

Descending now on the eastern brow of these hills, we came at one o'clock to the village of Abu-Gosh, so called from its lord, an Arab chief in great power here. A caphar was again demanded of us by a party of about twenty men, who sat by the way-side armed to enforce it. It was accordingly paid, and soon afterwards the chief himself, a fierce red-bearded man of about forty, coming to accost us, demanded our paper of protection. It was shown to him, and he said, that as he held himself responsible for our safe passage through his territory, which lay between that of the Pasha of Acre and the Pasha of Damascus, he must keep this paper to certify that we had so passed safely through his hands.

In this village we saw the ruins of a Christian church, apparently once a handsome edifice, now used as a stable for oxen. There are here about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Mohammedan ; and though the country around is rocky and hilly in the extreme, it is carefully cultivated, even to the very summit of the hills. Maundrell's observations on this subject are perfectly just*, though the inferences he draws of the ground thus producing

* *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 87. 8vo.

more than if the surface were a level, is erroneous, as proved by Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments on the effect of gravitation on roots. *

The ground is preserved level in steps or stages, by little stone walls, as at Malta and Goza, which give the whole a singular appearance. The hills are all of a white stone, like that of the range of Mount Carmel, enclosing flints, but sparingly, and breaking in horizontal layers of about a foot thick, these again breaking transversely so as to form innumerable square stones. The soil is lighter and of a redder colour than in the plains of Zabulon and Esdraelon; and besides corn and cotton, we saw vines in great plenty, with olive-trees in the vale below.

On reaching the foot of the hill on which the village of Abu-Gosh is situated, we again ascended, and gaining the summit of this second range at two o'clock, we were obliged to dismount, in order to descend a steep and rugged road. Near the bottom of this we drank at a humble fountain, over which was an Arabic inscription; and continuing along a rocky road by the side of a hill, we opened upon the village of Ayn Kareem † on the right, and Kalioon on the left, in the former of which are Christians, in the latter Mohammedans. Both these villages are small, but the valleys near them abound with olive-trees, and the hills are cultivated with labour and care. We met here three peasants at different times, two of whom separately demanded of us, "When will there be rain?" and seemed quite disappointed at our replying, "Allah allim," or "God knows."

Still descending, we found, at the bottom of the valley, the ruins of a building, which the peasants told us was once a Christian edifice. It was of small size, yet constructed of massy blocks, and presented an appearance of considerable strength, but not enough

* See these in his work on Agricultural Chemistry.

† عین کریم literally, the generous or beneficent fountain.

of it remained to enable us to pronounce on its age or character, though, being of rustic masonry, it was probably Roman.*

Passing onward through the bottom of the valley, and turning to the north, we came to the remains of a stone bridge, having an excellent pavement of broad and flat stones over it. The bridge itself was now partly broken, and the bed of the torrent below it was perfectly dry. From hence we perceived caverns in the rock near the village of Kalioon, no doubt the habitations of former ages; and ascending still higher, over a broad but steep and rugged road, we saw, near the summit of the hill, to the north of the village, a grotto entered by a square door-way, evidently artificially hewn.

We still ascended towards the summit of this high range, over a most fatiguing and constantly obstructed path, opening on our left upon a round hollow valley below, with a village, the name of which we could not learn, on the brow of the hill. Reaching the cold and bleak summit of the mountain at four, we saw a convent in an elevated vale on the right, and began to perceive a minareh through some trees, with a small domed building nearer to us. Our road upward from the bridge had shown indistinct vestiges of a paved way, but on the top of the hill, where the road was now flat, the pavement was more decidedly seen, from its being better preserved.

As the sun was hastening fast to decline, we quickened the pace of our weary mules, and riding for about half an hour over the rugged face of this mountain's top, we came at five in sight of Jerusalem, on the western brow of this hill, and now but a little below us.

The appearance of this celebrated city, independently of the feelings and recollections which the approach to it cannot fail to

* Mariti ascribes this structure to some monks or other. For an Italian traveller, the error is a gross one. If the architecture of this edifice be not Hebrew, it is certainly Roman; the junctures, the figure, and the bulk of the stones, leave no doubt on this subject. — Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 384.

awaken, was greatly inferior to my expectations, and had certainly nothing of grandeur or beauty, of stateliness or magnificence, about it. It appeared like a walled town of the third or fourth class, having neither towers, nor domes, nor minarehs within it, in sufficient numbers to give even a character to its impressions on the beholder; but showing chiefly large flat-roofed buildings, of the most unornamented kind, seated amid rugged hills, on a stoney and forbidding soil, with scarcely a picturesque object in the whole compass of the surrounding view. *

We hastened to the gate, which was in the act of closing as we entered it; and turning towards the left, and passing through some narrow paved streets, which were unusually clean, we arrived by a circuitous route, at the Latin convent of the Terra Santa, where we alighted at a dark door beneath a covered passage.

On being shown up to the friars, I could not help observing that suspicion seemed to exist among them all, of my being a poor man; my scanty baggage was eyed with contempt, and twenty questions were asked me in a breath. Fortunately, the kind superior of Nazareth had given me a letter for the procuratore generale here, but as it was some time before this could be got at, I was kept waiting the whole of the time in the gallery.

In the mean time, there came two Hanoverians, dirty, ill-

* Dr. Clarke, in approaching Jerusalem from the road of Napolose, says, "We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city exhibited; instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, 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 splendour." He adds, in a note, however, "At the same time it should be confessed, that there is no other point of view where Jerusalem is seen to such advantage." (Vol. ii. p. 524.)

Mr. Browne approached it from Jaffa as we did, and he says, "I must confess the first aspect of Jerusalem did not gratify my expectation. On ascending a hill, distant about three miles, this celebrated city arose to view, seated on an eminence, but surrounded by others of greater height; and its walls, which remain tolerably perfect, form the chief object in the approach. They are constructed of a reddish stone. As the day was extremely cold, and snow began to fall, the prospect was not so interesting as it might have proved at a more favourable season." (p. 361.)

dressed, and from their manner and appearance vulgar men, who addressed me in French, to know if I was really an Englishman. Next came the Portuguese servant of Mr. Bankes, who was in the neighbourhood, to ask me, in broken English, all the same questions over again, by which time my letter was produced, and sent in to the old superior.

All was instantly changed: the President of Nazareth, I know not why, having warmly recommended me to his holy care and protection, as a "*Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo*," messengers were sent out to escort me into the hall of reception, where I met a hearty welcome from four or five of the heads of the church in a circular dome-built library. Sweetmeats and cordials were served; I was hailed as "*ben venuto*" by every voice; and, shabby as my appearance was, the respect which was paid to me could not have been exceeded, even to a prince.

Supper was prepared for me, and I was conducted to the room occupied by Mr. Bankes, in which there were three beds, as this was the best room, and as such was generally appropriated to travellers of distinction. On the doors and windows here, among other names carved with great care, those most familiar to me, were Dr. Shaw, the Barbary traveller; Dr. E. Clarke, 1801, and Captain Culverhouse, his companion; Dr. Wittman; John Gordon, 1804, whose name is everywhere in Egypt; Colonel John Maxwell, and Captain Bramson, my companions from Alexandria to Cairo; Mr. Fiot, whom I knew at Smyrna; and several others, of whom I had often heard as travellers in the East; but I saw neither the names of Maundrell, Sandys, Pococke, nor Browne.

I was visited in the course of the morning by all the friars, in turn, and by the two Hanoverians. These last were both young men, dressed as Europeans, who had come with Mr. Bankes's party from Cairo to this place, across the desert, passing the ruins of Ascalon and Gaza on their way from El Arish to Yaffa. Although travelling without any professed object beyond their own pleasure,

they were both so poor and destitute as to suffer Mr. B. to pay their expences ; and they were here almost without clothes, without servants, and without knowing a word of the language. The friars (not much to their honour), treated them with great contempt, merely on account of their poverty ; for though they affected to despise them, as being Lutherans, and therefore not Christians, that objection was not even raised against me, who was at least as far removed from them by religion as these strangers could be, from an idea that, being an Englishman, I must be rich. They had therefore, put the young Germans into the poorest chamber, and barely permitted their food to be dressed in the common kitchen, instead of feeding them from their own table, which is said to be their practice with poor pilgrims. Besides this, they traduced them when not present, and talked of their forcing them soon to quit the convent ; so that, even in this early stage of our acquaintance, I was almost inclined to rebuke them for their want of Christian charity.

