



SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

IN

PALESTINE

DURING THE YEARS 1873 - 1874,

BY

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Vol. I.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM DRAWINGS MADE ON THE SPOT BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE second volume of the present work was published in advance three years ago. I need not return to the reasons which have necessitated this inversion of the natural order of publication. In any case, the disadvantages of this course have been to a certain degree minimised by the fact that these two volumes may be looked upon, strictly speaking, as forming two independent wholes. The first volume, which is now presented to the reader, is in fact entirely devoted to Jerusalem and its immediate environs, within a radius which, towards the end, is somewhat enlarged and forms a natural transition to the second volume, which included extended excursions in Palestine.

I must apologise for the long delay which, in spite of my exertions, has intervened between the appearance of these two volumes; and still more for the considerable period of time—a quarter of a century—which will have elapsed between the conduct of these researches and the definitive publication of their results. The work will certainly suffer thereby from more than one point of view; many recollections have faded from my memory, upon which I had the imprudence to depend; many of the too brief notes have lost, on reperusal, even for me the meaning which I should have attached to them at the moment. On the other hand, it will perhaps have gained in matureness, since the studies to which I have devoted myself in the interval have sometimes enabled me to go more deeply than I should have done at first into certain questions raised by these researches.

I will briefly recall the conditions under which they were undertaken.

In 1873, the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund did me the honour to propose to me an archaeological mission in Palestine, the expenses to be defrayed by them. After an agreement had been come

to between the Foreign Office and the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (to which I belonged and still belong), I accepted this flattering offer, which supplied me with means of action which I had not hitherto possessed. The Committee were good enough, at my request, to appoint as draughtsman M. Lecomte Du Noüy, a very talented architect, whose collaboration was most valuable to me in respect to the planning and reproduction of the monuments. It is to him that I am indebted for the greater part of the illustrations inserted in these two volumes, prepared from his beautiful and faithful drawings.* I am glad here to be able to render homage to his skill, and to thank him for the devoted assistance which he rendered to me during this expedition.

My mission lasted a year and ten days. I landed at Jaffa November 3rd, 1873, and re-embarked there November 13th, 1874. This period of time was entirely devoted to our researches, with the exception of a few days, when one or other of us was prevented by illness from carrying them on, for we led a very hard life, without taking the weather into consideration, divided between the exploration of different districts of Palestine and the excavations at Jerusalem.

On the latter point an explanation is due. It was understood before my departure that the Committee would endeavour to obtain from the Ottoman Government a *firman*, authorising me to undertake the excavations included in my programme. Unfortunately they were unsuccessful, and I left Palestine without having received this authorisation, which I had expected from day to day. Nevertheless, thanks to my friendly relations with various Europeans and natives living at Jerusalem, I succeeded somehow or other in obviating this inconvenience, which might have entirely paralysed all my efforts, and I was enabled, as will be seen, to carry out several excavations which were not without result. Thanks to an exceptionally favourable combination of circumstances, I even succeeded.

* Unhappily some of these drawings have been lost by the engravers. I have indicated them by a note in the course of the work.

as no European had done before, in examining, pick in hand, the soil of the Haram, and, better still, the thrice holy ground of the interior of the Kubbet es Sakhra. All the same, I none the less regret not having been provided with the promised *firman*, since working under such conditions it was not allowable for me to choose (as I should have wished) the spots for excavation, and I was obliged to adapt myself to the necessities of the situation by only carrying on operations at those places where I could work without arousing opposition.

My position, already delicate in consequence of its irregularity, was singularly aggravated after some time by the affair of the false Moabite pottery,* which gained me the animosity of certain persons who had taken too active a part in it, and could not forgive me for having unmasked an imposture of which they had been the first dupes. Then, shortly afterwards, the deplorable incident of Gezer—which I need not dwell upon here, as I reserve my account of it for another place—rendered the situation completely impossible by fettering the little freedom of action which I had hitherto managed to secure.

I only mention these obstacles and *contretemps* to justify myself in the eyes of those readers who might have expected more numerous and better results from an undertaking commenced under such good auspices, and with so liberal a supply of means. However imperfect the results may be, I now submit them with the consciousness of having done all that I could within the narrow limits in which I was able to move. *Quod potui feci.*

I will only refer here to my remark in the "Prefatory Note" to the Second Volume: that the reader must not expect to find in this work a comprehensive treatise upon the archæology of Palestine, or even the summary of the labours which I have for years devoted to these questions. It is simply the account—in certain cases with the necessary development—of the partial researches which I was enabled to carry out in Palestine from November, 1873, to November, 1874, for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

* It will be found fully set forth or explained in my work, *Les Fraudes Archéologiques en Palestine* (Paris, Leroux, 1885), which also contains the history of the too notorious Shapira MSS.

In conclusion, I have to thank Dr. Chaplin, who has been kind enough to undertake the laborious task of superintending the publication of these two volumes, together with Mr. G. Armstrong, the energetic Secretary to the Fund. My thanks are also due to Sir Charles Wilson, who has taken the trouble to read over the proof sheets. I am indebted to these gentlemen for more than one valuable remark.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

Paris, July 1899.

NOTE.—The reader is requested to refer to the remarks in Volume II, p. iv, for the method of transcription adopted for Arabic names and words.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE DISTINCTIVE AND SPECIFIC CHARACTER OF CRUSADING MASONRY.

THE temporary occupation of Palestine by the Crusaders, if it did not actually arrest the continuous internal development of the destiny of the country, did nevertheless form an abrupt breach with the past such as furnishes the antiquary with one of those great chronological landmarks which are of such high value ;—I mean a definite date, to which and from which he can reckon. This sharply defined intrusion of the West into a province of the Eastern world, plays pretty nearly the part of one of those intermediate strata by means of which the geologist can classify the beds which it separates. It is like a fused layer of trachyte interposed between two systems of sedimentary strata, and, if properly studied, it gives us a fixed base to work from,—a zero above and below which we can arrange our chronological scale for the classification of archæological and many other matters. Indeed, this period of the Crusades has the advantage, by its own historical conditions, of being confined within certain fixed dates.

The Crusading period has most assuredly no less interest if we consider it as an extension of and an appendage to the history and the civilization of Europe. But, without neglecting this point of view, it is rather under

the former aspect that the nature of my studies and the character of my researches have led me to regard it, that is to say, as a differential element in the complex problem of the Archæology of the Holy Land.

But the point is to have sufficiently definite criteria to enable one to detect with precision the work done by the Crusaders, and by this means to distinguish it from earlier or later work. All who may have travelled in Palestine or Syria, know how difficult it often is to pronounce authoritatively that any building is a Latin work of the Middle Ages. No doubt when the building is in more or less good preservation, and is an architectural work in the æsthetic sense of the term, the style is a fairly good guide, provided, of course, that it is well defined. For example, one clearly would not hesitate as to the origin of certain details: vaulting ribs of such and such a profile, capitals of such a character, etc., do not admit of any doubt. Yet in some cases there is nothing more deceptive than considerations of mere style and form, when one has not any other evidence at one's disposal. Thus, to quote one instance, it is common knowledge that every pointed arch with normal joints and a keystone is Arab work, and that every pointed arch with a central vertical joint is Western work.* Well, this rule, which may be relevant elsewhere, is often violated in Palestine, and would infallibly mislead any one who trusted to it alone: for although the Arabs do not seem to have known or made use of

* This difference, as we know, is not only a difference of form, it implies statical architectural principles quite distinct from one another, concerning the thrust and equilibrium of pointed arches and vaults. Now that I am dealing with the pointed arch, I shall mention a fact of great interest which I have gathered from local Arab tradition. We know that the non-semicircular or "pointed" arch which we nowadays call with more or less reason "ogive," was in the technical language of the middle ages called *arc de tiers point* † or *arc de quint point*. It is probable that these two denominations were applied to arches of different proportions, and were derived from the geometrical principles used in their construction. I could say a good deal about these principles, but the subject would lead me into a dissertation of far too great length. Be that as it may, I had the curiosity to ask some native master masons what name they gave to the pointed as contrasted with the round arch. What was my surprise when they answered without hesitation, *Khumçs!* This word, which is completely unknown in

† These terms are used to show the points in the base line from which the sides of an arch are drawn with the compasses. In a semicircular arch this point is in the middle of the base line (first point). In an equilateral arch (second point) it is at each extremity of the base line. For "third point" (see Cherry Hinton Church, Cambridgeshire, and the nave of Jesus Chapel, Cambridge) the base line is divided into three parts, and the sides are drawn from points which are one-third of the way from each end of the base line. In fifth point the base line is divided into five parts, and each side of the arch is drawn from a point situated in the base line one-fifth from its opposite end.

the system of the vertical-jointed pointed arch, yet on the other hand I have found many examples in which the Crusaders have built their pointed arches in the Arab fashion, with a keystone.

But when we have to deal with a building possessing no distinctive style, without any characteristic details, which has been reworked at various periods, such as a piece of ruined wall, or sometimes a single fragment of plain hewn stone; in short, when one has to be guided by what is called the dressing of the stones, then upon what principle is one to act, what clue can one follow? Yet to this second category belong the greater part of the cases one meets with, and those often of the greatest importance for the solution of the archæological problems of Palestine. In the absence of purely architectural details, which too often are wanting, is there any certain method whereby we can identify the dressing of the stones of a building erected by the Crusaders, or restored by them?

People have extolled as certain criteria one after the other: the presence or absence of the well-known *bossage*—which has caused so many mistakes—the absolute or relative size of the stones, their colour, their state of preservation, the greater or less sharpness of their edges, the accuracy of their joints and of their squaring, the setting of the stones on their quarry-bed, or otherwise, the nature of the stone, etc.

But these are indications of no critical value, and in too many cases even deceptive. We know what a wide divergence of views has arisen as to the probable age of many ancient buildings in Syria and Palestine; it is not uncommon to find contradictory theories as to the date of a building,

this acceptance in literary Arabic, is evidently connected with, if not actually the same as *Khums*, "the fifth," that is to say, in Old French, "*quint*." The term "*quint point*" having been disused for centuries, it is evident that the Arabic word cannot have been borrowed in recent times. If it really was so borrowed, the loan must date from the period of the Crusaders. But was it really borrowed from the Frank tongue? May not the Frank and Arab terms, which are so singularly alike, have both been derived from one common source, the technical language of that more ancient school of architecture from which both the Westerns and the Arabs may have independently derived the principle of the pointed arch? In order to be able to answer this question, we need more knowledge than we possess as yet of the technical terms of the Byzantine and Persian schools of architecture. I regret now that I did not press my inquiries further, and did not make out distinctly whether, besides the term *Khums*, which corresponds to *quint point*, native tradition did not perhaps know of another term, *thulëth* (= *thulth*), corresponding to *tiers point*. This remains to be verified, and I recommend it to the attention of all archæologists who may have occasion to visit Syria.

or a certain part of a building, oscillating between the epochs at the greatest possible distance apart from one another, Phœnician, or Hebrew, Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Mediæval Latin, or even Arab.*

Such chronological variations as these show of themselves how untrustworthy must be the elements of the art of discrimination hitherto at the disposal of archæological students, and how flimsy must be theories based upon no more solid foundation than probabilities or more or less subjective impressions. They only prove still more clearly the need of possessing for at least one of these epochs some sure and really objective test.

Among the methods by which we can with certainty distinguish building materials that have been dressed by the Crusaders, there are two, one of which, of a comparatively restricted character, had been singularly neglected up to the year 1867; while the other, which is far wider in general application, remained absolutely unnoticed until I discovered it and made it known for the first time in 1874. What I mean are (A), masons' marks, and (B), the tooling of stones.

A.

MASONS' MARKS.

This, as is well known, is the traditional name for the alphabetical or symbolical signs which generally are carved in the middle of blocks of hewn stone, and are meant, it is supposed, either to act as guides for the dressers, or, more probably, are personal marks belonging to each individual workman by the piece who cut them and was paid according to his work. This

* Let me be permitted to quote in illustration of this some words of one of the most learned students of Syrian Archæology. The avowal made by M. Renan towards the end of his *Mission de Phénicie* (p. 813), shows very distinctly the uncertain condition of antiquarian science on this subject, and makes us understand the necessity of equipping it with a trustworthy touchstone:

“Everyone had been deceived, just as I had been . . . These doubts are due to the strange and altogether peculiar local character of the Latin buildings in Syria . . . about not recognising that such and such a building belonged to the time of Solomon or to the time of the Crusader. The first aspect of the building is, in this case, very deceptive, for Robinson, Thomson, Wolcott, Van de Velde, De Vogüé, and De Saulcy allowed themselves to be misled by it. All these travellers have, in more or less express terms, assigned a Phœnician, an old Canaanitish or Jewish origin to buildings really belonging to the Middle Ages.”

practice, which was known in ancient times, was very prevalent throughout all Europe in the Middle Ages, and the Crusaders did not forsake it in their building operations in Palestine. We therefore find thousands of these precious marks on the stones of buildings wholly or partly erected or reconstructed by them.

The first archæological works dealing with the Holy Land took little or no notice of these masons' marks, which nevertheless are so important. Two or three explorers who have accidentally stumbled on some of them have made drawings of them, but rather as curiosities * than valuable pieces of evidence.

But what proves how little people cared to make systematic collections of them until quite recent times, is that the great work of M. de Vogüé on the *Churches of the Holy Land*, which was published after these first indications of their existence, excellent as it is in many other respects, yet contains not one of these masons' marks. Since then this omission has been well repaired, thanks to the united efforts of various explorers, who have at last devoted to this search the attention which it deserves. For my own part, as I felt all the importance of it, I have perseveringly devoted myself to it ever since my first sojourn in Palestine, in 1867, and have never ceased since then to augment my collection, both by my own personal researches and by those of other archæologists. I have not restricted myself to methodically collecting those which are carved upon the walls of such buildings as are still standing, but have even noted those which I found upon single stones, either lying alone or built into other works, in every part of Palestine which I have been privileged to visit.

* Among these I must mention M. Rey, in the work which I shall presently quote, and also the Abbé Michon, who accompanied M. de Saulcy on his first journey to the East. The latter says, speaking of the church of el Bireh, "I discovered upon the ashlar the masons' marks of our French churches, crosses, arrows, and darts, which I copied with the utmost care." (Michon, *Voyage Religieux en Orient*, II, p. 46.) The author unfortunately has not reproduced his copies. Moreover, he has not drawn from this single utterance the general principle which it implied. Thus, for example, we see that he says that he made a plan of the church at Abu Ghôsh, and yet he says nothing about masons' marks, though they are much more plentiful there than at the church at el Bireh—alphabetical ones, too, and therefore altogether instructive. One of the first archæologists who next began to collect masons' marks was Sir Charles Warren (*Quarterly Statement*, 1870, pp. 326, 328), whose attention had been called to them by his discovery of marks, which remain a puzzle to this day, on the ashlar of the south-east angle of the Haram.

Up to the present time, the oldest writer to whom the credit of noticing the system of Latin masons' marks upon a mediæval building in Palestine has been attributed, is the Abbé Mariti, who travelled through the Holy Land in the year 1767, and the first edition of whose book appeared at Lucca in 1769-1770. "The Abbé Mariti," says M. de Vogüé,* "saw upon the stones of the vault (of the Church of the Virgin's Sepulchre) marks made by the stonecutters, and letters cut by the masons to serve as guides; their form betrayed their Western origin.† The deep darkness which prevails in the interior of this church . . . did not permit me to see them myself."

The fact is, that the noticing of masons' marks is of far earlier date, and the honour should be given to the Franciscan Father Morone da Maleo, who, in this special subject, is the forerunner, and perhaps the inspirer of Mariti.‡ Morone, who was Warden of the Holy Land, has left an exceedingly interesting work, now very rare, published at Piacenza in 1669; § I was not able to obtain a copy until the year 1892. Now, this is what I find therein (Vol. I, p. 209):—

"Ed io osservando il volto della Chiesa|| sì bianco, e sì ben con-camerato tutto die pietre vive, e dolate, che pare nuovamente fatto, viddi in alcune pietre di registro scolpite lettere Latine maiuscole, come O.P.R.S., etc., e questo mi fè credere, che li Maestri fossero Italiani, ò Latini, de quali la Santa ¶ ne condusse colà molti."