These young men were evidently persons of low origin and confined education, and their manners were decidedly vulgar, though set off by the language in which they spoke ; as French to an English ear generally conveys with it a notion of breeding and politeness. They had visited all the sacred places except the Holy Sepulchre, which could not be entered but by a payment of thirty-three piastres, a sum they confessed themselves unable and unwilling to pay ; yet they constantly assigned their not having seen this, the chief end for which they came to Jerusalem, as the only cause of their further detention. This morning, however, the sepulchre being opened for the Armenian and Greek celebration of the Epiphany, they put on turbans, enveloped themselves in cloaks, and were carried in, amidst the crowd of the poor, for a piastre each ; a triumph which they themselves related to me with an air of self-approbation and delight, and which the friars present all applauded ; declaring that thus to cheat the Turks of their exactions was more than just,—it was meritorious.

These young Germans resembled in age, in person, and in many extravagant features of their minds, their countryman, Dr. Kesler, who died in Jedda, and whom they personally knew. They said they had been six years travelling, though neither of them was twenty-six years of age; but their confined information on local topics, proved at least that they had profited little by so long a tour. Having now completed their visits to all the holy places, they received their patents from the superior of the convent, and determined to seize the opportunity of the return of our mules to go to Accho, there to join the pilgrims of Turin, and embark together with them for Europe.

In their excursions around Jerusalem, and in their walks through the town itself, they had received repeated insults from the children, and from the soldiers, which they dared not resent. As these were entirely drawn upon them by their European dresses, we were advised by all those of the convent not to expose ourselves to a similar fate; so that as it would be indispensably necessary to adopt the dress of the country in prosecuting the remainder of my journey, it appeared more prudent to wait until this could be procured, before we ventured without the walls of the house.

Being in the large room on the terrace usually occupied by travellers, every part of the door of which is crowded with names, from Humphrey Edwin, 1699, to William Turner, 1815, I was suffered to live as best suited my inclination; and, taking a pipe and coffee at day-break, and an early dinner at ten o'clock, I supped on a rice pilaw at sun-set, after which the visits of the friars were again paid, and these occupied the whole of the evening.

These men appeared to me to be much less happy than those at Nazareth or at Ramlah, but at the former place more particularly. Among the whole number of those I had yet seen, were only two Italians, one of whom was a Livornese, and was the spenditore of the convent, and the other, a native of Lucca, cook to the establishment, was recently from Alexandria. The

rest were all Spaniards. Though the offices of the Italians were of the lowest kind, their manners were more like those of men of the world, and their understandings more enlarged than even those Spaniards who were much superior to them in rank. Some of these last were not only inferior to the peasantry of this country in common sense and knowledge, but even to the clowns of our own.

Among the news of Europe, the re-establishment of the Inquisition was spoken of, and all exulted in the hope, that under so wise and pious a king as Ferdinand, the church would again resumé its empire, and Christianity flourish. The brightest trait which they could find in his character was, that on any application to him for money to be applied to pious purposes, if the "Convento della Terra Santa" was named, he usually gave double the sum demanded. "Let the Inquisition reign," said they, "and the church will be secure. Let the cross triumph, and the Holy Sepulchre shall soon be redeemed from the hands of infidels by another crusade, in which all our injuries will be avenged."

Instead of the comfort, apparent equality, and cheerfulness, which reigned at Nazareth, and even at Ramlah, all seemed here to stand in fear of each other; gloom and jealousy reigned throughout, and the names of the padre superiore, and of the procuratore generale were as much dreaded as they were respected.

When we talked of the nature of their duties here, every one complained of them as severe in the extreme. The tinkle of the bell for service was heard at almost every hour of the day; and, besides getting up two hours before sunrise to celebrate a mass, they were obliged to leave their beds every night at half-past eleven, for midnight prayers. Nothing was talked of but suffering, and the difficulty of obedience, ardent desires to return to Europe, and a wish to be sent any where, indeed, on the out-stations, rather than to continue at Jerusalem.

Not even in a solitary instance did I hear a word of resignation, or of the joy of suffering for Christ's sake, or the love of persecu-

tion, or of the paradise found in a life of mortification, so often attributed to these men. Either they must think and feel differently in different societies, or be hypocrites in their behaviour and professions; or else those who have reported such things of them must have drawn a picture widely different from the truth.

For myself, I believe the friars to be, in general, sincere, and to display that sincerity whenever they may dare to do so. I am persuaded that they themselves have faith in all the legends which they retail, and that they think their life to be a meritorious one; but as they are still men, they feel sensibly the privations to which they are subject; and all, as far as I could discover, longed to escape from them.

One complained, "I came here for three years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring." Another said, "What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?" A third added, "In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had." While a fourth continued, "And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frate of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short, to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time."

These were almost the literal expressions that escaped from the mouths of my visitors, and that too without a question framed to excite them on my part. They were such as I really did not expect to hear, although they offered to me the best explanation of the jealousy and seeming reserve which I had before remarked to reign here, and of which I had seen nothing in the convents described before.

This being the head-quarters, and the court of the church-

militant on earth, favour and intrigue, no doubt, prevail, and interest becomes necessary to procure the appointments to more agreeable stations, where the duties are less severe, and where the liberty of action is greater.

During my stay at Nazareth, I remember to have met three young friars, one from Damascus, and two from Aleppo, both of them having been ordered there to await their destination from the procuratore generale of Jerusalem. Observing to one of them, who seemed amiable and communicative, that I should be delighted to find his appointment for the Holy City arrive during my stay, so that I might have the pleasure of his company on my way thus far, he replied, "We are all in doubt as to our destinations, but God grant that mine may be for Aleppo;" "And mine also," said another; while the third replied, that "bad as Damascus was for Christians, he would rather remain ten years there, than be condemned to pass five in Jerusalem." I could not then understand the motive of the dislike to the Holy City, and I was unwilling to give offence, by asking an explanation; but now it seemed more intelligible to me.

After the picture of Chateaubriand's first descent at Yaffa, where he found a Spanish friar, with a "*cuore limpido e bianco*," who assured him that the life he had led for the last fifty years in the Holy Land was "*un vero paradiso*," I knew not what to think of the confessions which I had this evening heard with my own ears. The zeal of this enthusiastic writer may have carried him very far, but surely not to state a deliberate falsehood; so that the only conclusion at which I could arrive was, that either the characters of the men or the manner in which they lived had changed, or that such happy individuals as Padre Franciscos Munos were extremely rare.*

19th. We were busily engaged, during the whole of the morning, in necessary arrangements for our future journey, and in

* Travels in Palestine, vol. i. p. 364. 8vo.

procuring Turkish clothes from the bazar. This was an affair of greater difficulty than we had at first imagined; the town itself being the residence of a mixed and poor population, is not at all a mart of trade, and consequently its bazars are scantily supplied; so that every thing, even to the necessities of life, are scarce and dear.

Possessing, at the close of the day, an hour of leisure, I employed it in walking on the terrace of the convent, accompanied by one of the Italians, who pointed out to me the most remarkable objects in the environs, while we commanded a view of the city below, and became partly familiarised with its topography. I was led also through the whole of the convent itself, a labyrinth so intricate, and so extensive, that a stranger might well lose himself in it on a first visit.

In the evening, it being one of the days of constant fast, and the supper light and soon dispatched, I had scarcely finished my own before a party of six friars were already assembled in my room. The gloomy conversations of yesterday were again repeated, and additional causes of regret enumerated.

20th. Early this morning, Mr. Bankes returned from an excursion to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, where he had been accompanied by a crowd of Greek pilgrims, and protected by an escort of soldiers. They had visited Rihhah, the supposed site of Jericho, where there are not the slightest remains of high antiquity; and returning by another route, saw some ancient aqueducts, apparently of Roman execution. They had passed a night at a Mohammedan mosque called "Mesjed el Nebbe Moosa," from an idea prevalent among the people of the country, that here was the tomb of Moses, although, when his death is described in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, it is said, "And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." *

Protected as this party was by an escort, and a large company, they were in considerable danger, from falling into the hands of an Arab tribe, who scoured the plains of Jericho, and had even recently committed robberies between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, close to the walls of the latter. The chief, to whom they were conducted, declared himself independent both of the sultan and all his pashas, and boasted that they spared no Christians who fell into their hands. He consented, however, to protect Mr. Bankes during his stay in the desert, and to return him in safety to Jerusalem, on condition of his interceding for the release of a boy of their tribe, who was now imprisoned at the latter place for a robbery of some camels committed by the tribe itself. Mr. Bankes engaged to use his utmost influence, and on that promise they were all released, while the father of the boy had accompanied them here to await the issue of the negotiation.