* M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 308.

† Mariti, *État présent de Jerusalem*, ch. xv, § 4. "It seems as though the Latin Princes must have caused work to be done to it, for upon the stones of the vault one recognises the usual marks (*registri*) in Latin letters, such as L. O. R. P. S., etc."

‡ Probably many contemporary travellers and pilgrims, such as Troilo, owe the interesting facts of which they have the credit of discovering, to Father Morone, who had passed many years in the Holy City and knew it thoroughly; for example, the mention of the name of the builder of the belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, carved upon one of the stones; that of the name of the Caliph Abd el Melik, in an inscription on the Sakhra, etc. (as to this last matter, see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 400 and 408).

§ *Terra Santa nuovamente illustrata*, dal P. Fr. Mariano Morone da Maleo, Lettore, Predicatore Generale de' Minori Osservanti della Provincia di Milano, Commissario Apostolico nell' Oriente, Custode della sudetta Terra Santa, e Guardiano del Sacro Monte Sion, etc. Piacenza, 1669, 2 vols., small 4to.

|| The Church of the Virgin's Tomb.

¶ The author means Sta. Helena.

In another part of his work (Vol. I, p. 105) he expresses himself in these terms, speaking of the belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre :—*

“Altri però volsero dire, che Sant' Helena portasse seco colà e Mastri, ed Ingegneri, in prova di che potrei addurre ciò che studiosamente osservai nella parte interiore del Campanile entratovi sopra dal terrazzo de' Greci, e guardandovi verso Austro declinando all' Oriente, ove viddi scolpite nella pietra viva le sequenti parole : *Jordanis me fecit* ; il che me fece credere, che il Architetto fosse Latino, ed Italiano, se pure non volessimo dire, che quel *fecit*, s' intendesse del Capo Mastro ; ma certo è, che la Santa, ed altri ancora condussero colà Fabricieri, come argomentai appresso dalle lettere di registro scolpite nelle pietre di termine, ò cantone nella Chiesa del Sepolcro della Vergine, come a dire P.Q.R.S. e simili, cosa che non seppi trovare nella fabrica del Santissimo Sepolcro, forse per essere annegrita dal fumo, e potrebbe anche dire alcuno, che il Campanile del Santissimo Sepolcro fosse fabricato da' nostri Rè d' Europa dopò la Chiesa.”

From the existence of these letters, Father Morone very rightly conjectured that the masons were of Western origin. His only mistake was in trying to make them out to have been contemporaries of St. Helena, and in not having kept to the opinion expressed in the last sentence, which shows that he had at all events a glimpse of the truth. But the historical error is excusable at that period ; the real value of the material statement of the Franciscan Father is not impaired thereby, and it is a pity that it did not sooner open the eyes of the many pilgrims and travellers who have traversed the Holy Land since then and examined the churches built by the Crusaders, upon which these marks are to be found in thousands.

These masons' marks, being generally cut in slight and loosely made † characters in the middle of the blocks, ‡ are easily overlooked, which explains why they have remained unnoticed for so long a time. In order to recognise their existence and to make out the shape of them, one often has to examine the stone very minutely, and one requires a certain knack

* On page 181 he briefly describes the *campanile*, or belfry, “made of living stones, squared and polished, with columns and very fine cornices.” At least four stories of the belfry must have been standing in his time.

† Sometimes, on the other hand, the marks are large and deeply cut. But in that case, as I shall show in its place, they are perhaps marks of ownership of the buildings rather than true masons' marks, or marks of piece workers.

‡ And whatever people may say, on the outside as well as the inside of buildings.

which is only learned by experience. As I shall show hereafter, the manner in which the stone is tooled greatly facilitates this search, by warning one at the first glance that upon such and such a block of stone there is a chance of finding a mark. It is this latter observation which has enabled me to collect a great number of these marks, and has at the same time put me in the way of discovering the law of mediæval stone-tooling, of which I shall presently speak.

Sometimes, but not often, the same block shows two marks. One finds instances of this in Europe. The mark may be placed anywhere, which clearly proves that it must have been cut before the block to which it belongs was put into its place in the stonework. This becomes evident when we find letters of the alphabet often appearing cut so as to lie on one side or the other, or even completely upside down.

The non-alphabetic marks show a very great variety of forms; many of them seem to stand for things which it would be rash to try to identify, but some of them, nevertheless, can be made out pretty exactly: the cross in all its various forms, a spear head, a dart, a feathered arrow, a fleur-de-lis, a shield, a pennon, a fish, a crescent, a star with a varying number of rays, a heart, an axe, a mason's square, a key, an hourglass (?); some others are of a purely geometrical character.

Some of them are of so complicated a character that they must have been due to some artistic fancy on the part of the stonemason rather than to the simple practical need of marking his work with his cypher; for instance, a human head, full face, on one of the stones of the underground part of the church of *Abu Ghôsh*, the great bird's head in the Haram area (which is, I think, found elsewhere together with an ordinary mason's mark), the two great wings (?) on the base of a column in the church at Lydda, etc. I have often found the mark of a key carved on the keystone of a vault, which shows an obvious association of ideas.

After mature consideration, I have determined to display the numberless masons' marks which I have collected in Palestine, both in squeezes and sketches, in the form of one large plate, containing the *leading types* (more than 600) of all the kinds that I have been able to find. Each type, represented by many specimens given in the accompanying lists, can be distinguished thereon by a very simple method of numbering, which will enable me to make all the necessary references. This plate will, moreover, I hope, be of some use to future explorers who

may choose to devote themselves to this form of research. All that they will have to do will be to refer to it for the known varieties, and continue the series of ordinal numbers for the unknown ones. In order to make it as complete as possible, I have incorporated in this plate, with proper references, all the masons' marks that I have been able to find in various publications connected with Palestine.

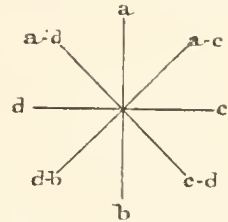
In making this plate, which imperfect though it may be, has nevertheless cost me much time and pains, I have not been able to classify the specimens as accurately as would have been desirable. The first part contains the series of alphabetical marks: among these, however, there are some marks about which I cannot be sure which letters of the alphabet they stand for, or whether indeed they belong to the alphabet at all. Other marks, which are certainly alphabetical, are to be found scattered here and there throughout the rest of the plate, as they did not arrive in time to be put into their proper places. Some of the non-alphabetical marks have been grouped together according to their resemblance in form, but I have not always been able to follow this rule, which indeed is a very arbitrary one in itself. However, the plate being altogether synoptical, it will be comparatively easy to find at a glance the mark or group of marks required.

The two detailed lists which accompany the plate render it unnecessary for me to enter upon long explanations, and will show better than any other commentary the various uses which can be made of it.

It would certainly have been interesting to compare these marks with those which we find in the mediæval buildings of the various countries of Europe. One might thus obtain, among other things, some information about the schools of architecture to which the methods of building employed by the Crusaders belonged. But that is a subject which, although very tempting, would take me too far: specialists may deal with it, aided by the materials with which I have supplied them. I cannot here lose sight of the principle which has guided my researches throughout so many years, the discovery, I mean, of the points in which Crusaders' buildings differ from those which preceded and from those which followed them. I must, however, warn the reader, that in the case of a small number of the specimens, especially of those which have been collected in Northern Syria, and not by myself, one may entertain some doubt as to their origin being Latin at all. These few odd ones will be pointed out in their places.

Explanation of the Notation.

Every mark in the plate is shown in the letterpress by two numbers, separated by a dash (-): the first number refers to the horizontal lines in the plate (the vertical column counting from the top to the bottom); the second refers to the vertical lines (horizontal row, counting from left to right); any required mark, therefore, is to be found at the intersection of these two lines, the horizontal and the vertical.



The small italic letters which are placed after the double number show, when necessary, the angular position of the mark or letter.

If the double number is not followed by letters in small type, it means that the mark is found in the same position, normal or otherwise, as that in which it appears on the plate (as *a-b*).

The sources* from which these marks have been taken are shown in the following manner:—

[Those not otherwise marked are from my own sketches or squeezes.]

		PAGES			PAGES
A	Van Berchem, unpublished statement.		M	III	115
A A	R. Dussaud, unpublished statement.		N	III	131
	<i>Quarterly Statements.</i>		O	III	133
B	1870	326	P	III	149
C	1870	328	Q	III	271
D	1872	100	R	Jerusalem (Memoirs) . .	250
E	1883	131	S	Do. Do.	256
F	1883	132	T	Do. Do.	386
G	1890	10 pl.	U	Do. Do.	402
	<i>Memoirs.</i>		V	Rey, <i>Étude sur les monuments de l'Architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie</i>	55
H	II	209	W	Do. do. do.	99
I	II	213	X	Do. do. do.	102
J	II	271		<i>Revue Archéologique.</i>	
K	III	65	Y	March-April, 1892. . .	226
L	III	89	Z	Do. do.	258

* Besides these, the reader may profitably consult a note by M. Ržiha, in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, IV, pp. 93, 95. Although it furnishes no new materials, it nevertheless contains judicious advice as to how one should form a collection of masons' marks.

LIST OF PLACES, BUILDINGS AND PARTS OF BUILDINGS
WHERE THE MASONS' MARKS HAVE BEEN FOUND.

JERUSALEM.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE (OUTSIDE).

— Pavement of the fore-court, on the left, at the foot of the bench along the belfry: 6-8.

— On a stone in the wall which closes up the right hand door of the church: 3-6.

— Near the little outside door leading up to the little cupola of the Latins, in front of Calvary: 26-4.

— In the angle on the left hand, near the entrance door, on the side where the belfry stands, on the fourth course of stonework [26-12*ac*].

— On a stone from the demolished chambers of the Khânkâh which have been given over to the Franciscans: 8-23.

BELFRY (OUTSIDE).

— 13-16, 18-18.

BELFRY (INSIDE).

— At the top of the stair, on the right hand, and in the upper chamber: 8-5, 8-21, 11-8*c*, 13-15, 18-17, 19-22, 20-17, 2-11*d*.

BELFRY.

— 10-14, 10-17, 11-8, 3-2, 19-23.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE (INSIDE).

Apse of the Greek Choir.

— The stones of the semicircular wall show the mediæval tooling,* with almost vertical strokes.

* For mediæval tooling, see the explanation given below, Section B.

— The outside of the wall, on the south side, second course: 26-12*b* (twice), 24-18, 24-14, 24-20, 15-19, 13-9 (three times), 26-12*b*, 12-2, 11-23.

— The outside of the wall, on the south side, second course, above, set back, as one goes in by the right: 20-21.

— The outside of the wall, on the south side, second course, on the left hand side of the stairs leading down to St. Helena's Crypt: 26-12*b*.

— The inside of the outer boundary wall, under the moulding of the base: 21-8.

— The outside curve in the corridor where the little chapels are: 13-16 (twice), 24-14*bc*, 26-11*ac*, 26-10, 26-12*ac*, 24-21, 24-19, 24-17, 24-20*c*, 24-16, 24-15 15-21.

St. Helena's Crypt.

— The Pavement of the altar, at the end of the crypt, on the left hand side: 8-23.

REGION ROUND ABOUT THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

— At the angle formed by the Street of the Christians and the street which leads from the forecourt of the Holy Sepulchre, on the left hand side: 2-13, 1-17, 5-23.

— On the ground belonging to the Russians, on the east side of the Holy Sepulchre, on the left hand side of the entrance, second course of the visible angle: 25-9.


— In the cloister of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Russian ground, at the top of the pier: 26-13.

ABYSSINIAN CONVENT.

— On the lantern of St. Helena's cistern: 11-7 (repeated).

— On a fragment of the arcade as one enters: 21-14*ad*.

— 22-7*ac*, 1-16, 4-1, 4-5, 14-7, 18-5, 18-19, 18-20, 23-17.*

* We must add to these a mark which I have not been able to figure in my plate, , but which has been copied by Tobler (*Golgotha*, pp. 518, 619); *Beilage G.*, No. 4), on a block of stone in the third bay of the pointed arcade in the south wall (going from west to east).

— In the blind alley on the left hand side of the street *Khân ez Zeit*, before one comes to the bazaar, there are upon two or three stones what are not regular masons' marks, but probably marks of ownership of the buildings, 17-9, 17-9*c*.

THE MURISTÂN.

— In the Corn Market, on the bottom stones of the piers: [8-6*c*], 19-20*ac*.

— Near the Corn Market, on one of the piers: 3-6*b*.

— On the ground belonging to the Knights of St. John, which belongs to Prussia, near the market: 4-10, 15-23, 27-14, 1-23, 12-3, 5-22*c*, 8-5.

— D.S.: 26-14, 19-20, 6-15, 14-16, 14-21, 18-21, 27-21, 26-2.

— S.: 1-8, 1-20, 1-3, 12-20, 28-8, 27-1, 26-19, 26-7, 25-19, 25-1, 25-3, 24-22, 20-5, 27-23, 18-15, 18-13, 16-20, 15-7, 2-5, 8-19, 26-12*b*, 10-13, 11-8 (twice), 20-19, 12-21, 4-16, 6-8*d*, [10-21*d*], 6-23, 21-19*ac*, [26-23*c*], 13-16, 12-22, 11-10, 28-8, 20-16 (twice), 24-22*b*, 14-18, 18-14*d*.

THE BAZAARS.

— St. Anne's* Bazaar, on various courses of ashlar, arches, voussoirs and springers (the tooling perhaps has been altered, it is not done with a toothed tool): 11-14, 11-8, 25-18, 23-10, 20-5, 8-6*db*.

— On a fragment of a voussoir from one of the vaults of St. Anne's Bazaar, tooled freely in mediæval fashion. I have brought the original stone to London. See Vol. II, No. 486, *Rough List*, No. 65. 7-15 (on the concave side).



— In one of the bays between the Butchers' Market and the Shoemakers' Market, on a stone: 29-6.

— In the wall of one of the lateral communications between the bazaars: 29-7.

— In the back shop of a potter in the Butchers' Market, showing mediæval tooling: 10-13*ac*.

* I call it so, because I have discovered the name of $\overline{\text{SCA}} \text{ ANNA}$ (cut in Gothic letters) repeated on several of its stones. This, as I shall show hereafter, shows that the tolls of this market were, at the period of the Crusades, appropriated for the maintenance of St. Anne's Church and Convent (*Probatice*).

— In a café at the point where the Street of David joins the street of the Bazaar, as one steps up on to the terrace, on a mediæval arch: 14-13 (twice)*d*.

— On another little staircase on the other side, leading to an upstairs stable; the mark is on the stonework between two fine pointed-arches of the Crusading period, showing mediæval tooling: 28-22, 28-23, 29-1, 29-2, 21-15*c*, 9-18*c*, 8-9, 23-11.

— On the ashlar of one of the piers of the arcade along the Street of David: 27-13.

— At *Khân es Sultân*, towards the stable, on the three lower courses, which consist of fine large blocks; on one of them which is mediævally tooled: 7-18; on others, 22-14, 21-9, 29-15, 17-3, 28-14, 1-7, 6-11, 20-21*a**c*, 28-15, 11-22*c*, *ad*, 1-2, 14-10, 15-3, 15-2, 18-3, 21-10, 21-11, 22-3, 22-9.

THE HARAM ESII SHERÎF.

— On the outside of the wall of the Sakhra, on one of the pilasters, on the left hand side of the western central door, on the third course, counting downwards from the springer, above the leaden hood: 24-12 (I have found an almost exactly similar mark on one of the blocks on the outside of the tambour, upon the part which can be seen under the roof).

— In the Mosque: 10-15, 28-11, 27-5, 19-20*b*, 11-16, 11-18, 11-11.

— On the pavement to the east of the esplanade (or *sahĕn*), near the arches over the staircase: 20-14, 21-12, 14-18.

— Pavement: *R*, 28-7, 26-5, 26-6, 25-2, 24-6, 22-13, 20-20, 20-8, 20-9, 19-17, 13-7, 5-19, 16-15, 9-1.

THE CENTRAL ESPLANADE (*Sahĕn*).

— On a buttress on the west side, between the two staircases: 16-10, 15-13, 10-20, 3-6, 16-4*ad*, 2-10*b*.

— On the arcade extending on the west side at the back of the chambers, at the south-west angle, upon mediævally tooled stones: 5-21.

— On the south wall of the esplanade, upon the stones of the buildings which have grown up against it, in the upper part, in the bay where the staircase is: 7-5.

MOSQUE OF EL AKSA.

— On the pavement of the central nave, on the right hand side, throughout the entire length, *passim*: 22-23, 23-1, 24-2, 22-10, 21-7, 25-16 (twice).

THE GREAT STORE HOUSE ADJOINING THE AKSA.*

— Inside, on the left hand as you go in: 17-1, 24-8; further on: 3-16 (twice).

— On the embrasure of a window: 8-6.

— *Passim*: 16-23, 8-6*d*, 10-16 (four times), 13-14, 15-20 (three times), 16-11, 19-6, 17-23, 21-24 (twice), 25-14, 25-15 (twice).

SOLOMON'S STABLES.

— *E*: 19-20*ac*.

UNDERNEATH EL AKSA.

— Outside of wall: 29-11.

On the Façade of the building adjoining the Aksa on the west side.

— The entire wall is mediæval work, including the beginning of the return wall on the right, belonging to the Mosque of the M'ghâ'rbeh; arch with: 19-17*ad*. Above the central doorway, each voussoir has a mark: 10-1, 23-16, 10-15*ac*.

GATES AND PASSAGES LEADING INTO THE HARAM AREA.

— On Bâb Hitta, on the inside, on the right hand as you go in, on the third pier on mediævally tooled stones, in the ninth course, counting from the bottom: 29-17 and 18, 27-4.

— Ditto, on the inside, on the right hand as you go in, on a pier of the north porch: 3-3.

— Ditto, on the right hand as you go in: 23-15 (twice), 9-23.

* This long vaulted hall, which is not generally shown to visitors, is mentioned by Mujir ed Din.

— On Bâb Hitta, on the left hand as you go in : 6-14.

— Bâb el 'Atmeh, on the left hand side as you go in : 9-18, 7-17, 21-14*ad*, 19-20.

— On one of the piers of the north portico of the Haram area, No. 10, counting from the north-east angle, in the middle of a stone which shows no mediæval tooling, but marks of the point of the pick : 17-16, 14-4.

— On one of the piers of the north portico, No. 1 on the right hand (or the left?) of Bâb Hitta, on a stone worked with the point of the pick : 2-21.

— On a pier of the north portico, No. 3 on the right or left of Bâb Hitta, on a stone dressed with the point of the pick : 13-18.

— On a pier of the north portico, No. 5 on the right or left hand of Bâb Hitta, on a stone dressed with the point of the pick : 22-22, 26-9, 8-5.

— On a pier of the north portico, No. 6, dressed with the point of the pick (no striæ) : 24-1.

— On one of the piers of the west portico, at the northern end : 5-21.

— On the gate of the Haram area near the Mehkemeh, on a pier of stonework between the two inside arches, 17-9 ; is not a mason's mark, but probably a mark of ownership,* deeply cut. The tooling is not mediæval.

— On the arches of one of the gates on the north side : 17-14.

— Ditto : 9-20.

— On the left hand as you go into the Gate El Ghâwânimeh : 2-10.

— In the Sûk el Kattânin, on the right hand side, in a sort of chamber at the end of the hall where is an Arab tarikh (the stone bears marks of other characters also) : 8-20, 26-21.

— Near the Bâb el Mutewaddha, on a stone built into the wall of a house : 10-12, 10-11*ac*

— On a house near the Haram : 28-9, 8-11.

— At Bâb es Sekinah, facing the Mehkemeh, there was a modern building which concealed the left hand bay of the double gate ; at the base of the pier A, are fine stones bearing marks : 5-8, 21-14, 5-23.

— Ditto, on one of the voussoirs of the left hand arch : 10-2, 8-19.

* Like the great T in the blind alley of the street *Khân es Zeit*, mentioned above.

VIA DOLOROSA.

— On the wall on the left hand before you reach Bâb el 'Atmeh, coming from St. Anne's: 11-12, 5-21, 11-10, 3-21, 6-21, 23-14, 21-19, 19-5, 15-15.

— On the south wall, between Bâb el 'Atmeh and Bâb Hitta, on a piece of wall which appears up to a certain height to consist of pieces of mediæval stonework: 11-12, 15-16, 17-17.

— On a stone in the wall beside the Bâb el 'Atmeh, which shows mediæval tooling very slightly slanted (curved surface?) re-worked in Arab fashion at one end: 10-13.

— On a smooth stone in the court of the chapel of the Scourging: 6-12, 25-23, 6-2.

— On a smooth stone in the right hand jamb of the great walled up doorway of the Barracks: 14-3, 14-22.

— North-west angle of barracks, eighth course: 6-12.

— Mediævally tooled stone, wall of barracks: 3-9.

— On the side pier of an opening level with the ground, before you come to the convent of the Sisters of Sion: 4-22.

— At the bottom of the right hand jamb of the great bay in the wall, before you come to the convent of the Sisters of Sion: 4-18.

— In the lane at the back of the old seraglio: 19-22*ac*.

THE PRISON.

— In the entrance, on a slab of the Mastaba on the right hand: 20-11, 28-1.

— On the east wall of the platform: 14-1.

— On a stone bench in the basement: 28-2.

HOUSE OF DIVES (SO CALLED).

— On the side facing the old military hospital: 4-13 (twice).

TARÎK BÂB EL 'AMÛD.

— On a mediævally tooled stone under the vault, looking toward the Armenian ground: 1-12.

— On all the mediævally tooled voussoirs of the arches in the court of a Jew's house : 19-20*ac*.

— On the keystone of one of these arches, mediævally tooled : 28-17.

Vault under the House of Rabâh Effendi.

— 2-10*c*.

House of Veronica (so called).

— On a pier on the other side of the street, near the house : 3-11.

— On a great stone almost opposite the half-buried arcades : 3-19.

— The half-buried arcades. This mark is on the third voussoir of one arch and the fourth voussoir of another : 7-17.

— Ditto, on the right hand side voussoirs of the arch which is under the house : 19-20 (twice).

— Near the house, on the fourth voussoir of the same arch, mediævally tooled : 4-15 (twice).

Near the Street Zokâk el Bûs.

— At the beginning of the Hôsh Sheikh Bakîr, to the north of the Ecce Homo arch, near the street of Mohammed Derwish : 21-14*d*.

— On a house near the Maulawyeh : 11-8*b*, 13-3.

The Kal'a (Tower of David).

— On a stone in the castle yard, at the bottom of the ditch, near the Jaffa Gate, looking west : 4-16, 11-8*c**b*, 7-4, 4-14.

— In the wall beside the road, at the foot of the Tower of David, in the valley : 22-17.

The Kasr Jalûd, called the Tower of Psephinus.

— At the corner of the tower, on the south side, a little way along the wall : 4-11 (twice), 16-12, 26-14, 2-7*db*.

— On the return face : 4-18*c*.

— On the north side, on the inside, a loop-hole tooled (perhaps re-tooled) in the Arab (?) manner, obliquely : 2-11, 16-6, 25-10, 11-15.

THE DAMASCUS GATE.

— In the town-wall, near the gate: 1-18, 1-6, 1-9, 5-7, 4-17 (twice), 11-8*b*, [9-15], 12-21*c*, 24-3, [24-1], 15-21, 23-13 (several times), 23-12, 23-21, 25-7, 26-22, 27-18, 11-3, 7-2, 13-22, 14-23, 18-4, 20-1, 20-18, 21-23, 22-6, 29-3, 29-4, 29-5.

WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

— West side, opposite the cave of Jeremiah, on mediævally tooled stone: 25-12.

JERUSALEM, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN.

— *I*: 4-9, 23-2, 10-22, 20-5*ad*, 19-20, 19-8.

IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERUSALEM.

— In the wall of the Armenian church on Mount Sion (House of Caiaphas): 16-2.

— On a corner-stone of the sanctuary of Neby Dâûd (the angle of the stone is cut away): 15-23.

— Near Neby Dâûd, on a mediæval stone (diggings of Mr. Maudslay): 17-19.

CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE OF THE VIRGIN.

— On the under side of small side arch: 4-20, 26-15*b* (often repeated).

— On the soffit of the first cross rib of the vault, and on the corbel of the vault: 4-20, 26-23, 13-8 (often repeated).

— On the soffit of an arch: 19-20, 23-22 (often repeated).

— Soffit of vault: 13-19, 13-20, 11-9, 10-12 (several times) 3-9, (several times), 6-18 (several times), 5-6, 5-3, 3-18 (several times), 26-23*cb* (several times), 18-12 (several times): 8-19, 10-23.

— On the base of a small column, course of ashlar and soffit of the arch: 23-11 (several times).

— Courses of ashlar: 14-19, 21-14.

- Second ridge rib: 9-12, 13-6, 16-15 (all often repeated).
- Keystone and soffit: 21-14 (several times repeated).
- Head of the keystone of an arch: 26-20*ad*.
- Keystone: 11-1.
- Wall-arch on right hand: 28-12, 5-23 (several times).
- Head of a wall arch: 10-11, 10-9, 3-9 (several times, and on the keystone) 18-11 (several times).
- Outside: 26-17, 18-8 (several times), 12-10 (several times), 9-14, 3-10, 7-1, 28-13, 28-6, 28-5 (marks often repeated), 27-11, 27-12, 26-23, 23-22, 23-23, 23-10, 22-5, 22-7, 21-21, 21-17, 21-18, 20-13, 14-6 (several times), 13-13 (several times), 13-10 (several times), 12-9 (several times), 10-23 (several times), 11-23 (several times), 11-2 (several times), 8-22, 5-23, 4-7, 2-6, 26-23 (several times), 26-22 (several times) 23-23*b*, 19-20, 11-8*c* (several times), 10-20 (several times), 10-23, 8-19 (several times), 6-21, 6-17, 20-5*da* (several times), 4-20 (several times), 3-6, 3-10 (several times).
- U*: 26-8, 23-8, 15-17, 15-9, 14-11, 14-5, 10-7, 4-19, 2-3, 2-4, 15-20, 23-8, 14-11, 26-8 [20-5], 4-19, 10-7, 2-4, 2-3, 10-12, 26-11*c*.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

On houses in the village: 26-1, 25-13, 5-10, 5-1, 26-11, 20-21*b*, 5-1.

EL KEBEKIYEH (NEAR THE POOL OF MÂMILLÂ).

- On the south-east side, which is that in best preservation: 21-13, 11-18, 20-14*ad*, 1-4 (marks often repeated).
- 25-11, 25-22, 23-9, 19-8, 17-21, 15-21, 13-17, 5-22, 4-16, 11-8.
 - On a buried stone close by: 20-3.

NEAR THE ASH HEAPS (ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CITY).

- On the splay of the east window of a ruined house: 5-4.
- Same place, fourth stone to the right, in fourth course: 12-23.
- Same place, fourth stone to the right, fourth course, on the east side: 2-7.
- Wely on the left hand side of the road to Nâblus (almost opposite the place where M. de Saulcy tried to make out the site of a theatre): 2-22, 4-20*ad*, 15-20.

A LITTLE RUINED CHURCH TO THE NORTH OF THE DAMASCUS GATE.

- On the wall of the chambers : 21-14.
- On a separate block of hewn stone, G : 16-21, 16-22.

AT THE ASNERIE OF THE CRUSADERS.

- T : 9-19.

AT NEBY SAMWÎL.

- On the lower courses of the north outside wall : 19-20, 19-10 [26-23], 2-23 2-20.
- On the keystone of a vault : 21-18, 29-20, 29-12. 19-11.
- P : 3-5, 3-4, 9-3, 11-13, 15-10, 17-20, 19-7, 23-5, 25-20, 26-3, 19-23, 26-12*c*, 10-11*d*, 8-11, 13-16*d*, 4-19, 16-13, 15-21, 22-17.

KUBEÎBEH (Emmaus of the Franciscans).

THE CHURCH.

The following marks are often repeated on the string-courses, courses of ashlar, voussoirs, etc. (which all show mediæval tooling) : 25-17, 18-10, 16-13, 15-22, 15-1, 13-1, 12-13, 6-13, 21-19, 21-18, 12-22, 11-8, 10-5*d*, 9-7, 4-18, 26-18, 21-20, 19-2, 16-16, 15-14, 14-20, 14-19, 1-5, 3-1, 5-2, 6-10, 6-17, 6-21, 7-6, 8-14, 9-7, 9-8, 9-15, 9-16, 9-21, 11-8.

- Z : 2-2, 9-22, 16-17, 19-18.
- N : 5-22*d*, 9-10, 10-7*c*, 14-12, 9-11, 9-13.

ÏK'BÂLA.

RUINED BUILDING.

- M : 5-23, 15-23, 3-6*b*, 13-14*ac*, 12-12, 10-17, 11-9, 19-20*b*, 18-4*c*, 11-8, 28-19, 28-18, 20-19, 19-4, 18-14, 13-12, 9-9, 8-12, 7-11, 1-22.*

* According to a private letter which I have received from Father Paul de St. Aignan (Dec. 18, 1897), we must add, (1) the mark 21-10, (2) a mark which I have not been able to show in the plate : it consists of a heart surmounted by a \mathfrak{G} ; (3) a mark shaped like a fleur-de-lis, akin to 28-22, 28-23, 29-1, and 29-2, in the plate.

SÔBA.

- On the stones of the old fortification wall : 28-20, 6-23, 11-4, 10-21*b*.
- On the drafted stones : 28-16, 21-23, 24-11, 7-19, 6-22, 10-16*a*, 6-21, 29-16, 29-8.

ABU GHÔSH.

- Right hand apse, looking east : 7-16.
 - Central apse : 27-17, 27-15, 7-20, 6-1, 4-14, 8-5*a*, 10-17*ad*.
 - Lower part of the apse, stones not mediævally tooled until one reaches the beginning of the vault (cul-de-four) : 22-12, 12-22.
 - Lower part of apse, on the soffit of the same voussoir (mediæval tooling) : 24-3, and 11-8.
 - Lower part of the apse (mediæval tooling) : 15-4, 13-2, 15-23, 5-14, 4-4, 12-16 (several times).
 - The Crypt, soffit of arch : 12-1 (twenty-one times), 5-13 (several times), 5-20.
 - On the crown of the arch : 12-22.
 - On the outside : 11-6.
 - On the piers : 3-20*b*, 5-23, 2-7, 1-17, 27-19, 23-18, 23-19, 19-13 (several times), 16-5, 14-14, 12-16, 11-17, 9-17, 8-11, 7-22, 6-9 (several times), 5-16, 4-12, 4-8, 3-20, 19-20, 21-14, 11-10*d*, [9-16] repeatedly, 7-4, 6-21*b*, 27-20.
 - On a block which has been re-tooled, or badly tooled : 8-5.
 - [5-14] (several times), 11-22 (several times) 27-6, 24-13, 15-5, 14-8, 5-5, 2-8, 19-20, 8-8, 12-12, 9-16, 6-21, 27-10, 6-6, 11-18, 5-15.
 - *E* : 19-20*a*.
 - *I* : 19-20, 27-7, 14-15, 23-18.
 - *O* : 12-12, 3-23, 6-4, 7-23, 27-7, 27-8, 20-21, 8-21*b*, 4-16*c*, 6-22*d*, 21-18, 8-22*c* (twice), 15-21, 15-20, 19-9*b*, 29-10, 29-9, 3-22, 6-16, 7-3, 8-1, 7-23, 9-2, 9-5, 9-6, 10-10, 10-18, 13-4, 16-7, 19-9, 19-16, 19-21, 20-10, 22-11, 22-15, 23-6, 27-8.
- Besides these, I find in my notes the following remark : "on a stone in the crypt a mason's mark representing a human head." Unfortunately the sketch of it which we made has been mislaid.