We were scarcely met, before a visit was paid to us by an Abyssinian prince, named Moosa, who had left Gondar about two years since, with the sister of the Ras Welleta, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His female charge had died here only a few months since, and he had subsequently by some means become acquainted with the amiable and excellent Lady Hester Stanhope, with whom he had remained some time at her residence near Seyda.

Of this Abyssinian, who was not more than forty years of age, we could learn nothing of Bruce, of whom he had not even heard the name, as "Yakoubc el Hakeem." He had seen Mr. Salt, however, at Antalow, and said that he passed in the country for the son of the king of England. He knew also Mr. Coffin, and Mr. Pearce, who were still in Abyssinia. These, he assured us, were admitted to the table and confidence of the Ras, and were looked up to as prodigies of excellence in understanding; although one was a man from the lowest walks of life, and the other a common sailor, who could scarcely read. So much for Abyssinian discernment of character!

This prince, soon after leaving us, returned again, bringing with him a large white glass bottle of rakee, and about a pound of tobacco, as presents, and in return he received a piece of white linen, large enough for a turban, and a pair of English scissars, with which he was pleased.



CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES, CHIEFLY WITHOUT THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

JANUARY 21. We set out from the convent on an excursion round the city, taking with us a Christian guide, and the Janisary of the friars as an escort; and commenced our perambulation at nine o'clock.

After passing through some small and winding streets, we approached the castle, near which we were shown the house of Uriah; and in a piece of ground near it, an old tank, said to be that in which Bathsheba his wife was washing herself, when David

saw and became enamoured of her. In the castle was pointed out to us the very window from which this monarch is said to have been looking out at the time; but when I remarked to our guide that the Scriptures stated it to have been from the roof of the king's house that this woman was beheld *, as well as that the whole of the present building was of modern work, he replied, that he considered the authority of the friars, who had lived here many years, to be of greater weight than any Scriptures, and that if I began to start doubts of this nature in the beginning of our visit to the holy places, there would be an end to all pleasure in the excursion. I therefore bowed assent, and remained silent.

We came next to the castle itself, called by some the Castle of the Pisans, which D'Anville thinks was built on the ruins of the ancient palace of David. It is at present a large fortress, surrounded by a ditch, crowned by battlements, and occupying a considerable space of ground. We could not obtain admission into the interior; but as far as we could perceive, from the outer walls, the whole was comparatively a modern work, of Saracen execution; nothing remaining but some masses of strong masonry in large rough blocks near the foundation, which bore the appearance of higher antiquity, and which seemed like the rustic masonry of the Romans.

Leaving this on the left, we went out of the Bethlehem gate, in the south-west quarter of the city; and going down the hill toward the south-east along the foot of Mount Sion, we had on our right a deep valley, in which were several olive-trees, and on our left the celebrated holy hill on which the walls of the city now stand, although Sion is said to have been nearly in the centre of the ancient Jerusalem. In this valley a large reservoir was seen, which some maintained to be Bathsheba's pool, so that disputes ran high thereon. It was at this moment in a ruinous state, and perfectly dry.

From the foot of Sion we crossed over the valley of Hinnom, a little beyond this tank, and, turning eastward over the side of the opposite hills, we passed, on our right, a number of caverns and grottoes cut out of the rock. These were all small, and, from their situation, must have been originally within the site of the ancient city, if it is satisfactorily proved to have contracted its limits from the southward. This it is said to have done so much, as to exclude all the southern side of Mount Sion which was in its centre, as well as to have extended its limits to the northward, so as to bring the sepulchre of Jesus and Mount Calvary, which were without the ancient walls, into the centre of the modern city.

Near these grottoes we were shown an old vaulted building in ruins, erected on the spot supposed to have been purchased by the thirty pieces of silver for which Jesus was betrayed. It was formerly so venerated as to change its name from the "Field of Blood," to that of Campo Sancto ;" and the Armenians paid to the Turks a rent of one sequin a-day for the privilege of burying their dead there. Close by this we were shown also a small grotto, descended to by steps, and entered by a rude door-way : it was once used by the Greeks for the purpose of interring those of their church who might die here on their pilgrimage. Either from the expence of the heavy rents demanded, or from some change in their opinions as to the propriety of venerating the spot, both parties have discontinued the practice of burying their dead there for the last thirty or forty years.

Still descending to the eastward, we passed a number of small grottoes excavated in the rock, and similar to those before described. In some there were appearances of benches, fire-places, ovens, &c., and, though small and confined, their whole character seemed rather that of humble dwellings than of tombs. We observed some fragments of sculptured ornaments on one of these only, where a frieze of flowers ran along its front, but all the others were plain.

Leaving these grottoes, we descended into the valley of Siloa, by

some included in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running nearly north and south, between Mount Sion and the Mountain of Offence, "the hill that is before Jerusalem, where Solomon built high places for Chemosh and Molech." *

At the southern extreme of this valley, we were shown a well, bearing the name of the prophet Nehemiah, from a belief that the fire of the altar was recovered by him at this place after the Babylonish captivity. † It is narrow, but of considerable depth, and is sunk entirely through a bed of rock. Being lower than any of the wells about Jerusalem, it retains a good supply of water while the others are dry. We found here a party of twelve or fifteen Arabs drawing water in leathern buckets, by cords and pulleys, and from twenty to thirty asses laden with skins of it for the city. On ascending the surrounding work of masonry to drink of this spring, the Mohammedans insisted on our putting off our shoes out of veneration to the place; this was complied with, and after leaving them the usual present of a few paras, we departed. ~

Turning to the northward, through the valley of Jehoshaphat, we had the village of Siloane on our right, at the foot of the Mountain of Offence; and Mount Sion, on which the city walls stood, still on our left.

We came next to the pool of Siloam, at which the blind man washed off the clay and spittle placed by the Saviour on his eyes, and received his sight. ‡ It is now a dirty little brook, with scarcely any water in it; and even in the rainy season, it is said to be an insignificant muddy stream. The illusion created by Milton's sublime invocation to it, in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*, is entirely done away by the sight of the spot itself.

Going a few paces to the northward, we came to the source of this brook, by some called also the Fountain of the Virgin, from an opinion that she frequently came hither to drink. We descended by two flights of about fifteen steps each, under an arched vault of

1 Kings, xi. 7.

† 2 Maccabees, i. 19. et seq.

St. Luke, ix. 7.

masonry, to a small pool, containing a little dirty and brackish water. The rock had been hewn down originally to get at this, and a small and crooked passage, of which we saw the beginning only, was said to convey the water out into the valley of Siloa through which we had come up, and to supply the little garden plots there, from which the city of Jerusalem is chiefly furnished with vegetables. Notwithstanding the black and dirty state of the water, and its harsh and brackish nature, it is still used for diseases of the eyes by devout pilgrims.

The village of Siloane, which stands immediately opposite to this, on the east, is built on the steep side of the hill, and contains not more than fifty or sixty dwellings. This is thought to be the hill over against Jerusalem, in which Solomon kept his harem of seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines, when, even in his old age, his heart clave unto these strange women in love, instead of being perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father.*

We saw, on the steep brow of this hill, a great number of excavations; some of the smaller ones of which are now used as habitations, and as places of shelter for cattle. Among them we observed more particularly, an isolated square mass, hewn down out of the solid rock, and, though small, possessing the usual proportions, the full moulding above the frieze, and the deep overhanging cornice, of the Egyptian architecture.

Being still dressed as Franks, we were accompanied by a Janisary and a guide; yet it was not thought altogether safe for us to ascend this hill; although I was extremely desirous of examining more

* Among these seducers of his heart from holier affections, are enumerated the women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. (1 Kings, xi. 1.) For love of these he went after Ashtoreth, and Milcom, and built high places for Chemosh and for Molech. (ver. 5. 7.) Of the strange women who worshipped these gods, the Lord had said unto the children of Israel, "Ye shall not go in unto them, neither shall they come in unto you. Therefore Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord as did David his father." (ver. 6.)

closely this remarkable monument, to see if any of its smaller details might justify the suggestion of its being one of those high places spoken of as built by Solomon to strange gods, and thus partaking of the taste and religious character of the Egyptian edifices, from the daughter of Pharaoh, the principal and most honoured of all his wives. The Janisary murmured and magnified obstacles, and the guide insisted on its not having been the scene of any miracle, which, with all the rest of the party, was a sufficient reason for not turning aside to visit it.

In passing along the foot of this hill, we remarked small flights of steps cut in the rock, and leading from cave to cave, for facilitating the communication between them where the brow of the hill was steepest, exactly similar to those seen among the caves of Kenneri in Salsette.

We now entered that part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, properly so considered by the Jews ; it being here a deep ravine between the foot of Mount Moriah as a continuation of Sion on the west, where the temple of Solomon once stood, and on which the eastern front of the city walls now lead along, and the foot of the Mount of Olives on the east, commencing from that part of the same hill described before as the Mountain of Offence.

In the rainy season, this narrow bed is filled by a torrent, which is still called the Brook of Kedron ; but it was, at the period of our visit, perfectly dry. This confined space is nearly covered with the grave-stones of Jews, with inscriptions in Hebrew characters ; as it is esteemed among them one of the greatest blessings to end their days at Jerusalem, and to obtain a burial in the valley of Jehosaphat. For this purpose, the more devout among them come from distant parts of the world, and it is certain that immense prices are paid by them for the privilege of depositing their bones in this venerated spot. *

See the general aspect of this Vale of Death, with its ancient and modern sepulchres, in the vignette at the head of this chapter.

Independently of the celebrity of this valley as the scene of other important and interesting events, the prophet Joel had chosen it for the place of a pleading between God and the enemies of the Jews. "For behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land." * Those spiritualising Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, who wrest this passage, like a thousand others of the Scriptures, from a literal to a mystical sense, insist on its applying to the resurrection of the dead on the last great day. From this belief, the modern Jews, whose fathers are thought by some of the most learned to have had no idea of a resurrection or a future state, have their bones deposited in the valley of Jehoshaphat. From the same hope, the Mahommedans have left a stone jutting out of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, for the accommodation of their prophet, who, they insist, is to sit on it here, and call the whole world from below to judgment. † And a late traveller, journeying with the staff of a Christian pilgrim, after summoning up all the images of desolation which the place presents, but without once thinking of the contemptible size of this theatre for so grand a display, says, "One might say that the trumpet of judgment had already sounded, and that the dead were about to rise in the valley of Jehoshaphat." ‡

Passing onward, we came to the monument which is called the Tomb of Zacharias: it is a square mass of rock, hewn down into form, and isolated from the quarry out of which it is cut, by a passage of twelve or fifteen feet wide on three of its sides; the fourth or western front, being open towards the valley and to Mount Moriah, the foot of which is only a few yards distant. This square mass is eight paces in length on each side, and about

* Joel. iii. 1. 2. † Maundrell, p. 138. 8vo. ‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

twenty feet high in the front, and ten feet high at the back, the hill on which it stands having a steep ascent. It has four semi-columns cut out of the same rock on each of its faces, with a pilaster at each angle, all of a bastard Ionic order, and ornamented in bad taste. The architrave, the full moulding, and the deep overhanging cornice which finishes the square, are all perfectly after the Egyptian manner; and the whole is surmounted by a pyramid, the sloping sides of which rise from the very edges of the square below, and terminate in a finished point. The square of this monument is one solid mass of rock, as well as its semi-columns on each face; but the surmounting pyramid appears to be of masonry: its sides, however, are perfectly smooth, like the coated pyramids of Saecara and Dashour, and not graduated by stages, as the pyramids of Gizeh in Egypt.

Inconsiderable in size, and paltry in its ornaments, this monument is eminently curious, from the mixture of styles which it presents. There is no appearance of an entrance into any part of it; so that it seems, if a tomb, to have been as firmly closed as the Egyptian pyramids themselves; perhaps from the same respect for the inviolability of the repose of the dead. The features before described, gave the whole such a strangely mixed character, that there seemed no other solution of the problem which it offered, than that of supposing the plain square monument, the moulding, the broad cornice, and the pyramid above, to be a work of the Jewish age, as partaking of the style of the country in which their fathers had sojourned so long; and, admitting the bastard Ionic columns and pilasters raised from the mass on each of its sides to have been the ornamental work of a more modern period, added either out of veneration for the monument itself, or on its transfer by dedication to some other purpose. At the present moment it is surrounded by the graves of Jews, and its sides are covered with names inscribed in Hebrew characters, evidently of recent execution.

Close by this, on the north, we came to a cavern called the

Grotto of the Disciples, from an idea that they came frequently hither to be taught by their Divine Master ; although by others it is called the tomb of Jehoshaphat, and is supposed to give its name to the valley below. This is an excavation, the open front of which has two Doric pillars of small size, but of just proportions. Within the first porch is a broad passage, descended into by a few steps, and leading to the right, where it ends at a low door-way, opposite to the northern front of the reputed tomb of Zacharias. Within this cave, in a strait line from the front, is a second chamber, with two others leading from it ; all of them rude and irregular in their form, and appearing to have been ancient habitations, perhaps subsequently ornamented with the two Doric pillars in front. We saw in one of the inner chambers, several Jewish grave-stones, removed from the valley into this place for security. Like all the rest, they were oblong flat blocks, of from three to six inches in thickness, and formed of the rock of the mountain itself, in which these excavations were made, being a yellowish limestone, in some places approaching to a coarse marble.

Going on from hence but a few paces more to the northward, we came to a small bridge of one arch, thrown over the brook of Kedron, and connecting the foot of the Mount of Olives with that of Mount Moriah. It was gravely asserted to us, that Jesus was pushed off this identical bridge, though the present work scarcely seems to be a century old from its appearance, and is not noticed as existing even in the time of Maundrell.* It was added, that this act of violence being committed by the unbelieving Jews, when they were hurrying away their prisoner to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, after all his disciples had forsaken him

* There was a bridge near this spot, and over the brook of Kedron, at an earlier period, however ; as Adrichomius notices it in the description which he has left us of the monuments around Jerusalem ; — “ Pons Cedron lapideus uno arco supra torrentum Cedron erectus, quem Helena Imperatrix eo in loco construi fecit, ubi in hunc usum antea lignum illud, ex quo pila Domini crucis facta est, jacuisse dicitur.” *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 171. folio.

and fled, he fell on a large stone below, which yielded to the impression of his feet, and left the marks now pointed out to us as such. If the Jews then on the spot failed to remark this extraordinary softness of the stone, or the hardness of the feet that pressed it, and the Evangelists omitted all mention of the fact in their gospels *, one would have thought, that at this late period, a stranger would be allowed the liberty to attribute the shapeless indentations to some more ordinary cause. Not at all : the very inquiry whether the fact was recorded by the Scriptures or not, was considered an innovation as unorthodox as a scruple about transubstantiation, or any other of the more popular doctrines of the holy church. †

Opposite to this, on the east, we came to the reputed tomb of Absalom ; resembling nearly in the size, form, and the decoration of its square base, that of Zacharias, before described ; except that it is sculptured with the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order. This is surmounted by a sharp conical dome, of the form used in our modern parasols, having large mouldings resembling rope running round its base, and on the summit something like an imitation of flame. There is here again so strange a mixture of style and ornament, that one knows not to what age to attribute the monument as a whole. The square mass below is solid, and the bastard Ionic columns, which are seen on each of its faces, are half engaged in the rock itself. The dome is of masonry, and on the eastern side there is a square aperture in it. On the whole, the sight of this monument rather confirmed the idea suggested by the supposed tomb of Zacharias ; namely, that the hewn mass

* St. Matthew, xxvi. 57.