BEIT NÛBA.

- On the ashlar of the apse : 2-18.

'AMWÂS.

THE CHURCH.

— *K*: On the wall of the part rebuilt by the Crusaders: 21-18, 22-8, 23-4.

LYDDA.

THE CHURCH.

— On the stones of the exterior piers, now comprised in the outer wall of the mosque: 12-14, 12-7, 3-8.

— On a mediæval stone in the west wall, on the outside of the mosque: 5-18.

— Almost every stone of the Church of the Crusaders bore a letter or a mason's mark: 9-20, 3-17, 12-15, 12-19, 21-16, 8-2, 10-4, 7-7, 7-13, 7-12, 7-8, 5-18, 5-12, 5-11, 4-18, 3-15, 1-14, 21-14, 10-17, 8-2, 8-3, 26-16, 7-9, 3-13, 10-16*d*, 8-19.

— On a mediævaly tooled stone near Lydda, which serves as a horse-block for the Greek convent: 2-17.

— *Y*: 10-12, 8-11, 1-15, 1-13, 3-14, 3-12, 5-5, 7-10, 12-18, 16-4, 16-9, 16-8, 17-7, 27-3, 27-2, 28-21, 29-19.

THE BRIDGE.

— On a voussoir of the eastern arch: 2-16.

— On a voussoir of the central arch: 26-20.

— On a voussoir: 3-7, 10-3.

— On the drums of a column enclosed in the stonework at one end (five drums visible), the rest probably buried inside: 12-12 (twice).

— 4-8, 8-19, 7-14, 10-17, 4-3, 3-23, 4-21, 21-15, 12-17, 12-6, 7-14*c*, 4-20*d*, 2-19 (twice), 8-19, 8-15, 4-6, 20-16, 17-6, 16-18, 20-22, 26-15, 27-16, 10-5, 12-5.

On the same Bridge.

— *A*: Centre arch, north side: 10-6, 7-14, 4-20.

— Soffit of centre arch, south side: 22-16.

RAMLEH.

THE CHURCH.

- Right hand apse : 1-11, 1-1, 13-5, 12-21, 17-22.
- 29-14.

THE (SO-CALLED) TOWER OF THE FORTY MARTYRS.

- On mediævally tooled stones : 8-6, 9-4, 14-17.
- On non-mediævally tooled stones : 20-7, 11-23*c* (twice).
- *J* : On the staircase of the tower : 12-21, 24-4 [13-13].

YEBNA.

THE BRIDGE.

- *A* : East arch, north side : 11-5.
- East arch, south side : 15-6, 22-2.
- West arch, north side : 1-10.
- West arch, south side : 6-20.

BEIT JIBRÎN.

THE RUINED CHURCH.

- On mediævally tooled stones, repeatedly : 7-4, 12-12*d*, 5-22*c*.
- *Q* : 12-12, 8-6*d*, 6-4.

GAZA.

THE LITTLE GREEK CHURCH.

- On mediævally tooled marble : 10-21, 11-9, 17-15.

THE GREAT MOSQUE.

- On the voussoirs of the great door, on the inner side ; the original tooling has disappeared through the polishing of the stone : 1-21 (five or six times).

- Soffit of the voussoirs of the door : 2-12 (several times).
- On the upper fillet of the cornice, on the right hand side of the door looking towards it : 1-9.
- On a marble string course, several times repeated : 29-13, 20-4.

EL BÎREH.

CHURCH.

This solitary mark, 18-7, occurs more than thirty times on all the obviously mediæval parts of the building.

- On stones of non-mediæval tooling : 21-6.
- *I* : 6-7, 10-8, 18-6, 16-1.
- *L* : 18-8bc, 8-12 (twice), 20-21, 18-9.

NÂBLUS.

THE GREAT MOSQUE.

- On the outside : 2-15, 4-2, 4-8, 12-4, 21-14c, 13-23, 18-1, 24-4, 24-9.
- *H* : 2-1, 3-19.

THE CHURCH OF SÛK EL 'ATAIN (NÂBLUS).

- On mediævally tooled stones : 17-2, 11-22, 21-13c.

SEBÛSTIEH.

- On all the voussoirs of a sub-arch (*arc doubleau*) : 2-9, 5-22c, 8-6, 12-12, 23-7.
- Ashlar of window splay, smooth stone : 11-19.
- All the following marks occur many times over : 4-20db, 11-20, 11-21, 12-4, 12-11, 21-14, 19-20, 19-14, 19-15.
- I* : 2-7, 23-3, 15-18, 21-22, 12-8, 2-14, 8-17, 6-3, 11-21.

ACRE.

The Rushdiyeh School : 17-10.

NAZARETH.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF THE CRUSADERS.*

In the left hand apse: 19-20. Here and there there are some other new marks, of a very complicated kind, which I have not been able to put into the Plate, the notice of them having reached me too late.† In the window of the left hand apse: \diamond GIER. This name is found repeated many times on various stones of the building; the letters of which it is composed are sometimes increasing, and sometimes diminishing in size as they go on. It is a true mason's mark, contemporary with the building, and not, as one might think, a *graffito*. This is proved, first, by the very fact of its repetition, and secondly by the fact of its existence on several of the stones belonging to the foundation. All the stones show the diagonal strokes which are characteristic of Crusaders' work; the strokes seem very sharp as far as I can tell from squeezes.

TYRE.

B: Hiram's Tomb: 16-3 (the cross was most likely cut afterwards, and is not a true mason's mark).

SIDON.

THE CASTLE IN THE SEA.

— *B*: Wall c: 20-15*b*c, 21-2, 18-2, 18-16, 20-2.

— Wall d: 13-14, 15-21*c*, 21-5, 16-19, 17-11, 20-15, 21-4, 21-3, 21-1, 25-6, 15-11, 13-11.

JEBEÎL.

THE CHURCH OF MAR YOHANNA, built by the Crusaders.

— *A*: On some of the stones of the south-west buttress, which have no diagonal strokes easily seen: 8-16.

* Disinterred during the last few years by the careful researches of the Franciscan Fathers. I owe the information which follows to the kindness of Father Paul de St. Aignan (his letter is dated 1897).

† Among them is a small Armenian inscription, which obviously was carved at a later date.

— On the square angle tower on the north-west of the donjon, on several stones showing diagonal tooling, a great deal worn away, but still visible: 8-5 (several times), 7-4, 17-8, 8-7.

— The donjon of the town: 19-1.

— 19-23.

DAMASCUS.

WITHOUT THE WALLS.

AA: Upon a mosque near the brook (Turbet el 'Omany), tooled with the point of the pick, there are cut coarsely: 20-23, 18-12 (several times).

KAL'AT HOSN EL AKRÂD (*Crat des Chevaliers*).

— *A*: In the porch of the castle chapel: 6-19, 17-18, 20-12, 22-1, 22-19, 22-21, 24-7, 24-10.

AA: 31-16, 20-14, 31-13, 21-14, 22-21, 30-3, 30-20, 26-11, 31-10, 18-4*d*, 30-17, 31-20, 31-7, 30-21, 30-7, 32-1, 31-8, 21-22, 21-10, 31-9, 6-19, 20-12, 12-21, 30-2, 31-15, 31-11, 31-22.

E: 19-20.

V: West tower of the castle: 7-4, 18-4*b*, 22-20, 17-12, 10-19.

Upon this subject M. van Berchem writes to me as follows: "If my memory does not deceive me, the masons' marks are not to be found on the façade itself, but upon the stonework of an exterior porch which joins the façade upon one side. One arch of this porch may be seen in the photograph* built into the wall The stones show diagonal strokes, and in the façade there is an arch like the one of the bridge at Lydda,† made out of the materials of the Frank church there, with a moulding of the same kind, but more carefully wrought. This part of the castle does not seem to have been meddled with by the Mohammedans. They have built in front of it a staircase which blocks up the original entrance. This seems to have been built for convenience of access to the inner court, whose walls butt against the chapel at this point. The stonework of the vaults also seems to me to show traces of the hands of the Franks. The façade is certainly Frankish work, and the marks which I have noted have no doubt the same origin The stonework of the porch is not the

* A very good one, taken by M. van Berchem himself. I think that with the aid of a magnifying glass I can make out the mark 22-19 on the first voussoir on the right hand side of the arch (which carries the staircase?), which appears on the left hand side of the photograph.

† See Vol. II, p. 110 *sqq.* of this work.

same as that of the original façade, where the stones are drafted with a deeply cut border, whereas in the porch and staircase they have smooth joints with traces of diagonal tooling. Perhaps the porch was built at the same time as the staircase, to replace the original entrance which has been superseded by the latter; but, I repeat, these additions seem to have been made by the Franks The porch has a central joint at the crown of the arch."

SAHYÛN.

A: On the lintel and voussoirs of the discharging arch of the postern* on the north side of the castle: 5-9, 8-13, 13-21, 17-5, 8-18, 8-10.

Four of these marks are distinctly visible on an excellent photograph of the postern taken by M. van Berchem. The marks **N** and **ΛΛ** are cut, the one on the right, and the other on the left hand side of the same drafted stone which serves as a lintel to the postern. The mark **N** is often repeated on a square tower of the same castle.

MARGAT.

THE CASTLE.

— *AA*: On *Burj es Sati*, an outlying tower of Margat, on the side next the sea: 21-14, 20-2, 31-2, 15-20, 12-21, 32-2.

— On some of the voussoirs of an arch in the interior, between the entrance of the second enceinte and the interior court (this part of the castle is entirely Frank work): 9-20, 18-3*b*, 8-4, 15-20, 25-8, 19-3, 18-23, 18-22, 8-4.

SAFÎTA (CHASTEL-BLANC).

THE TOWER OR KEEP.

W: In the great hall in the upper story: 7-4, 21-14, 5-23, 19-12, 17-4, 14-2, 4-23.

— *AA*: 11-16, 31-5, 11-23, 30-22, 31-1, 30-1, 12-4, 31-19, 31-6, 31-3, 30-12, 31-21, 30-14, 6-19, 26-20, 11-22, 31-18, 30-10, 32-6, 12-22, 32-3, 30-4, 30-18, 19-2.

* See a good sketch of this postern in Dussaud's *Voyage en Syrie*, 1895, p. 11.

LEBANON AND CŒLE-SYRIA.

- C: KŪL'AT ESH SHŪKĪF: 13-5.
 — BURKUSH: 20-21*c*, 24-8, 4-18*d*, 26-5*ad*.

NORTHERN SYRIA.

TOKLEH.

- X: A Tower: 7-4, 8-5, 17-13, 24-5.

ALEPPO.

— A: — On various stones on one of the towers of the old walls of the town: 20-5*ad*, 6-5, 6-4, 15-12, 16-14, 19-19, 20-6, 22-4, 22-18, 24-23, 25-5, 28-3, 27-22, 25-4, 22-7.

One may reasonably doubt whether these marks are Arab or Frank, for Aleppo was always continuously occupied by the Mohammedans during the period of the Crusades, and their historians* have made us acquainted with the names of the sultans who in succession caused work to be done upon the city wall. "The enceinte," M. van Berchem writes to me, "is altogether Arab work both in its general conception and in its details. As far as I remember, these marks are cut in the centre of stones which cannot have been taken from any other building."

Nevertheless, these signs seem too characteristically Frank to be Arab ones, and although none of them are alphabetical ones, which would settle the question, yet several of them are to be found upon stones belonging to buildings of incontestably Frankish origin. I therefore ask myself whether the Arabs may not in this case, as they have done in many others, saved themselves trouble by transporting ready-hewn stone from some of the towns and castles near Aleppo, when they had won them back from the Crusaders. Or, may they not at some particular

* M. van Berchem believes that he can prove that the part of the walls whereon he found these marks is the work of the Ayubite Sultan El Melik edh Dhâher Ghâzi (Saladin's son). It is probable, because Yâkût tells us that this prince rebuilt the town and dug the ditch

period have made use of Frankish prisoners to hew some of their stone? and may not some of these men either from the custom of their trade or out of some whim of their own, have cut their marks upon the stones, although the act would have been unavailing for them, considering the conditions under which they were working? Aleppo was one of the principal centres to which the prisoners taken in these endless raids were sent, and on both sides, both Mohammedans and Crusaders, as we know,* were quite prepared to make use of workmen who cost them nothing for the great works necessary for the defence of towns. I give this conjecture for what it is worth, without laying any especial stress upon it, and until I have more evidence in my hands, I shall suspend my judgment as to the origin of the masons' marks discovered at Aleppo.

TORTOSA.

— *AA*: THE CHURCH: 31-23, 31-17, 21-22*ad*, 31-14, 31-12, 30-6, 8-6, 12-22, 30-9, 13-8, 6-19*b*, 30-13, 31-3.

BÂNIÂS (BALANEA).

-- *AA*: On several stones which were being re-tooled: 20-23.

KÛL'AT 'AREÏMEH.

AA: On the right hand pier of one of the gates: 30-8.

--- Marked on a stone with very plain mediæval tooling: 32-4; 18-3, 21-22*ac*, 30-15, 30-16, 32-5, 30-5, 30-11, 12-23, 30-19, 22-21*ad*, 31-4.

OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

F: 28-10, 28-4, 27-9, 25-21, 23-20, 15-8, 7-21, 5-17.

NOTE.—See also, although it leads us a little beyond our own ground, the masons' marks found at El Hadhr (Hatra), in Mesopotamia, by Messrs. Ainsworth and Rassam (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1892, p. 256). Layard believed them to be Sassanid, and says that he has found others like them at Bisutun and Ispahan. Mr. Ainsworth seems inclined to attribute them to another source. Several of them bear a great likeness to our Crusaders' marks.

* For instance, Saladin, as we learn from the Mohammedan chroniclers (see Mujir ed Din, *el Uns el Jelil*, page 338 of the Arabic text of Cairo), employed two thousand Frank prisoners to dig the ditch and build up the wall of Jerusalem after he had taken it from the Crusaders.

II.—LIST OF THE MASONS' MARKS ARRANGED ACCORDING
TO LOCALITY.

1-1	Ramleh.	2-10	Jerusalem.	4-1	Jerusalem.
1-2	Jerusalem.	2-11	Jerusalem.	4-2	Nâblus.
1-3	Jerusalem.	2-12	Gaza.	4-3	Lydda.
1-4	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	2-13	Jerusalem.	4-4	Abu Ghôsh.
1-5	Kubeibeh (Emmaus of the Franciscans).	2-14	Sebüstieh.	4-5	Jerusalem.
1-6	Jerusalem.	2-15	Nâblus.	4-6	Lydda.
1-7	Jerusalem.	2-16	Lydda.	4-7	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
1-8	Jerusalem.	2-17	Lydda.	4-8	Abu Ghôsh, Nâblus.
1-9	Jerusalem.	2-18	Beit Nûba.	4-9	Jerusalem.
1-10	Yebna.	2-19	Lydda.	4-10	Jerusalem.
1-11	Ramleh.	2-20	Neby Samwil.	4-11	Jerusalem.
1-12	Jerusalem.	2-21	Jerusalem.	4-12	Abu Ghôsh.
1-13	Lydda.	2-22	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	4-13	Jerusalem.
1-14	Lydda.	2-23	Neby Samwil.	4-14	Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh.
1-15	Lydda.	3-1	Kubeibeh.	4-15	Jerusalem.
1-16	Jerusalem.	3-2	Jerusalem.	4-16	Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Abu Ghôsh.
1-17	Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh.	3-3	Jerusalem.	4-17	Jerusalem.
1-18	Jerusalem.	3-4	Neby Samwil.	4-18	Jerusalem, Lydda, Lebanon and Cœle Syria.
1-19	Gaza.	3-5	Neby Samwil.	4-19	Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Neby Samwil.
1-20	Jerusalem.	3-6	Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Ik'bâla.	4-20	Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Lydda, Sebüstieh.
1-21	Gaza.	3-7	Lydda.	4-21	Lydda.
1-22	Ik'bâla.	3-8	Lydda.	4-22	Jerusalem.
1-23	Jerusalem.	3-9	Jerusalem and neighbourhood.	4-23	Safita.
2-1	Nâblus.	3-10	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	5-1	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
2-2	Kubeibeh.	3-11	Jerusalem.	5-2	Kubeibeh.
2-3	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	3-12	Lydda.	5-3	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
2-4	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	3-13	Lydda.	5-4	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
2-5	Jerusalem.	3-14	Lydda.	5-5	Abu Ghôsh, Lydda
2-6	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	3-15	Lydda.	5-6	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
2-7	Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Abu Ghôsh and Sebüstieh.	3-16	Jerusalem.	5-7	Jerusalem.
2-8	Abu Ghôsh.	3-17	Lydda.		
2-9	Sebüstieh.	3-18	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).		
		3-19	Jerusalem, Nâblus.		
		3-20	Abu Ghôsh.		
		3-21	Jerusalem.		
		3-22	Abu Ghôsh.		
		3-23	Abu Ghôsh, Lydda.		

5-8 Jerusalem.	6-21 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Sôba, Abu Ghôsh Kubeibeh.	8-11 Jerusalem, Neby Samwil, Abu Ghôsh, Lydda.
5-9 Sahyûn.	6-22 Sôba, Abu Ghôsh.	8-12 Īk'bâla.
5-10 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).	6-23 Jerusalem, Sôba.	8-13 Sahyûn.
5-11 Lydda.	7-1 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).	8-14 Kubeibeh.
5-12 Lydda.	7-2 Jerusalem.	8-15 Lydda.
5-13 Abu Ghôsh.	7-3 Abu Ghôsh.	8-16 Jebeil.
5-14 Abu Ghôsh.	7-4 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh, Yebna, Jebeil, Kûl'at el Hosn, Safita, North Syria.	8-17 Sebüstieh.
5-15 Abu Ghôsh.	7-5 Jerusalem.	8-18 Sahyûn.
5-16 Abu Ghôsh.	7-6 Kubeibeh.	8-19 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Lydda.
5-17 Unknown.	7-7 Lydda.	8-20 Jerusalem.
5-18 Lydda.	7-8 Lydda.	8-21 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh.
5-19 Jerusalem.	7-9 Lydda.	8-22 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood of).
5-20 Abu Ghôsh.	7-10 Lydda.	8-23 Jerusalem.
5-21 Jerusalem.	7-11 Īk'bâla.	9-1 Jerusalem.
5-22 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Kubeibeh, Yeb- na, Sebüstieh.	7-12 Lydda.	9-2 Abu Ghôsh.
5-23 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Īk'bâla, Abu Ghôsh, Safita.	7-13 Lydda.	9-3 Neby Samwil.
6-1 Abu Ghôsh.	7-14 Lydda.	9-4 Ramleh.
6-2 Jerusalem.	7-15 Jerusalem.	9-5 Abu Ghôsh.
6-3 Sebüstieh.	7-16 Abu Ghôsh.	9-6 Abu Ghôsh.
6-4 Abu Ghôsh, Yeb- na, Aleppo.	7-17 Jerusalem.	9-7 Kubeibeh.
6-5 Aleppo.	7-18 Jerusalem.	9-8 Kubeibeh.
6-6 Abu Ghôsh.	7-19 Sôba.	9-9 Īk'bâla.
6-7 El Bireh.	7-20 Abu Ghôsh.	9-10 Kubeibeh.
6-8 Jerusalem.	7-21 Origin unknown.	9-11 Kubeibeh.
6-9 Abu Ghôsh.	7-22 Abu Ghôsh.	9-12 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).
6-10 Origin unknown.	7-23 Abu Ghôsh.	9-13 Kubeibeh.
6-11 Jerusalem.	8-1 Abu Ghôsh.	9-14 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).
6-12 Jerusalem.	8-2 Lydda.	9-15 Jerusalem, Kubei- beh.
6-13 Kubeibeh.	8-3 Lydda.	9-16 Kubeibeh, Abu Ghôsh.
6-14 Jerusalem.	8-4 Margat.	9-17 Abu Ghôsh.
6-15 Jerusalem.	8-5 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh, Jebeil, North Syria.	9-18 Jerusalem.
6-16 Abu Ghôsh.	8-6 Jerusalem, Ramleh, Yebna, Sebüs- tich, Tortosa.	9-19 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).
6-17 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood), Ku- beibeh.	8-7 Jebeil.	9-20 Jerusalem, Lydda, Margat.
6-18 Jerusalem (neigh- bourhood).	8-8 Abu Ghôsh.	9-21 Kubeibeh.
6-19 Kûl'at el Hosn, Tortosa, Safita.	8-9 Jerusalem.	9-22 Kubeibeh.
6-20 Yebna.	8-10 Sahyûn.	

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| 9-23 Jerusalem. | 11-8 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Kubeibeh, Īk'bāla, Abu Ghôsh. | 12-18 Lydda. |
| 10-1 Jerusalem. | | 12-19 Lydda. |
| 10-2 Jerusalem. | | 12-20 Jerusalem. |
| 10-3 Lydda. | | 12-21 Jerusalem, Ramleh, Margat, Kūl'at el Hosn. |
| 10-4 Lydda. | 11-9 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 12-22 Jerusalem, Kubeibeh, Abu Ghôsh, Tortosa, Safita. |
| 10-5 Kubeibeh, Lydda. | 11-10 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh. | 12-23 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Kūl'at el 'Araimeh. |
| 10-6 Lydda. | 11-11 Jerusalem. | 13-1 Kubeibeh. |
| 10-7 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Kubeibeh. | 11-12 Jerusalem. | 13-2 Abu Ghôsh. |
| 10-8 El Bireh. | 11-13 Neby Samwil. | 13-3 Jerusalem. |
| 10-9 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 11-14 Jerusalem. | 13-4 Abu Ghôsh. |
| 10-10 Abu Ghôsh. | 11-15 Jerusalem. | 13-5 Ramleh, Lebanon, and Cœle Syria. |
| 10-11 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Neby Samwil. | 11-16 Jerusalem, Safita. | 13-6 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 10-12 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Lydda. | 11-17 Abu Ghôsh. | 13-7 Jerusalem. |
| 10-13 Jerusalem. | 11-18 Jerusalem. | 13-8 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Tortosa. |
| 10-14 Jerusalem. | 11-19 Sebüstieh. | 13-9 Jerusalem. |
| 10-15 Jerusalem and neighbourhood. | 11-20 Sebüstieh. | 13-10 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 10-16 Jerusalem, Sôba, Lydda. | 11-21 Sebüstieh. | 13-11 Sidon. |
| 10-17 Jerusalem, Īk'bāla, Abu Ghôsh, Lydda. | 11-22 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh, Nâblus, Safita. | 13-12 Īk'bāla. |
| 10-18 Abu Ghôsh. | 11-23 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Ramleh, Safita. | 13-13 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Ramleh. |
| 10-19 Kūl'at el Hosn. | 12-1 Abu Ghôsh. | 13-14 Jerusalem, Īk'bāla, Sidon. |
| 10-20 Jerusalem and neighbourhood. | 12-2 Jerusalem. | 13-15 Jerusalem. |
| 10-21 Jerusalem, Sôba, Gaza. | 12-3 Jerusalem. | 13-16 Jerusalem and Neby Samwil. |
| 10-22 Jerusalem. | 12-4 Nâblus, Sebüstieh, Safita. | 13-17 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 10-23 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 12-5 Lydda. | 13-18 Jerusalem and neighbourhood. |
| 11-1 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 12-6 Lydda. | 13-19 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 11-2 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 12-7 Lydda. | 13-20 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 11-3 Jerusalem. | 12-8 Sebüstieh. | 13-21 Sahyûn. |
| 11-4 Sôba. | 12-9 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 13-22 Jerusalem. |
| 11-5 Yebna. | 12-10 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | |
| 11-6 Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh. | 12-11 Sebüstieh. | |
| 11-7 Jerusalem. | 12-12 Īk'bāla, Abu Ghôsh, Lydda, Yebna, Sebüstieh. | |
| | 12-13 Kubeibeh. | |
| | 12-14 Lydda. | |
| | 12-15 Lydda. | |
| | 12-16 Abu Ghôsh. | |
| | 12-17 Lydda. | |

13-23 Nâblus.	15-17 Jerusalem (neighbourhood)	17-3 Jerusalem.
14-1 Jerusalem.	15-18 Sebüstieh.	17-4 Jerusalem.
14-2 Safita.	15-19 Jerusalem.	17-5 Sahyûn.
14-3 Jerusalem.	15-20 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Abu Ghôsh, Margat.	17-6 Lydda.
14-4 Jerusalem.	15-21 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Neby Samwîl, Abu Ghôsh. Sidon.	17-7 Lydda.
14-5 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	15-22 Kubeibeh.	17-8 Jebeil.
14-6 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	15-23 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Īk'bâla, Abu Ghôsh.	17-9 Jerusalem.
14-7 Jerusalem.	16-1 El Bireh.	17-10 Acre.
14-8 Abu Ghôsh.	16-2 Jerusalem (neighbourhood.)	17-11 Sidon.
14-9 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	16-3 Tyre.	17-12 Kül'at el Hosn.
14-10 Jerusalem.	16-4 Jerusalem, Lydda.	17-13 North Syria.
14-11 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	16-5 Abu Ghôsh.	17-14 Jerusalem.
14-12 Kubeibeh.	16-6 Jerusalem.	17-15 Gaza.
14-13 Jerusalem.	16-7 Abu Ghôsh.	17-16 Jerusalem, Lydda.
14-14 Abu Ghôsh.	16-8 Lydda.	17-17 Jerusalem.
14-15 Abu Ghôsh.	16-9 Lydda.	17-18 Kül'at el Hosn.
14-16 Jerusalem.	16-10 Jerusalem.	17-19 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
14-17 Ramleh.	16-11 Jerusalem.	17-20 Neby Samwîl.
14-18 Jerusalem.	16-12 Jerusalem.	17-21 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
14-19 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Kubeibeh.	16-13 Neby Samwîl, Kubeibeh.	17-22 Ramleh.
14-20 Kubeibeh.	16-14 Aleppo.	17-23 Jerusalem.
14-21 Jerusalem.	16-15 Jerusalem.	18-1 Nâblus.
14-22 Jerusalem.	16-16 Kubeibeh.	18-2 Sidon.
14-23 Jerusalem.	16-17 Kubeibeh.	18-3 Jerusalem, Margat, Kül'at el 'Arcimch.
15-1 Kubeibeh.	16-18 Lydda.	18-4 Jerusalem, Īk'bâla, Kül'at el Hosn.
15-2 Jerusalem.	16-19 Sidon.	18-5 Jerusalem.
15-3 Jerusalem.	16-20 Jerusalem.	18-6 El Bireh.
15-4 Abu Ghôsh.	16-21 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	18-7 El Bireh.
15-5 Abu Ghôsh.	16-22 Jerusalem (neighbourhood)	18-8 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), el Bireh.
15-6 Yebna.	16-23 Jerusalem.	18-9 El Birch.
15-7 Jerusalem.	17-1 Jerusalem.	18-10 Kubeibeh.
15-8 Of unknown origin.	17-2 Nâblus.	18-11 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
15-9 Jerusalem (neighbourhood).		18-12 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), el Bireh, Damascus.
15-10 Neby Samwîl.		18-13 Jerusalem.
15-11 Sidon.		18-14 Jerusalem, Īk'bâla.
15-12 Aleppo.		18-15 Jerusalem.
15-13 Jerusalem.		
15-14 Kubeibeh.		
15-15 Jerusalem.		
15-16 Jerusalem.		

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| 18-16 Sidon. | 20-6 Aleppo. | 21-16 Lydda. |
| 18-17 Jerusalem. | 20-7 Ramleh. | 21-17 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 18-18 Jerusalem. | 20-8 Jerusalem. | 21-18 Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Neby Samwil, Kubeibeh, Abu Ghôsh, 'Amwâs. |
| 18-19 Jerusalem. | 20-9 Jerusalem. | 21-19 Jerusalem, Kubeibeh. |
| 18-20 Jerusalem. | 20-10 Abu Ghôsh. | 21-20 Kubeibeh. |
| 18-21 Jerusalem. | 20-11 Jerusalem. | 21-21 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 18-22 Margat. | 20-12 Kûl'at el Hosn. | 21-22 Sebüstieh, Tortosa, Kûl'at el Areimeh, Kûl'at el Hosn. |
| 18-23 Margat. | 20-13 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | 21-23 Jerusalem, Sôba. |
| 19-1 Jebileil. | 20-14 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Kûl'at el Hosn. | 22-1 Kûl'at el Hosn. |
| 19-2 Kubeibeh, Safita. | 20-15 Sidon. | 22-2 Yebna. |
| 19-3 Margat. | 20-16 Jerusalem, Lydda. | 22-3 Jerusalem. |
| 19-4 Īk'bâla. | 20-17 Jerusalem. | 22-4 Aleppo. |
| 19-5 Jerusalem. | 20-18 Jerusalem. | 22-5 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). |
| 19-6 Jerusalem. | 20-19 Jerusalem, Īk'bâla, Nazareth. | 22-6 Jerusalem. |
| 19-7 Neby Samwil. | 20-20 Jerusalem. | 22-7 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, 'Aleppo. |
| 19-8 Jerusalem and neighbourhood. | 20-21 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Abu Ghôsh, el Bireh, Lebanon and Cœle Syria. | 22-8 'Amwâs. |
| 19-9 Abu Ghôsh. | 20-22 Lydda. | 22-9 Jerusalem. |
| 19-10 Neby Samwil. | 20-23 Damascus. | 22-10 Jerusalem. |
| 19-11 Neby Samwil. | 21-1 Sidon. | 22-11 Abu Ghôsh. |
| 19-12 Safita. | 21-2 Sidon. | 22-12 Abu Ghôsh. |
| 19-13 Abu Ghôsh, Margat. | 21-3 Sidon. | 22-13 Jerusalem. |
| 19-14 Sebüstieh. | 21-4 Sidon. | 22-14 Jerusalem. |
| 19-15 Sebüstieh. | 21-5 Sidon. | 22-15 Abu Ghôsh. |
| 19-16 Abu Ghôsh. | 21-6 El Bireh. | 22-16 Lydda. |
| 19-17 Jerusalem. | 21-7 Jerusalem. | 22-17 Jerusalem, Neby Samwil. |
| 19-18 Kubeibeh. | 21-8 Jerusalem. | 22-18 Aleppo. |
| 19-19 Aleppo. | 21-9 Jerusalem. | 22-19 Kûl'at el Hosn. |
| 19-20 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Neby Samwil, Īk'bâla, Abu Ghôsh, Sebüstieh, Kûl'at el Hosn. | 21-10 Jerusalem, Kûl'at el Hosn. | 22-20 Kûl'at el Hosn. |
| 19-21 Abu Ghôsh. | 21-11 Jerusalem. | 22-21 Kûl'at el Hosn, Kûl'at el Areimeh, Kûl'at el Hosn. |
| 19-22 Jerusalem. | 21-12 Jerusalem. | 22-22 Jerusalem. |
| 19-23 Jerusalem, Neby Samwil, Jebileil. | 21-13 Jerusalem, Nâblus. | 22-23 Jerusalem. |
| 20-1 Jerusalem. | 21-14 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Abu Ghôsh, Lydda, Nâblus, Sebüstieh, Safita, Margat, Kûl'at el Hosn. | 23-1 Jerusalem. |
| 20-2 Sidon, Margat. | 21-15 Jerusalem, Lydda. | |
| 20-3 Jerusalem (neighbourhood). | | |
| 20-4 Gaza. | | |
| 20-5 Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Lebanon and Cœle Syria, Aleppo. | | |