† These indentations were shown to an old English sailor, commander of a merchant ship, who had left his vessel in the harbour of Alexandria to go up to Jerusalem, more than two hundred years ago ; and in a note on the passage by Mr. Henry Timbertake, the writer of the Travels, he says, " The authority for these prints of the elbows of Christ, is not the Scriptures, nor any good author, but the monks and friars that are now in possession, and contrive all means to pick the pockets of the devout and credulous." — Harleian Misc. vol. iii. p. 332.

of solid rock, the surmounting pyramid and dome of masonry, and the sculptured frieze and Ionic columns wrought on the faces of the square below, were the works of different periods, and that possibly they might have been tombs of antiquity, the primitive character of which had been changed by the subsequent addition of foreign ornaments.

It is probable that this monument really occupies the place of that mentioned to have been set up by him whose name it bears. "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 my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called unto this day Absalom's Place." * Josephus, in relating the same circumstance, calls the pillar a marble one; he fixes its distance as two furlongs from Jerusalem, and says it was named "Absalom's Hand." †

Some doubts have existed, whether this valley of Jehoshaphat was the King's Dale here spoken of; but this seems highly probable, as the Valley of Shaveh, which is the King's Dale, where Abram was met by the king of Sodom, and blessed by Melchizedeck, king of Salem, after his defeat and slaughter of the confederated kings ‡, was certainly very near to the city of the Jebusites. The distance of two furlongs from Jerusalem, as given to the situation of the pillar in the King's Dale, would depend on what part of the city it was measured from, but it could not in any case be far from the truth; and the term *marble* may be indefinitely used to imply any fine stone, and that of *pillar*, to express a lofty monument. The entrance in the upper part of the cone leads to a room which is described to be much above the level of the ground on the outside, and to have niches in the sides of § it, which can leave no doubt as to its having been a place of sepulture, more particularly as there are other tombs excavated out of the same rocks close by.

* 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

‡ Genesis, xiv. 17, 18.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 10. s. 3.

§ Pococke, vol. ii. p. 23.

The terms "immense," "prodigious," "enormous," &c.* when applied to these monuments, are certainly misplaced, as their measurements, which are given, will best prove; nor is the assertion, that this last is "altogether very beautiful," any more appropriate. In their dimensions, they are among the smallest of ancient tombs; in design, they are unchaste and barbarous; nor is there any thing of "a marvellous nature in their hewn chambers;" so that it is hardly true that their appearance alone, independently of every other consideration, denotes the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people.†

From hence, we continued our way a little farther to the northward, and arrived at the sepulchre of the Virgin. This has a building over it, with a pretty front, although the sculptured Greek ornaments in marble are not in harmony with the pointed arched door of entrance. It is approached by a paved court, and stands near a raised way, leading from the foot of the Mount of Olives over the brook Kedron. We descended into this grotto by a handsome flight of marble steps, about fifty in number, and of a noble breadth. The entrance into this vaulted cavern is certainly fine; and notwithstanding the paltry lamps, and tawdry ornaments of ostriches' eggs, &c. seen among them, the grand descent, and the lofty arched roof of masonry above, produce an imposing effect. Nearly midway down, are two arched recesses in the sides, that on the right containing the ashes of St. Anna, the mother of Mary, and that on the left the dust of Joseph, her husband.

Reaching the bottom of the stairs, we were shewn, at an altar to the right, the tomb of the Holy Virgin herself, who, not having died at Jerusalem, was miraculously transported hither after her death by the apostles, according to the opinion of certain fathers of the church, whose authority the Christians of Jerusalem would think it presumption to deny. At this moment, it is contended that even the corruptible remains of her mortal corse are not

here; a resurrection of them having taken place, as the pious Chateaubriand relates. *

At this tomb, which is in the form of a simple bench cased with marble, the Greeks and Armenians say their mass by turns; close to it there is an humble altar for the Syrians; and, on the left of the grotto, on going down, or opposite to these last described, is an altar of raised earth for the Copts, entirely destitute of furniture, lamps, pictures, or even a covering.

In the time of Chateaubriand, the Turks are said to have had a portion of the grotto, and the tomb of Mary was then in the hands of the catholics. At this moment the Turks have no portion of it, nor could we learn from the keepers of the place that they ever had. The tomb of the Virgin is no longer in the possession of the catholics, having been bought out of their hands by the Greeks and Armenians. These, again, try to rival each other in the costly yet gaudy decorations of their separate altars, as well as to drive each other out, if possible, by intrigues and large payments to the Turks. Both parties, however, look down with sovereign contempt on the poor Syrians and Copts, whose altars are so inferior to their own in glitter and tinsel, but whose hearts, it is to be feared, from all accounts, are still filled with hatred, envy, and all uncharitableness toward their pompous and haughty superiors.

After quitting this sepulchre, we went to an adjoining grotto, thought to have been the scene of Christ's agony and bloody sweat. This is a small and rude cavern, supported by portions of the earth left in excavating it, and has now only two recesses or altars, with some humble crucifixes made from the wood of the olive-tree above. This is said to have been the tree under which Jesus wiped away the drops of blood, after coming out of this cool grotto at night; for the even was nigh when he sat down to sup-

* "St. Thomas ayant fait ouvrir le cercueil, on n'y trouva plus qu'une robe virginale, simple et pauvre vêtement de cette Reine de gloire que les anges avaient enlevée aux cieux." Vol. ii. p. 361.

per with his apostles.* This cave is in the hands of the catholics; and though containing nothing worth the pains of taking away, is guarded by an iron-plated door, and a lock of such security, that even to remove the piece which covers the large key-hole, a smaller key is used in a preparatory lock attached to the greater one. The man who conducted us through this grotto was very much intoxicated; and all impressions of solemnity having been overcome either by the fumes of wine, or by the habit of showing the place to strangers, he did not scruple to utter the most profane jests on the sublime mystery for which this scene was celebrated.

We went from hence to the spot in which are enclosed eight olive-trees, built up about the roots, and thought to have existed in the time of Jesus, "so that the olives, and olive-stones, and oyl, which they produced, became," as Maundrell quaintly observes, "an excellent commodity in Spain." But the proof which he offers of their not being so ancient as is pretended (notwithstanding the difference of rent spoken of by Chateaubriand,† which proves only that the Turks *think* them to be as old as their conquest of the country) is satisfactory. He says, "Josephus testifies, (lib. vii. de Bello. Jud. c. xv. and in other places,) that Titus, in his siege of Jerusalem, cut down all the trees within about one hundred furlongs of the city, and that the soldiers were forced to fetch wood so far, for making the mounts when they assaulted the Temple."‡

From hence, the supposed gate of the Temple was pointed out to us, in the eastern wall of the city, it being still blocked up, from a belief among the Turks, that their destruction is to enter there; but the whole of this wall, as well as that which surrounds Jerusalem on the other sides, appeared to me of modern structure; although, if there be any part of the skirts of the city where the

* St. Matthew, xxvi. 20.

† Maundrell's Journey, p. 142.

‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

present walls may be thought to occupy the site of the ancient, it is certainly here.

A short distance from this, in the right-hand wall of the road, on ascending the hill, our guide approached a large stone, and kissing it with great fervour of devotion, assured us that it was from hence the Holy Virgin ascended to heaven. As a proof of this new fact, he pointed to a little indentation in the surface, and called it the mark of Our Lady's girdle, which fell from her waist as she mounted in the air. Of the girdle itself, he had never heard the fate; of the authority on which this story rested, he knew nothing, but believed it was in the Gospels; and he was so shocked at our not following the example he had set us, of kissing the holy impression, that he really doubted of our having faith in any thing.

Descending from hence, and turning to the southward, we came to the rock on which it is said the disciples, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, slept, while their master retired to pray. Close by, is a small paved way, now inclosed, being from thirty to forty feet long, and three or four broad, where Judas is said to have betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss; * and not far from hence, is shown the rock from which Jesus predicted the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Here, as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, that conspicuous building must have been full in sight on the Mount Moriah, opposite to him, the brook of Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running between and at the foot of both these celebrated hills.

We crossed from hence over the southern brow of the Mount of Olives, and descending on its eastern side by a rugged and stony road, from which we had a view of part of the Dead Sea, lying deep in a vale, and hemmed in on the east by the high mountains of Arabia, we came, in about half an hour, to the village of Beit-Ania, or Bethany. It consists, at present, of only thirty or forty

dwellings, but it is visited on account of a grotto there, which is called the Sepulchre of Lazarus. The building, called the House of Lazarus, is no longer distinguishable, but the supposed place of his interment is still shewn.