23-2	Jerusalem.	24-18	Jerusalem.	26-12	Jerusalem, Neby Samwil.
23-3	Sebüstieh.	24-19	Jerusalem	26-13	Jerusalem.
23-4	'Amwâs.	24-20	Jerusalem.	26-14	Jerusalem.
23-5	Neby Samwil.	24-21	Jerusalem.	26-15	Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Lydda.
23-6	Abu Ghôsh.	24-22	Jerusalem.	26-16	Lydda.
23-7	Sebüstieh.	24-23	Aleppo.	26-17	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
23-8	Jerusalem (neighbourhood.)	25-1	Jerusalem.	26-18	Kubeibeh.
23-9	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	25-2	Jerusalem.	26-19	Jerusalem.
23-10	Jerusalem (neighbourhood.)	25-3	Jerusalem.	26-20	Jerusalem (neighbourhood), Lydda, Safita.
23-11	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	25-4	Aleppo.	26-21	Jerusalem.
23-12	Jerusalem.	25-5	Aleppo.	26-22	Jerusalem and neighbourhood.
23-13	Jerusalem.	25-6	Sidon.	26-23	Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Neby Samwil.
23-14	Jerusalem.	25-7	Jerusalem.	27-1	Jerusalem.
23-15	Jerusalem.	25-8	Margat.	27-2	Lydda.
23-16	Jerusalem.	25-9	Jerusalem.	27-3	Lydda.
23-17	Jerusalem.	25-10	Jerusalem.	27-4	Jerusalem.
23-18	Abu Ghôsh.	25-11	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	27-5	Jerusalem.
23-19	Abu Ghôsh.	25-12	Jerusalem.	27-6	Abu Ghôsh.
23-20	Of unknown origin.	25-13	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	27-7	Abu Ghôsh.
23-21	Jerusalem.	25-14	Jerusalem.	27-8	Abu Ghôsh.
23-22	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	25-15	Jerusalem.	27-9	Of unknown origin.
23-23	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	25-16	Jerusalem.	27-10	Abu Ghôsh.
24-1	Jerusalem.	25-17	Kubeibeh.	27-11	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
24-2	Jerusalem.	25-18	Jerusalem.	27-12	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).
24-3	Jerusalem, Abu Ghôsh.	25-19	Jerusalem.	27-13	Jerusalem.
24-4	Ramleh, Nâblus.	25-20	Neby Samwil.	27-14	Jerusalem.
24-5	North Syria.	25-21	Unknown.	27-15	Abu Ghôsh.
24-6	Jerusalem.	25-22	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	27-16	Lydda.
24-7	Kûl'at el Hosn.	25-23	Jerusalem.	27-17	Abu Ghôsh.
24-8	Jerusalem, Lebanon, and Cœle Syria.	26-1	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	27-18	Jerusalem.
24-9	Nâblus.	26-2	Jerusalem.	27-19	Abu Ghôsh.
24-10	Kûl'at el Hosn.	26-3	Neby Samwil.	27-20	Abu Ghôsh.
24-11	Sôba.	26-4	Jerusalem.	27-21	Jerusalem.
24-12	Jerusalem.	26-5	Jerusalem.	27-22	Aleppo.
24-13	Abu Ghôsh.	26-6	Jerusalem.	27-23	Jerusalem.
24-14	Jerusalem.	26-7	Jerusalem.	28-1	Jerusalem.
24-15	Jerusalem.	26-8	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).		
24-16	Jerusalem.	26-9	Jerusalem.		
24-17	Jerusalem.	26-10	Jerusalem.		
		26-11	Jerusalem and neighbourhood, Kûl'at el Hosn.		

28-2	Jerusalem.	29-9	Abu Ghôsh.	30-20	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-3	Aleppo.	29-10	Abu Ghôsh.	30-21	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-4	Of unknown origin.	29-11	Jerusalem.	30-22	Safita.
28-5	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	29-12	Neby Samwil.	30-23	Baniâs (Balanea).
28-6	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	29-13	Gaza.	31-1	Safita.
28-7	Jerusalem.	29-14	Ramleh.	31-2	Margat.
28-8	Jerusalem.	29-15	Jerusalem.	31-3	Safita, Tortosa.
28-9	Jerusalem.	29-16	Sôba.	31-4	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.
28-10	Of unknown origin.	29-17	Jerusalem.	31-5	Safita.
28-11	Jerusalem.	29-18	Jerusalem.	31-6	Safita.
28-12	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	29-19	Lydda.	31-7	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-13	Jerusalem (neighbourhood).	29-20	Neby Samwil.	31-8	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-14	Jerusalem.	29-21	Of unknown origin.	31-9	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-15	Jerusalem.	29-22	Of unknown origin.	31-10	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-16	Sôba.	29-23	Of unknown origin.	31-11	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-17	Jerusalem.	30-1	Safita.	31-12	Tortosa.
28-18	Ïk'bâla.	30-2	Kül'at el Hosn.	31-13	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-19	Ïk'bâla.	30-3	Kül'at el Hosn.	31-14	Tortosa.
28-20	Sôba.	30-4	Safita.	31-15	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-21	Lydda.	30-5	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.	31-16	Kül'at el Hosn.
28-22	Jerusalem.	30-6	Tortosa.	31-17	Tortosa.
28-23	Jerusalem.	30-7	Kül'at el Hosn.	31-18	Safita.
29-1	Jerusalem.	30-8	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.	31-19	Safita.
29-2	Jerusalem.	30-9	Tortosa.	31-20	Kül'at el Hosn.
29-3	Jerusalem.	30-10	Safita.	31-21	Safita.
29-4	Jerusalem.	30-11	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.	31-22	Kül'at el Hosn.
29-5	Jerusalem.	30-12	Safita.	31-23	Tortosa.
29-6	Jerusalem.	30-13	Tortosa.	32-1	Kül'at el Hosn.
29-7	Jerusalem.	30-14	Safita.	32-2	Margat.
29-8	Sôba.	30-15	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.	32-3	Safita.
		30-16	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.	32-4	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.
		30-17	Kül'at el Hosn.	32-5	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.
		30-18	Safita.	32-6	Safita.
		30-19	Kül'at el 'Areimeh.		

B.

THE MEDIÆVAL TOOLING OF STONES BY THE CRUSADERS.

There can be no doubt that every stone in Palestine upon which we find any of the Latin letters, so thoroughly mediæval in their form, which appear in the preceding plate, bears as it were the signature of the mediæval hand which cut the mark, and consequently boldly displays its date and origin.

This certainty becomes less pronounced when instead of unmistakably Latin letters of the alphabet, we have to deal either with such letters as are common to both the Greek and the Latin alphabets, or with purely symbolical marks, albeit among these latter there are some whose mediæval origin is abundantly proved by their form alone. We must not forget that the Crusaders are not the only people who have cut masons' marks on stones, for this practice existed in the East before their arrival, and may indeed have continued to exist afterwards. There are Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab marks, etc.,* and occasionally it is difficult, sometimes even impossible, to distinguish between them. A severely accurate critic might therefore justly declare that, in the absence of any other proofs, the evidence furnished by masons' marks alone ought in some cases to be received with caution. It is, moreover, obviously insufficient, for in spite of the immense number of masons' marks, it is clear that there are pieces of stonework undeniably hewn and dressed by the Crusaders, which bear no masons' mark whatever; indeed, as is only natural, the greater part of them do not. Under these circumstances, when we have to do with pieces of stone which bear masons' marks of uncertain origin, or even, which is much more important, which bear no mark whatever, is there any certain test which enables us to say by whom they were worked? Here comes in that second criterion, of far wider application, to which I have already alluded; a test which up to the year 1874 was altogether neglected, because it was unknown: the *mediæval tooling* of the stones worked by the Crusaders.

I must first explain how I came to discover this criterion.

While comparing with one another all the pieces of hewn stone which bore unmistakable masons' marks (such as Gothic letters), that is to say, which showed in some form or other indisputable signs of western origin, I noticed that the very great majority of them also possessed a certain peculiarity of their own. Then, leaving this class of stones and turning to those whose marks were entirely symbolical, I found that this peculiarity still remained. At last, I discovered that this same distinct peculiarity belonged to a whole category of stones, in addition to the two classes already connected together by the similarity of the masons'

* Not to mention marks of other origin, we have, for example, Nabathæan marks mixed with Greek marks at Bostra (De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture*, I, p. 65; cf. *Corpus Inscr. Semiticarum, Aram.*, No. 180).

marks; stones which bore no marks of any kind whatever, which I found both in buildings of thoroughly mediæval appearance, and also in some of uncertain character. Thanks to my having observed this detail, this third category of stones, which is by far the most numerous one, can now be recognised with the same degree of certainty as the two preceding ones. This characteristic peculiarity, which unites together in one group all the three categories of mediæval wrought stones, that is, those bearing letters, those bearing marks, and those with no marks whatever, consists in the tooling being the same, I mean the regular *striæ* or strokes cut upon the surface of the stones by the tools used in shaping and dressing their present faces.

Let us first consider the most simple and also the most common instance, that of quadrangular blocks of stone with plane sides. Upon such blocks as these, the tooling of which I have spoken consists in parallel strokes of greater or less sharpness, all pointing the same way, and extending obliquely from one end of the stone to the other: the face of the stone seems to be covered with diagonal or nearly diagonal stripes, for as the stones are mostly oblong, and not square, these stripes do not exactly coincide with the diagonal line: the angle of inclination of the parallel strokes seems generally to be between 40° and 45° . On looking more closely, one soon sees that these oblique strokes are not formed by continuous lines but by a number of little cuts or clints, more or less close together, and more or less visible, according to the state of preservation of the stone, and traced in very regular lines. They have evidently been made by means of a special tool, a sort of toothed hammer, like our *boucharde*, which it would be easy to reconstruct from the traces left by it, not only of the exact size of the original, but also with the same number of teeth at the same distance apart. The workman must have stood with the stone laid before him sloping at whatever angle he was used to: he then proceeded to dress its sides by means of this tool, by hitting it light blows close together, and working along from left to right, from one end of the stone to the other. He continued this operation, always working parallel to the direction of his first strokes, until the whole surface had been thus regularly dressed.

These regular scores give the stone a very remarkable appearance: it is easiest to see when the light is very oblique. This succession of strokes in alternate furrows and ridges catch the rays of light in a very peculiar fashion, which one recognises directly after having once learned

to notice it. This structure, which one might call the artificial epidermis of the mediæval stones, is so characteristic a feature of them, that, thanks to it, I have often been able to find many masons' marks which otherwise I should have overlooked. For I was warned at the first glance by the very nature of the stone that a mason's mark of some kind might be found on it. I remember having often spent many minutes in persistently moving my candle in every direction along one of these stones, which were rendered suspicious by the mere fact of this tooling, and having at last made out a letter or mark, whose loose thin lines could hardly be perceived, and would therefore never have attracted my attention had it not been awakened by the characteristic appearance of the stone.

I have observed the presence of this peculiar tooling of the Crusaders upon stones of all shapes and used for all purposes, ashlar of walls or of piers, voussoirs of arches, and even drafted stones with countersunk margins. It is to be found on marble* as well as upon all the varieties of the ordinary calcareous stone. It is a mistake to say,† as some archæologists have done since I have drawn their attention to it, that it was especially made use of in the interior of buildings. I have noted its presence on the outside at least as often.

It is not limited to stones with flat surfaces. I have found it as well upon stones with curved surfaces, both convex and concave, both upon stones standing upright or lying flat; for instance, the bases of columns, upon the inside and outside stones of apses or round walls, the voussoirs of arches or vaults, mouldings of every kind of profile and direction, etc. The only difference is that in the case of curved surfaces the scores slant very slightly, and distinctly approximate to the normal axis of the generating cylinder; that is to say, they approach the vertical when the cylindrical element stands upright, and the horizontal when it lies flat. This can be fully explained by the necessity of making the tool move in a *straight* line; for if the workman, still using the same tool, had continued to move it as he was used to do when working on flat surfaces, the tool would only have fallen upon a curve at right angles to its superficies, and would have made dints instead of continuous lines.

* For example, in the church at Gaza, where the Crusaders have indulged largely in the use of marble taken from ancient buildings.

† The same restrictive remark has been made with regard to masons' marks; it has no better foundation than that about the mediæval tooling.

This difference, which is perfectly reasonable in itself, is strongly emphasized by certain very significant facts which I have had occasion to remark. For instance, in the churches at Abu Ghôsh, Kubeibeh, and elsewhere, the stones which form the heads of the semicircular apses, when viewed from within, consist each of them of two parts; the one flat, being the starting point of the apse, and the other slightly concave, to agree with the general curvature of the apse. Now the flat part shows diagonal scores at the usual angle; on the other hand, the other part shows scores which come very near being vertical. Thus the two methods of tooling are to be found upon the same piece of stone. I have observed the same peculiarity on some stones at the spring of arches and vaults, for example, in a mediæval arch at Sôba: the flat part of the stone is scored diagonally, whereas the concave part is marked with strokes which are all but horizontal.

The discovery of this distinctive tooling of the Crusaders, to which I attach, I think rightly, a very great importance, and which I propose to call by the short title of *Mediæval Tooling*, has led me to lay down the following rule:—

Every stone which shows tooling according to this definition is a stone which has passed through the hands of the Crusaders.

For my own part, I have not hitherto met with a single fact contradicting this law, which applies, the reader will bear in mind, to Palestine and to some other districts in Syria. It has been generally accepted, indeed so generally that it has pretty well become public property, and people who have made constant use of it since 1874, often forget to whom they owe this criterion, which is so valuable under so many circumstances. They have sometimes also forgotten the restrictions with which I prudently confined its application: they have tried to get more information out of it than it has to give, and it is perhaps this which has led certain archæologists* to question its trustworthiness. It would, for instance, be a grave perversion of this rule to make my formula read the other way, and to draw the inference that every stone which has passed through the hands of the Crusaders shows the mediæval tooling. Neither must we confuse that absolutely specific and sharply defined tooling with other forms more or less resembling it, which have been produced with distinctly different tools, and by other

* See, for example, the criticisms of Mr. Dickie in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1897, p. 6, and *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 27.

methods altogether. One certainly needs some practice to be able to distinguish all these various methods of stone cutting from one another, and an archæologist new to his work is liable to be mistaken. But when once experience has been gained, I consider this criterion to be almost infallible. It is so accurate that in many cases it has enabled me to trace on one and the same block of stone later dressings by Arab workmen made in order to adapt the material left by the Crusaders to various uses; for instance, a voussoir which has afterwards been hewn square, or perhaps, on the contrary, a block originally square which has been hewn into a voussoir, or simply cut to fit other stone work. It is in a case like this that one is struck by the difference between the mediæval and the Arab style of tooling, styles which careless observers are too apt to confound with one another.

The same remarks apply to ancient materials which have been reworked by the Crusaders. For example, the famous *stèle* of Herod's temple has certainly been used over again in some building of the Crusaders before it was worked into the Arab building in which I discovered it. This is distinctly proved by the re-tooling in mediæval fashion which I have observed on one of the small ends of the block.*

But, I repeat, it is only by means of a certain amount of experience that one can obtain the power of applying the law of mediæval tooling with absolute certainty, and we must not hold it answerable for mistakes which are really due to people who have tried to make use of this test without thoroughly understanding in what it consists. In order to display it in an instructive manner, and to supplement the well-known deficiencies of mere verbal description, I had taken in various parts of Palestine many squeezes which I intended should illustrate at first hand the different kinds of tooling, mediæval or otherwise, under various conditions, about which there would be no possibility of error. My intention was to publish faithful photographic reproductions of these specimens; but owing to circumstances beyond my control I have been unable to carry out this scheme. It is well worth someone's while to take it up again, and it would be of great service to the archæology of Palestine if a whole series of blocks of stone could be photographed directly for the especial purpose of showing the marks of the tooling upon them, treating their surfaces as real pieces of evidence as to

* This statement is confirmed by the existence of a cross there, which was carved at the same period.

their dates.* An even better plan would be to form a small collection of stones judiciously selected and classified from this special point of view, and to exhibit it in a museum. An hour's inspection of it would teach anybody all that is known about this subject by the most experienced archæologist.

For all students of the archæology of Palestine, the application of this rule, which depends upon the micrographical examination of what I have called the "skin" of the stone, has a value in numberless cases upon which I need not enlarge further. We know, moreover, what great importance professional men attach to this detail. "The nature of the tooling is one of the most certain methods of establishing the date of a building," was said, with all the authority which his opinion deserves, by one of the most learned architects of our time, M. Viollet le Duc, in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture Française*. If this be true in Europe, it must also be true in Palestine, and all the more so because there we find ourselves in an exceedingly favourable environment, due to historical causes; and this test, in addition to its intrinsic interest, has there a differential power which remarkably enhances its value. Thanks to it, we can distinguish between the work of the Crusaders and that of their predecessors and successors, although all these are often piled together in apparently inextricable confusion. In such an architectural medley, for instance, as the heterogeneous buildings of the Haram enclosure, or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we can, so to speak, recognise one by one each of the stones which have passed through the hands of the Crusaders. The rule is so exact that it enables us, whenever we can apply it, to pronounce upon the origin not merely of a block of stone, but even of a mere morsel broken off from a block. Now there are cases in which we only need the presence of such a morsel to decide the date of a whole course of stone work. I hardly need add that it would be exceedingly useful to study the building materials of antiquity in this aspect, and to fix with accuracy the true characters of Arab, Byzantine, Roman, and Greek—nay, even of Jewish tooling. Of course, in order to accomplish this one would have to start by obtaining some certain indisputably correct data to work from, and this, I am well aware, is not always very easily done. Yet there are cases in which it is possible. Take, for example, the *stèle* of Herod's

* Mere descriptive sketches, such as those to which one sometimes has recourse, cannot in this respect at all replace the accurate pictures obtained and reproduced by photography and photogravure.

temple. In it we undeniably possess an authentic specimen of the tooling of Herod's time, and this, if properly studied, would enable us, far better than any of the minor considerations upon which so much stress has been successively laid, to solve the vexed question of the true characteristic of really Herodian stone work in that architectural miscellany, the enclosing walls of the Haram.

However, this most desirable extension of the method to which I have alluded, would lead me too far from the special subject of this present essay, which is mediæval tooling, and to it I must return. I have laid down the general law of this tooling, and have laid due stress upon the precautions which must be observed in applying it. Like all rules it has exceptions and anomalies. I have mentioned some of various kinds which it is now my duty to point out. On many of the convex blocks of stone which form the apses of the church at Sebüstieh, of indisputably mediæval work, as is proved by the masons' marks and all the rest of their cutting and position, the strokes on the convex surface are just as slanting as if that surface was flat, instead of drawing, as usual, near to the line of the normal axis of the cylinder, that is to say, to the vertical line. Upon some blocks of stone with flat sides I have observed that the strokes of the mediæval workman, instead of being straight, tend to be circular in direction, and that these curves, which become larger and larger, start from one of the corners of the rectangle. The tool was the usual toothed pick of the Crusaders, but it was handled differently, and the block to be levelled had been placed in an abnormal position by the workman.

I have many times met with tooling of doubtful origin, loose and irregular, possibly due either to a bad tool or a bad workman, it may be a native workman more or less accustomed to the Western method of stone-cutting.

Lastly, there are cases in which the mediæval tooling is altogether absent, and nevertheless there can be no doubt whatever that the stone, which bears a characteristic mason's mark, must have been either hewn or caused to be hewn by the Crusaders. This is when we have to deal with stones which are either entirely polished, or dressed with the point of the pick. The latter case is the more common of the two; I have noticed many examples of it; among others, in the dressing of the piers of the porticos of the Haram. This tooling with the point may be Crusaders' work, but on the other hand they may have worked up old materials. My information upon this subject is too scanty to enable me to come to any definite decision

What I have pointed out in connection with the mediæval method of stone cutting, besides its local practical use, might also furnish us with a new element in the history of Western architecture itself. We know already that the methods of tooling in the West vary according to the country and the period to which they belong; the time being known, it might perhaps be possible to make out from what country of Europe the cutters of any particular piece of stone work must have come, and, as a consequence of this, to discover to what school the greater part of the builders employed by the Crusaders belonged. It is well known that it was just in the twelfth century that the various forms of stone cutting reached, at all events in France, their highest perfection. Some writers have formerly been inclined to attribute this result to the influence of Greek and Roman art in Syria. I leave it to specialists to decide whether the fact which I have stated is at variance with this explanation or agreeable to it. I shall merely remark that the peculiar method of stone cutting such as we have seen in the buildings erected by the Crusaders in Palestine appears to belong to them alone, and this conclusion fully agrees with the hints given us by the masons' marks, by the characteristic profiles of divers mouldings, and by the use of the pointed arch, with its vertical joint at the top, etc., all of which things appeared in Palestine together with the Crusaders, and disappeared with them.

Everything seems to combine to prove to us that the Crusaders borrowed none of all these things from the new country and environment into which they had made their way. They came into the Holy Land armed *cap-à-pie*, not only for war but also for the works of peace, with their own methods, their own plans, tools, and architects, and even with the workmen belonging to their own guilds. When they were driven out of Palestine, they took away with them every thing of this kind which they had brought thither, and they left behind them the unmistakable track of their sojourn in the land, a bright track throwing much light upon the task of unravelling that tangled mass, which renders the critical study of the archæology of Palestine so difficult and at the same time so instructive.

One word more upon this subject, upon which indeed a great deal more might be said. When, with all due precautions, one makes use of this law, as I have had occasion to do for some years over a considerable part of Palestine, noting the masons' marks at the same time, one is really astonished at the inconceivable number of stones which, in what was relatively so short a time, were hewn by the Crusaders, and bear their distinct mark,

without mentioning those which they may have caused to be hewn without their being so marked. But while we admire this prodigious industry, we soon call to mind that their task was greatly assisted by the ancient ruins which they used as quarries. Assuredly the Crusaders did not hew out of the living rock all the stones of which they made use; indeed, they seem to have taken a sort of pride, I might even say a sort of delight, in setting their mark upon their inheritance from bygone ages, the materials which they found all ready to their hands for their new buildings, by re-working them after their own fashion. We must not, therefore, be over thankful for this mediæval tooling; it does, no doubt, as I have shown, furnish us with a very convenient test for architectural diagnosis in Palestine, but this advantage is dearly bought by the irreparable destruction of so many ancient remains, which have not only been broken to pieces but have been disfigured. Who, indeed, can tell how much both Art and Epigraphy may not have lost owing to this system of re-working old materials? Who can count the precious pages which have been effaced by this mediæval scrawl, which has put in their place nothing but a barren date, and that one which has only just been made out? Indeed, it would have been much better for us if they had followed the equally barbarous but more simple procedure of the Arabs, who are satisfied with using ancient materials over again, without hesitating, it is true, to break them up if it suits their purpose, but without giving themselves the trouble, as the Crusaders did, of re-tooling their surfaces when there was no absolute necessity for doing so.

PART II.

JERUSALEM WITHIN THE WALLS.

CHAPTER II.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE SCARP OF THE ROCK AND IN THE CAVES NEAR THE "ECCE HOMO" ARCH.

INVESTIGATION AND EXCAVATIONS.

I.

AMONG other matters which I intended to thoroughly investigate I mentioned, in the programme of researches submitted to the Committee, the exploration of some rock-cut chambers, which I had noticed some years before, close to the scarp of the rock in the "Ecce Homo" church. These caverns, whose existence was not previously suspected, were of very great importance, for they were actually within the walls of Jerusalem, and in a locality of peculiar interest to the topography of the Holy City.

One of my first proceedings, therefore, was to revisit these chambers, in order to make a careful plan of them, with the help of M. Lecomte.

It was desirable to do this work with all possible accuracy, but great difficulty arose from a group of modern houses, built on different levels against this south side of the hill of Bezetha, which concealed its general course and its various faces. We were therefore obliged to spend several days over the work, and that at considerable intervals, because of bad weather. We were received with great courtesy by the inhabitants of the houses, Arabs

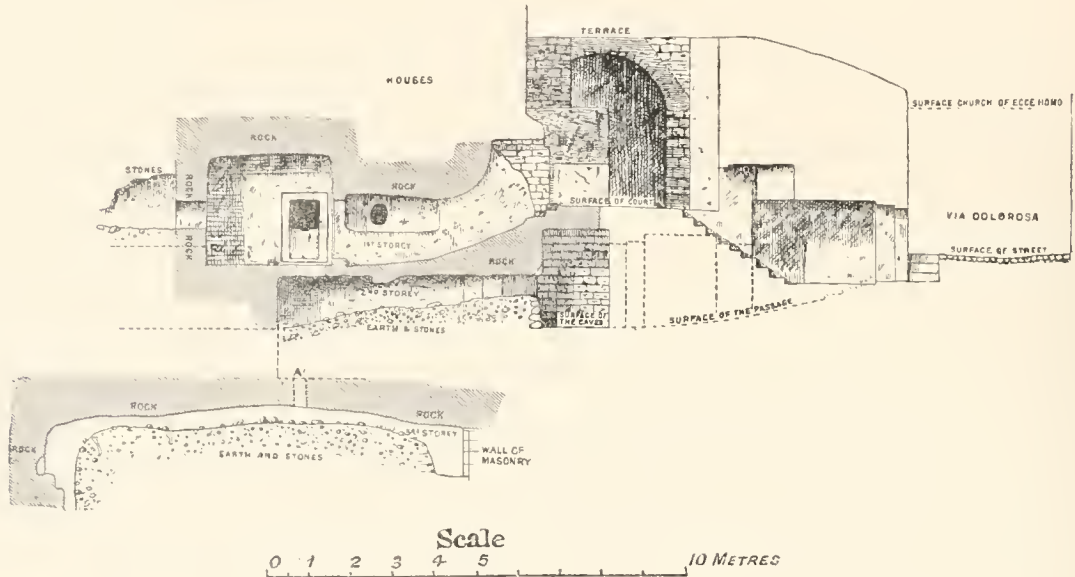
belonging to the Greek Church, and all necessary facilities were granted us for the accomplishment of a laborious and sometimes disagreeable task. The work was all but finished, and we had only one more visit to make to the place to take some measurements, when an unforeseen accident brought our planning to an abrupt end. On the very day on which we were to have returned, the house, a rickety old structure, rotted by the heavy rains of this winter, suddenly collapsed. When we would have entered it, we found nothing before us but a great heap of fallen stonework, which completely blocked up the Via Dolorosa. We had had a lucky escape; an hour later we should have been in the cellars of the house, and probably our archæological career would have been brought to a close.

Fortunately the house was uninhabited. The good folk who lived beside it suffered nothing beyond a terrible fright. However, they had to leave their house then and there, as it appeared likely to follow its neighbour's example; indeed, it was thought prudent to anticipate its intentions and pull it down straightway. I congratulated myself on all accounts upon not having begun the digging which I meditated, and which, by the way, I was able to carry out soon afterwards, for they would perhaps have held me responsible for the accident, and demanded a great sum as indemnity. Meanwhile, owing to this vexatious mischance, we were left with a half-finished plan on our hands. Such as it was, however, it was very minute wherever it was complete, and enabled us to give a sufficiently clear idea of the general arrangement of the caves.

We knew the scarp of the rock which was to be seen in the "Ecce Homo" Church (Ordnance Survey Plan, No. 72), and for a length of several mètres actually forms the north wall of the church. This scarp terminates abruptly, being brought to an end by the range of houses to the west of the church which line the Via Dolorosa as far as the garden of the Austrian Hospice. It was at the back of these houses, three in number, that, for a distance of about 25^m, I found and we planned the rock, which forms a continuation of the scarp in the church.

At the end of one of the living rooms of the first house (counting from east to west) one sees a piece of rock-cutting obviously in line with the church scarp. The rock passes through this first room (B), thence into a court yard, and almost immediately, at X, makes a return at an obtuse angle towards the north-west, and thence goes among various buildings, where one can follow it no further. The existence of the rock up to this point had been already noticed by Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 249).

Entering the adjoining house, one again finds the scarped rock, which resumes its general direction of west-south-west after the break which I have mentioned. This piece of escarpment extends for about 12^m at that point; it shows something of great archæological as well as topographical interest. A passage (z) has been cut in the upright face of the rock; it winds



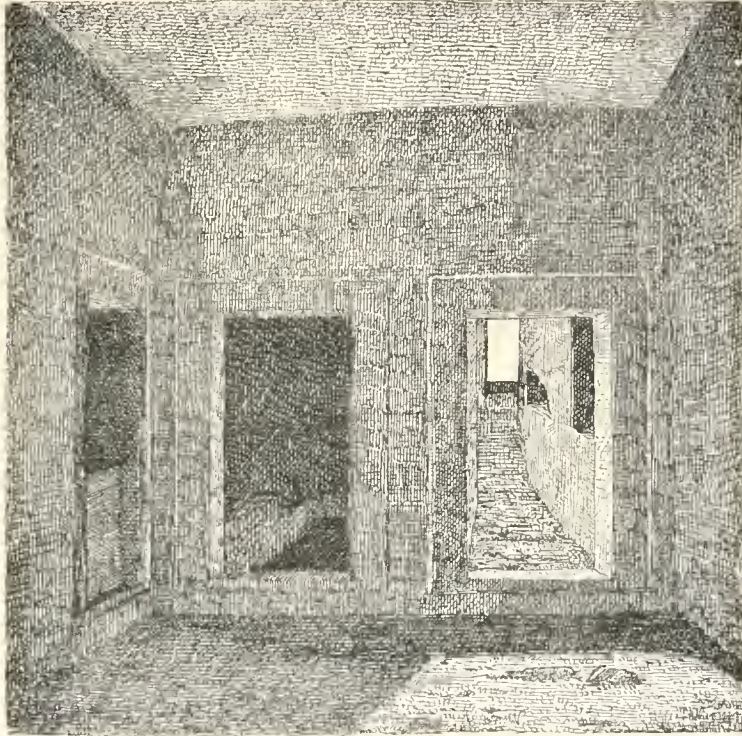
SECTION FROM I TO J.*

about at first, and leads down at a steep slope through the solid hill in a north-westerly direction. It cuts in two a first chamber of rather irregular shape, measuring 2^m·20 × 2^m·40. It has a flat roof, and has two large benches on either side, the whole being hewn out of the living rock. The passage ends immediately afterwards in a second chamber, hewn in the rock like the first, and measuring about 3^m square, with irregular angles. A square opening in the north-west wall of this chamber leads further on and loses itself in a mass of earth and stonework.