We descended into it by a flight of narrow steps, to the number of about twenty-five, and first reached a small square apartment, where there is an altar of earth, on which the Latin friars say mass twice in the year. Below this, on the left, we descended by three or four steps into a vaulted room, about eight or ten feet square, and of sufficient height to admit of our standing upright. This room was arched over with masonry; and the appearance of the whole, from the small door of entrance above, and the steps leading down to the two rooms below, was rather like the portion of some ancient dwelling than of a tomb. As, however, it is situated in Bethany, and the grave of Lazarus is said to have been a cave on which a stone lay,* it may be thought to correspond to the description with much greater accuracy than many of the grottoes shewn about Jerusalem can pretend to. There were at this moment no Turks having an oratory in the place, nor was any thing demanded for our descent. The inhabitants of the village are chiefly Mohammedans, and amount, perhaps, to five or six hundred, for whose accommodation there is a neat little mosque, with a dome surmounted by the crescent.

From hence it took us more than half an hour, and that of the most fatiguing labour, to go out to the eastward, where we were led to see the spot on which Martha, the sister of Lazarus, met Jesus on his way from the desert beyond Jordan, eastward to Bethany.† This spot is now marked by a large stone, in the centre of a circular enclosure of smaller stones; and it was kissed most devoutly by our guide. The place is pointed out, only a few yards off, on which the house of the two sisters stood; but from the story itself, as related by St. John, it would rather appear

* St. John, xi. 38.

† Ibid. 20—30.

that this was in the village of Bethany. With the guardians of the holy places at Jerusalem, however, convenience is often a powerful motive for crowding many sacred spots within a small space, that they may be visited with the greater ease, particularly when nothing but the spot itself is to be shown, and no remains are requisite to prove its identity.

From a part of this eminence, we had a sight of the river Jordan, as well as of the country beyond it. The river winds its course through a deep valley, until it discharges itself into the head of the Dead Sea to the southward, and the eastern view is bounded by an even range of high and woodless mountains, stretching as far as the eye can reach in a north and south direction, and thus cutting off the river and the sea from the wide wastes beyond.*

We now returned toward Jerusalem, and ascending the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, went by the road on which Jesus rode from Bethany and Bethpage into Jerusalem.

It was about two o'clock when we reached the summit of the Mount of Olives, on our return from Bethany. There is a mosque here, with a minarch rising from it, and I was desirous of ascending to its gallery for the sake of the view which it must command, but the keepers became enraged at the very proposal. We entered, however, into the lower court, where a small octagonal building, crowned with a dome, still remains as part of a large church, said to have been formerly erected there. Within this is shown a piece of rock with an impression in it, not much unlike, though far from exactly resembling, the foot of a man.* This is maintained to be the print of Christ's left foot, when he ascended to heaven after his resurrection; and it is affirmed, that the print of the right foot was seen here also, but was taken away to ornament the mosque of Solomon, in the site of the Hebrew temple on Mount Moriah, from whence the Mohammedans insist that

* In describing the same view from hence, Benjamin of Tudela, calls the Dead Sea the Sea of Sodom, and the river Jordan the river of Sittim, which went through the plain as far as Mount Nebo. — Bergenon's Collection.

their prophet mounted up to heaven, as if in rivalry to the ascent of Christ. St. Luke is the only evangelist who speaks decidedly of this ascension, the others making the appearance of Jesus to have happened in different places; and this writer says, "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, as he blessed them, that he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."*

The octagonal chapel, containing the relic described, has been ornamented on the outside with small marble pillars and sculptured capitals; but has now nothing within it except this rock; which serves for the altar of the Catholics, who perform mass here once a-year. They enjoy this exclusive privilege by the payment of a large sum to the Turks; and the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Copts, are obliged to content themselves with small altars of stone, for the same purpose, in the open court.

* St. Luke, xxiv. 50, 51.

The quality which rocks formerly possessed, of receiving impressions from the weight of men and of animals, seems to have been almost too general to render it even a rarity. The mark of Adam's foot on the peak of Ceylon, is visited by pilgrims of all classes; and, considering his reputed size, it is scarcely to be wondered at. The impression of the entire figure of Moses, is shown in the granite mountains of Horeb and Sinai, when the rock became soft at the presumption of Moses, in wishing to see the face of God as he passed. The print of the foot of Mohammed's camel, when he was taken up, beast and all, by the angel Gabriel into heaven, is also shown on the same holy mountain; and considering that, according to Mohammedan belief, the animal was large enough to have one foot at Mecca, another on Damascus, a third on Cairo, and a fourth on Mount Sinai, the enormity of his weight might be almost sufficient to account for this also.* At Jerusalem, and in the other parts of the Holy Land, one can scarcely move a hundred yards without seeing marks of fingers, elbows, knees, and toes, as if imprinted in wax. At the two ascents made from hence, the Virgin drops her girdle from her waist, and our Saviour leaves the impression of both his feet. These are now widely separated, but at some future age it will, perhaps, be insisted on that they both occupy their original places. If those blind guides could but perceive the injury which they do to their own cause, by the propagation of such puerile stories, they would surely abandon them to their Mohammedan rivals in aid of their Koran, and suffer the simplicity of the Gospels to stand on its own basis alone.

* See Journal of a Prefetto of Egypt from Cairo to Mount Sinai, translated from the Italian by Lord Bishop Clayton, and attached to the octavo edition of Maundrell's Journey, 1810, p. 245.

We saw* here some Armenian visitors, among whom were several women; these, either from poverty or parsimony, refusing to pay the few paras demanded by the Turks, in whose custody the place remains, a quarrel arose, which approached to blows among the men, while the shrill voices of the women rather increased than quelled the tumult, by the abuse which they lavished on the unbelieving Arabs.

On leaving the summit of this hill, the spot was pointed out to us a little to the northward, where our Saviour taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer*; and descending the hill to the southward, we passed the ruins of a building which was called the Grotto of the Apostles, from an idea that they compiled their creed there. The cave of St. Pelagia was said to be a little above, in which the Virgin received three days' warning of her death from an angel; and, in fact, so many places had been already pointed out to us, and so many yet remained to be seen, that I began to be weary of dwelling on the particular details of them, and was glad to stretch my limbs on the grass, and abandon for a moment both the book and the pencil.

Reposing beneath the shade of an olive-tree upon the brow of this hill, we enjoyed from hence a fine prospect of Jerusalem on the opposite one. This city occupies an irregular square of about two miles and a half in circumference. Its shortest apparent side, is that which faces the east, and in this is the supposed gate of the ancient Temple, now closed up for the reason before assigned, and the small projecting stone on which Mohammed is to sit when the world is to be assembled to judgment in the vale below. The southern side is exceedingly irregular, taking quite a zigzag direction; the southwest extreme being terminated by a mosque built over the supposed sepulchre of David, on the summit of Mount Sion. The form and exact direction of the western and northern walls are not distinctly seen from hence; but every part

of this appears to be a modern work, and executed at the same time. The walls are flanked at irregular distances by square towers, and have battlements running all around on their summits, with loop-holes for arrows or musquetry close to the top. The walls appear to be about fifty feet in height, but are not surrounded by a ditch. The northern wall runs over slightly declining ground; the eastern wall runs straight along the brow of Mount Moriah, with the deep valley of Jehoshaphat below, the southern wall crosses over the summit of the hill assumed as Mount Sion, with the vale of Hinnom at its feet; and the western wall runs along on more level ground, near the summit of the high and stony mountains over which we had first approached the town.

As the city is thus seated on the brow of one large hill, divided by name into several smaller hills, and the whole of these slope gently down towards the east, this view from the Mount of Olives, a position of greater height than that on which the highest part of the city stands, commands nearly the whole of it at once.

On the north, it is bounded by a level, and apparently fertile space, now covered with olive-trees, particularly near the north-east angle. On the south, the steep side of Mount Sion, and the Valley of Hinnom, both show patches of cultivation and little garden enclosures. On the west, the sterile summits of the hills there, barely lift their outlines above the dwellings. And on the east, the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, now at our feet, has some partial spots relieved by trees, though as forbidding in its general aspect as the Vale of Death could ever be desired to be by those who have chosen it for the place of their interment.

Within the walls of the city are seen, to the north, crowded dwellings, remarkable in no respect, except being terraced by flat roofs, and generally built of stone. On the south are some gardens and vineyards, with the long red mosque of Al Sakhara, having two tiers of windows, a sloping roof, and a dark dome at one end, and the mosque of Sion on the Sepulchre of David, in

the same quarter. On the west is seen the high square, castle, and palace of the same monarch, near the Bethlehem Gate. In the centre rise the two cupolas, of unequal form and size; the one blue, and the other white, covering the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Around, in different directions, are seen the minarehs of eight or ten mosques, amid an assemblage of about two-thousand dwellings. And on the east is seated the great mosque of Al Harrem, or, as called by Christians, the Mosque of Solomon, from being supposed, with that of Al Sakhara near it, to occupy the site of the ancient temple of that splendid and luxurious king.

This mosque of Al Harrem is an octagonal building, with numerous windows, and surmounted by a dome, of the form of that of St. Paul's, in London, and about half the size. The whole stands in the centre of a large paved square, to which there are several entrances through arcades. Beyond these again is a large open space, surrounding the walls of the inner court, and now displaying a carpet of verdure, interspersed with olive and cypress trees. The appearance of this edifice, with its courts and walls, produces on the whole a most imposing effect, and relieves in a great degree the dull monotony of the rest of the interior view of the city, of which it is by far the most prominent object, from the space which it occupies, and the commanding situation it enjoys.

After having at once reposed and gratified ourselves by a more undisturbed view of Jerusalem than we could have enjoyed from any other spot on our way, we resumed the labour of examining the remaining monuments without the walls. We first visited what are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets, close to the spot where we had halted. We descended through a circular hole, into an excavated cavern of some extent, cut with winding passages, and forming a kind of subterranean labyrinth. The superincumbent mass was supported by portions of the rock left in the form of walls and irregular pillars, apparently once stuccoed; and, from the niches still remaining visible in many places, we had no

doubt of its having been once appropriated to sepulture; but whether any, or which of the prophets were interred here, even tradition does not suggest, beyond the name which it bestows on the place.*

Descending from hence, to go to the western foot of the Mount of Olives, we left, at the distance of a few yards on our right, the spot from whence Jesus is said to have wept over Jerusalem: and continuing our way up the north-eastern brow of Mount Moriah, we came to the northern side of the city itself. Here we pursued our way in a north-westerly direction, through cultivated grounds, abounding in olive-trees; and passed a considerable number of excavations in the rocks, apparently ancient dwellings, and now used as such by the families of peasants, and as places of shelter for their cattle at night. In the course of our way, we did not see fewer than a hundred of these, including large and small, perfect and imperfect; when, after upwards of an hour's walk from the time of our leaving the Mount of Olives, we reached the caves, called the Sepulchres of the Judges.

There are in all six of these tombs, into the largest and most accessible of which we entered: It presented first a square court, hewn down on three sides of the rock, in front of the cave. From an outer chamber, entered by a broad door-way, we were led into other smaller chambers by narrow passages of entrance. In these there were arched recesses and benches, as if for receiving the bodies of the dead; and on one side of the innermost chamber we remarked a deep sarcophagus, hollowed out, but still attached to the wall, and now without a lid. Throughout this excavation, we found no appearance either of painting or sculpture.

From hence, we returned towards the city, in a southerly direction, and after traversing the most stony roads that could be

* The observations of Dr. Clarke, regarding this crypt, and the arguments used to prove it originally a place of pagan worship, appear to me judicious; and the use made of the authorities quoted to support the opinion of its being one of the high places built for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom, is equally ingenious.

well passed over, we reached, in half an hour, the tombs of the kings.

We entered, by an arched gate-way, into a large open court, hewn down on all sides out of the rock, to the depth of about fifteen feet, and forming a square of from thirty to forty paces. On the left of the court, on entering, is the portico of a cave, originally supported by columns, but now perfectly open. This portico is about forty feet broad by fifteen feet deep, and from eight to ten feet high, in its present state, the bottom not being visible from accumulated rubbish. The only ornament of sculpture seen on the exterior of this monument, is a frieze, in which the most striking object is a pendant cluster of grapes, frequently repeated, and reminding me of our old Bible prints, representing the return of the spies with such a token from the promised land. Below this again, is another line of sculptured flowers and fruits, in a light and airy style; but both are much defaced by time, and still more injured by the breaking away of the outer surface of the rock.

The interior of the portico is entirely destitute of ornament; and instead of passing from it onward through a central door, as is usual, both in the ancient tombs here, and in most of those in Egypt, a small opening, through which it is now necessary to crawl, leads down from the left side, near the corner, to the apartments below. The first room into which we entered by this passage, was about eighteen feet square, nearly filled with rubbish, and having one door-way leading from it on the right, but no corresponding one on the left, and two immediately opposite to the passage of entrance, making in all three doors which communicate with other chambers within. In each of these, were smaller divisions for the reception of the dead, with benches and sarcophagi, niches of a triangular form for lamps above the tombs, and channels below to carry off water. From one of these inner chambers, a flight of steps descended to an apartment below, where was seen the lid of a violated sarcophagus, highly ornamented with sculptured flowers

in relief. In most of these chambers, were also seen fragments of the stone doors which closed the innermost sepulchres. They were of the same stone as the excavation itself, a coarse yellowish marble; and were, in general, about the size of a common door in length and breadth, and three or four inches in thickness. They were pannelled by little mouldings, in two divisions, above and below, exactly in the way in which our modern doors are made in England; and are said, in this particular, to resemble the pair of stone doors still hanging in the Pantheon at Rome.

The whole of this monument, both within and without, displays great care in the execution, and a regularity not often observable in the more ancient excavations of this nature. For myself, I should not conceive it to be of very high antiquity, either from its interior plan, or from its exterior ornaments. The observation of Maundrell, that none of the kings either of Israel or Judah were buried here, is sufficiently well-founded to prevent this being considered as a work of the Jewish monarchy*; and the description of Hezekiah's interment has no local details from which one could safely infer that he was placed in this sepulchre, since the Chronicles say merely, "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, did him honour at his death.†

The reasoning of M. Chateaubriand to prove this monument the tomb of Herod the Tetrarch, appears to me by no means sufficiently borne out by the premises to decide certainly‡ thereon; and even the theories of Pococke§, and Clarke||, are liable to some objections. Indeed, considering the changes of masters which Jerusalem has suffered, and the consequent variation in the taste of its possessors, it is at this moment a matter of extreme difficulty to separate the monuments of high antiquity from those

* Maundrell, p. 102.

† 2 Chronicles, xxxii. 39.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 105.

§ Ibid, p. 20.

|| Ibid, p. 596.

of a more modern age, or to decide what parts of their remains preserve their original form, and what parts have been subsequently altered or ornamented by later hands. This, however, is certain, that among all the monuments which we had this day visited in the environs of Jerusalem, and of which this is by far the largest, the most expensive, and the most interesting, there is not one which can be called either "enormous" or "splendid," without the strangest abuse of these terms. *

* As a proof that even those who are very pious may entertain contemptible opinions of the extent and riches of the Holy Land, a passage may be given here from an English pilgrim, who visited it about the year 1600. He concludes the account which he has given of the Holy City, with these words: "Thus have I described the city of Jerusalem as it is now built, with all the notable places therein, and near unto the same, and the country about it, by which comparisons you may well understand the situation of most of the places near unto it; and thereby you may perceive that it was but a small country, and a very little plot of ground which the Israelites possessed in the land of Canaan, which, as now, is a very barren country; for that within fifteen miles of Jerusalem, the country is wholly barren, and full of rocks, and stony; and unless it be about the plain of Jericho, I know not any part of the country at this present, that is fruitful." Thus far is a simple declaration of what the pilgrim witnessed. The reasons which he gives for the change, and the proofs which he adduces to show the utterly destitute state of its inhabitants through its barrenness, are too curious to be omitted. He continues: "What hath been in times past, I refer you to the declaration thereof made in the Holy Scriptures. My opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a land that flowed with milk and honey, that then God blessed it, and that as then they followed his commandments; but now, being inhabited by infidels that profane the name of Christ, and live in all filthy and beastly manner, God curseth it, and so it is made barren; for it is so barren, that I could get no bread when I came near unto it; for that one night as I lodged short of Jerusalem, at a place called in the Arabian tongue, Cuda Chenaleb, I sent a Moor to the house (not far from where we had pitched our tents) to get some bread, and he brought me word that there was no bread there to be had, and that the man of that house did never eat bread in all his life, but only dried dates, nor any of his household; whereby you may partly perceive the barrenness of the country at this day, only, as I suppose, by the curse that God layeth upon the same. For that they use the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah very much in that country, whereby the poor Christians who inhabit therein are glad to marry their daughters at twelve years of age unto Christians, lest the Turks should ravish them. And, to conclude, there is not that sin in the world, but it is used there among those infidels that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called Terra Sancta, and, in the Arabian tongue, Cuthea, which is, the Holy Land, bearing the name only, and no more; for all holiness is clean banished from thence by those thieves, filthy Turks, and infidels, that inhabit the same." — Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 341.

In almost every part of Upper Egypt, there are grottoes, scarcely visited from their comparative insignificance, which are superior in design, richer in ornament, and costing more labour in execution, than any ancient monument in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The hewing out and transportation of the two obelisks at Alexandria, mere specks amid the numerous and splendid embellishments of Egypt, would have required more time and expence than the excavation of any cavern near this city. The tombs in the mountains at Siout, an inconsiderable settlement, those still more numerous at Eliethias, the grottoes of El Kournou, and, in short, a hundred others that could be named as among the commonest monuments of that country, are all superior to those here. If such be the case, the pyramids of Memphis, the palace of Abydos, the sanctuary of Tentyra, the colossal statues and sphinxes, the tombs and temples of Thebes, and the less-known, but still more beautiful and surprising monuments of Nubia, with the gigantic grottoes of Girshé, Meshgarah, and Ipsamboul, so eclipse in splendour and in size the poor remains which are found around this far-famed capital of Judea, that, on comparing them together, one cannot help applying to the latter the terms of "paltry" and "insignificant." All these ideas of beauty and of greatness, are, however, quite relative: what would be thought "superb" and "magnificent" in one age and country, would be scarcely esteemed in another; and what would be beheld with wonder by one person, a second would regard with indifference.

On quitting these sepulchres of the kings, we continued to approach the city in a southerly direction, and after nearly half an hour's walk, came to an enclosure at the foot of a large quarry, in which is shown a grotto and a recess in the rock, said to have been the bed of the prophet Jeremiah. Within the same enclosure, there is a spot thought to be that on which he wrote his *Lamentations* over the Holy City. This place is in possession of the Turks, who hold it in extreme veneration; but, as it was shut up, we could only look down into it from above.

It was just sun-set when we reached the Damascus gate, to return to the convent ; and having performed the whole of this day's excursion on foot, over the most rocky and rugged roads that could be trodden, besides crawling into all the grottoes we had seen, we were sufficiently fatigued to render repose exceedingly desirable.



CHAPTER XII.

EXCURSION TO BETHLEHEM, AND THE CAVE OF THE NATIVITY.

JANUARY 22. Having procured Turkish dresses for myself and my servant, we to-day put off our European clothes, which were sent to the young Frenchman, whom I had seen in distress at Jaffa ; and after these duties of the morning were passed through, I accompanied Mr. Banks in returning a visit to the Abyssinian prince who had visited us two days before. We found him lodged in the Coptic Convent, which includes an assemblage of small rooms around a large paved court adjoining to the Holy

Sepulchre. In the centre of this, one of the cupolas of the Sepulchre elevated itself above the houses, and on one side of it were the ruined arched recesses of some ancient religious building.

We ascended to one of the upper rooms, through a miserable entrance, and were received in a small apartment possessing no other furniture than a dirty mat and ragged carpet; and having no aperture for the admission of light except the door-way. Being seated on the floor, and surrounded by the Prince Moosa, and five or six Abyssinians of his retinue, we were served with large tumblers of rakhee, some dried figs, and a pipe; a cooking-kettle, placed on a charcoal fire, in an earthen pan, stood in the centre of the room, and occupied the attention of our host in those intervals when conversation failed, and these were pretty frequent, as he himself spoke Arabic but imperfectly, and Mr. Banks's interpreter, an Italian renegado, still more so.

After a few minutes, the females of the family were sent for; and presently there appeared a young Abyssinian girl, of handsome features, but very dark complexion, attended by two elderly women, who appeared to be her servants or assistants. These all seated themselves, and as the young girl placed herself beside me, and spoke Arabic sufficiently well to make herself understood, we soon became familiar. Some Amharie books of devotion were now shown to us, very finely written on vellum, and adorned with paintings of the evangelists, saints, &c. drawn in the rudest manner, and very gaudily coloured. Then followed some Abyssinian paintings of horses in all their various furniture and trappings, and other pictures, displaying the costume of the country.

While these particularly attracted the attention of Mr. Banks, as an admirer of the arts, and a lover of new and curious information of every kind, I was somewhat surprised to find the young lady on my left approaching close to me; and presently a pressure of my hand, as it rested on the carpet to support me in leaning forward while looking at the drawings, intimated the wishes and

intentions of the lady. I turned round to observe her, without being noticed, and certain signs still further intimated the desire of a present.

Conversation now grew louder; and, as we had taken with us some trifling articles to offer to these people on our visit, according to the known custom of their country, I gave her a small huswife, furnished with needles, thread, &c., the only article I possessed that was at all adapted to the purpose. It was received with many thanks and kisses of my hand. But this was not all; advantage was taken of the general attention being occupied, to ask me whether I had nothing more that I could bestow. I hesitated, and talked of things at home. A reply was made: "I love you more than I can express; and if you will give me a large present, come hither to-morrow, and you shall be my favourite."

I thought it impossible that I could have rightly understood her meaning; but though repeated a second time in a lower voice, the proposition was still the same. I asked her what she desired. She replied, that she must first see the things I possessed, before she could fix her choice; and altercations followed in whispers, like the bargaining for a contraband commodity in the presence of revenue-officers. It was to me the most satisfactory elucidation of all that had been said on the cupidity and profligacy of female Abyssinian manners.

In the inquisitive conversation which publicly passed among us all, we learnt from Moosa, that he himself was the son of one of the great men at the Court of Gondar; but this seemed extremely doubtful, from his hesitating both as to the name and the titles of his father. He said, that, two years since, he had left Abyssinia in charge of two young ladies, whom he insisted were "Binteen el Wizeer," or two daughters of the prime-minister there. They were accompanied, he said, by five or six men, and the two women whom we now saw; and the object of their voyage was a visit to the Sepulchre of the Messiah, and the holy places at Jerusalem. They intended, as he stated, after completing their pilgrimage at the

ensuing Easter, to return again to Abyssinia, by way of the Red Sea, as they came. Some few months after their arrival at Jerusalem, the elder of the girls had died, and the younger only now remained; the names of the two being Miriam and Martha, names which are common in Abyssinia, from those of the sister favourites of the Saviour.

After a long conversation with this Abyssinian party, and a parting request from the young lady that I would call again on the morrow, we left them, to return to the convent. Passing in our way through a dark passage, under an arched gate, we observed a large court above, on the stairs of which were several good-looking females, who seemed to invite us up to join them. Accordingly, turning back, we all ascended, and were treated with a familiarity which we did not well comprehend, until it was told us that this house had been left as a legacy by some pious Christian to the friars of our convent, and that they suffered it to be occupied rent-free by families, on very improper conditions. This being told us by a Copht, we conceived it to be a scandal, on account of a difference in their faith; but it was confirmed to us by other corroborating testimonies, and we returned to our quarters surprised at the disclosures of the short ramble of to-day.

23d. It being a rainy morning, our departure was put off again, and the former part of the day was passed in examining the drawings which Mr. Bankes had made of the monuments in Egypt and Nubia, which were all particularly fine, and, as far as I could recollect, perfectly accurate. He had added to these, also, during his long stay at Jerusalem, plans and views of all the tombs in the neighbourhood, and drawings of other interesting subjects; the whole together forming a collection of at least two hundred in number, and highly valuable.

24th. Some causes still continuing to detain Mr. Bankes here, I devoted the day to an excursion on horseback, and set out early in the morning for Beit-Lahhm, the Bethlehem of the Scriptures. We quitted Jerusalem at the gate near the Palace of David, and