In the north-east wall of this second chamber there may be seen a recessed doorway. Only the upper part of this doorway is cut out, and this leads into a little place which seems to be a half-finished chamber

* Pay no attention at present in the section to anything but the upper part. I shall return afterwards to the question of the details figured in the lower part

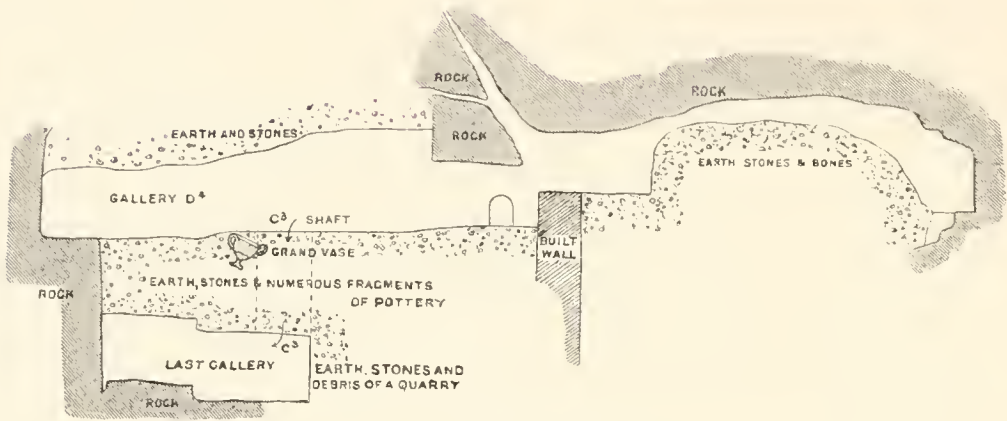
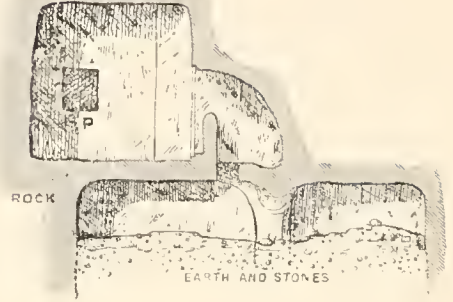
shaped like the end of an oven. In the south-east wall there are two other doors, also recessed, but these are wholly cut out. The first communicates with the first chamber already described, the second leads into a third chamber, hewn like the others in the rock, and containing a complicated arrangement of large benches with steps.



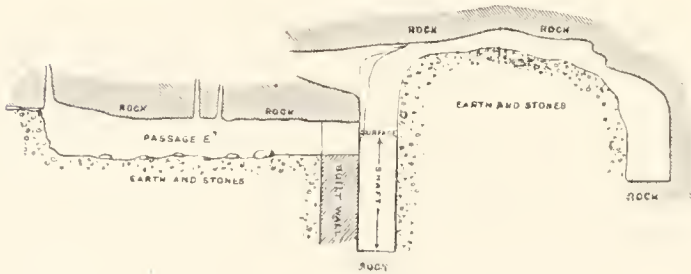
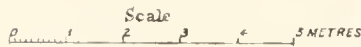
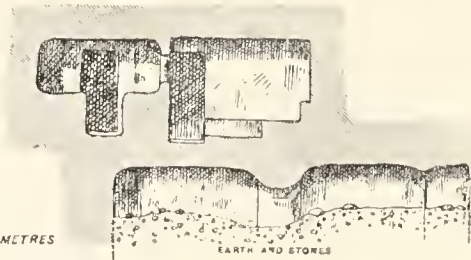
PERSPECTIVE VIEW FROM THE POINT P, IN THE CHAMBER P, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST TOWARD THE MOUTH OF THE PASSAGE.

This is not all. In the lowest, and so to speak subterranean story of this same house, one again meets with the same wall of rock, its vertical face extending downwards below the present level of the Via Dolorosa. A large recess, forming a square vestibule measuring about 1^m.50 in depth (v in the plan), has been hewn out of it, and gives access to a labyrinth of chambers in more or less good preservation, all hewn out of the rock, and extending in a north-westerly direction below the upper chambers, with which, even at this day, they communicate by a hole at the point o (on the section line E—F in the plan).

Finally, in the third house, adjoining the preceding one on the west side, one again finds the wall of rock at the end of the cellars or lower story : it



SECTION FROM E TO F.*
Same scale as below.

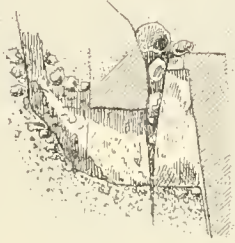


SECTION FROM G TO H.†

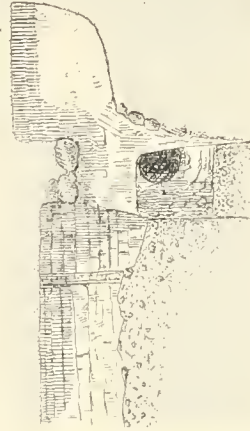
* Here also the reader must for the present confine his attention to the upper part.

† *Ibid.*

has been scarped as before, and appears to have been split by an earthquake or movement of the ground. Immediately after this comes the party wall, which separates this last house from the garden of the Austrian Hospice.



SECTION FROM K TO L.



SECTION FROM M TO N.

Same scale as on p. 54.

The exploration of these lower regions was not a pleasant task, owing to the filth of all sorts which for years, perhaps for centuries, had accumulated in the chambers, filling them almost to the ceiling. We could only crawl about them on all fours: in the third house we were even forced to spend several hours in a privy, happily disused some time ago. The path of an archæologist is not all strewn with roses; but these unpleasantnesses are but trifles when one thinks how near that dirty hole was to becoming our grave.

We sounded the cisterns which are built at various points along the line of this scarp, and the depth of these enabled us to follow the rock for several mètres below the point at which it ceases to be visible on the surface. The line of this scarped rock is at a distance of about nine mètres behind, and to the north of the Via Dolorosa. It is more than probable that it is directly connected with the wall of rock previously discovered during the building of the Austrian Hospice, under the north-east angle of the present building: they also found there another rock-hewn chamber, which Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, pp. 244, 245) is inclined to think was a cow-byre (*Vichstalle*), of great antiquity of course.

It is not easy to decide what this last chamber was made for. It has at the present day been turned into a cistern, and is therefore inaccessible; but I am sure, and M. Lecomte quite agrees with me, that the four other

chambers which we planned and visited were not hewn for any such purpose, they were intended for men and not for beasts ; the only question is, were they intended for the living or for the dead ? The latter seems *a priori* the more probable. If so, it is needless to state that these sepulchres, if indeed they are sepulchres, hewn in the rock in a situation more than 250^m to the southward of the north wall of the present town, and only a few mètres from the Antonia fortress, must necessarily belong to a distant period of history, and must take us back, if not to the days of the Jebusites, at least to the time preceding the reign of Herod Agrippa.

The inhabitants of the house, who, as I have said, were Christians of the Greek Church, told me that, according to an ancient tradition, not a Christian, but a Moslem one, there was once in one of the upper chambers (to which access was gained by the passage already described) a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, *Mâr Hanna el Mâ'mûdâny*.* I do not know what amount of truth there may be in this legend ; however, there is nothing impossible in one of these chambers having once been made into a little chapel. On this hypothesis, the vaulted recess shaped like the end of an oven on the north-east side may possibly have served as a little apse. It appears that some years ago a considerable quantity of ancient coins were discovered in the square opening at the end of the second chamber ; but this is merely gossip, probably attributable to the exuberance of the Arab imagination on the subject of hidden treasure.

II.

I shall now proceed to add to these first descriptions several other observations made during our subsequent explorations, which gradually enabled us to obtain a clearer idea of an exceedingly complex whole. We shall see hereafter that the excavations which I determined shortly afterwards to undertake resulted in the discovery of several new and very interesting facts ; I shall not now discuss these, for fear of confusing, by a multitude of details, a description which in any case is not easy to follow.

If we look at the general outline of the plan, we find that the rock, including that part which is to be seen in the "Ecce Homo" Church, extends in an almost continuous line for a distance of about 42^m. I have already

* They pronounce also : *Mâr Ehanna = Mâr Yohanna*. I learned this in 1871. (Notebook VI, p. 9a.)

stated that this line is practically straight, except that about midway it makes a sudden return at an obtuse angle (x), but that, after this break, it resumes its original direction and maintains it to the end, running from the east to a little south of west.

This fact assumes a considerable importance when we remember that this line was made by human hands, the rock having been almost everywhere cut perpendicular. This vertical scarping is best seen in the "Ecce Homo" Church, but I have found it again in the rock behind the house (door R), and behind the two adjoining houses (doors Q and R'). In the house Q it would even appear that the scarping has destroyed one of the sides of the upper chamber s, hewn in the rock; the vestibule y has been similarly mutilated, the scarping having cut across it obliquely. The effect produced by this cutting back of the whole rock gives us a valuable clue to the relative date of the vestibule and of the lower chambers; indeed it is evident that

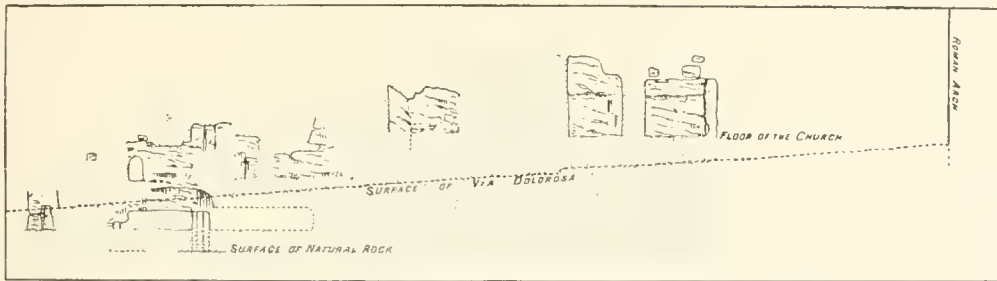


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ROCK SCARP WITH THE BUILDINGS REMOVED.

Scale $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$.

their date is necessarily earlier than that at which this gigantic cutting was made.

If we now look at the great general section (see p. 51), and more especially at the small section given above, which shows the vertical-face of the rock cleared of buildings, one can very easily trace the descent of the scarped rock from east to west, following the slope of the Via Dolorosa.

The mouth of the passage leading to the chambers of the upper story opens at present into the open air, or nearly so; originally it probably led on to a base of rock, which has been swept away by the same cause that has destroyed part of the chamber s and of the portico y.

Another general observation. The normal axes of the chambers in the upper story and of the passage leading to them form acute and obtuse angles with the existing face of the scarped rock, a thing which could not have originally existed, as it would be contrary to all that is known of such

rock excavations down to the present day. My conclusion is, that before this destructive work was undertaken the natural line of the rock trended much more to the south, and made a considerable angle with its present course; indeed, I am greatly inclined to seek in the break at the obtuse angle at the point x, the end or side wall of some early chamber whose direction agreed with that of the other chambers and which has been destroyed, like them.

In the passage z, on the left hand side, there is a deep cutting, which seems to show that the workmen had at one time meant to make the crooked passage straight.

The square opening at the end of the chamber p, in its north-west wall, seems as if it must lead into another chamber, now filled with earth and altogether inaccessible.

It might be asked whether this opening may not possibly have been the original entrance into the cave, and whether the passage may not have been made as an after thought, and cut from within to without, in order to give chamber v an egress of its own. The configuration which we must suppose the ground to have possessed at that time renders this conjecture improbable; indeed these chambers seem rather to plunge downwards into the depths of the hill from the south-east toward the north-west. On this hypothesis it is more reasonable to conjecture that the chamber p communicated by our square doorway with another chamber, and that this other chamber, now full of earth, had its own entrance, its outer door, on its *north-west side*. If so, we ought to look for this hypothetical door in the garden of the Austrian Hospice, near the second "A" of the word "MAHOMETAN" on the Ordnance Survey Plan. It would not indeed be too bold an assumption that the side of the hill returns at this point, and falls almost west. Nothing but digging can enable us to decide the question; we shall see presently how the excavation which I attempted to make there ended in failure.

Passing to the lower chambers, which made as it were a second story, we shall note the following facts. The inhabitants have assured me that the second chamber has round its sides a bench cut in the rock. It is impossible to ascertain this in the present state of the chamber, which is full of ordure almost up to the ceiling. The wall of rock which we could see in the third house (Door r'), and which forms a small redan, appears to be in the same line with the end of the rock in the adjoining house (Door q) on the east side. There is a gap between the two of only a few mètres in extent, caused by a great wall which butts against the face of the rock.

In this third house also the rock has been hollowed out to form a chamber, now partly destroyed (Sections K-L, and M-N);* a portion of the roof has fallen, in consequence either of a natural movement of the ground, overweighted by the houses built upon it, or of an earthquake. It is probably to the latter cause that we must attribute this subsidence, for not only the ceiling, but the side wall of the chamber is split vertically.

If we now ask ourselves what was the origin of this gigantic cutting, and at what period it could have been made, one cannot help remembering that Josephus, in describing the fortress Antonia, tells us that it was "separated (*διήρητο*) from the hill Bezetha which was over against it, not naturally, but by means of a deep ditch, cut so that the foundations of Antonia did not join the foot of the hill, and consequently were not too easily come at." Moreover the same historian tells us that the second city wall of Jerusalem, starting from the Gate Gennath, came to Antonia, and enclosed only the northern region, that is to say, the region immediately to the north of the first wall. This second wall must clearly, on leaving Antonia, have trended considerably to the west, and must consequently have faced northwards for some distance. Now during this first part of its course it must necessarily have suffered from the same disadvantage as Antonia itself, that is to say, it must have been commanded by the hill Bezetha. This evil must have been met by the same remedy, that is, by the cutting away of the rock, or rather the extension of the ditch which parted Antonia from Bezetha. Ought we not to recognise in the perpendicularly cut face of the rock, which I have discovered behind the houses, the counterscarp of this extended ditch, no longer intended to protect Antonia, but to protect the second wall which joined Antonia? This ditch could never have reached further west than the east wall of the garden of the Austrian Hospice, because at that point the base of Bezetha seems, according to my observations, to turn to the north-west, to form one of the sides of the large valley which comes from the Damascus Gate, which valley the second wall must necessarily have crossed. On the east side of this valley chambers were excavated (they are those discovered when the Austrian Hospice was built) which perhaps belonged to the cemetery, or, if they are not tombs, to the same system of chambers as those along the Via Dolorosa. In this case, these latter chambers, being cut through by the ditch and consequently being

* See p. 55.

earlier in date than it, must probably be older than the building of the second city wall.

These data are of very great value in helping us to discover this long-looked-for second wall. It seems to me that it must run between the two streets called *Tarîk es Saraï el Kadîm* and *Daraj es Saraï*.

Now, the whole west side of this block (No. 27 in the Ordnance Survey Plan) consists of a large piece of ground belonging to the Armenian Catholics, in which I obtained permission to make an excavation, in hopes of solving this problem. I shall speak of this hereafter. Already Sir Charles Warren had sunk a shaft in this quarter, in the main street *Hâr't el Wâd*, without any result; but it may be that he only missed the wall by a few yards.

III.

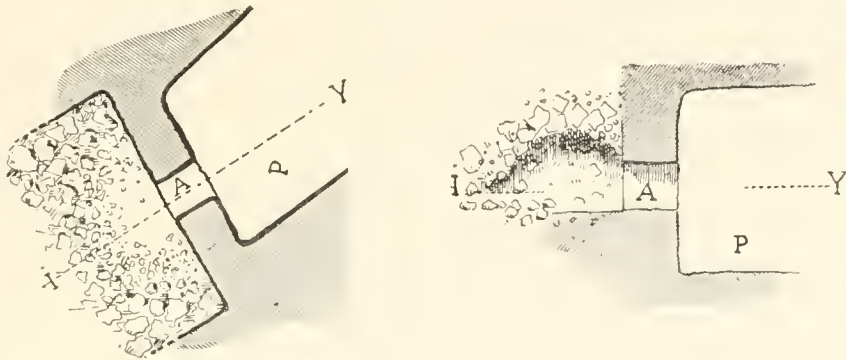
Having come to an understanding with the Greek patriarch, the owner of the houses in the Via Dolorosa, I at last obtained permission to make excavations in order to ascertain several points about which I was in doubt. This operation was particularly awkward, since I had not received from Constantinople the firman which I had been promised at the beginning of my work, but which unfortunately I never received. These excavations, like all the others which I made in and around Jerusalem, had to be carried out altogether unofficially, and by the mere good will of various persons and corporations, who aided me with a kindness for which I am glad to be able to thank them publicly.

My excavations in the Via Dolorosa lasted from April 19 to May 31. They were resumed on July 28, on my return from my excursions in Palestine, but were broken off and finally abandoned after a few days by the orders of the Governor of Jerusalem, after the deplorable incident at Gezer.

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It is deeply to be regretted that this unlucky concatenation of circumstances should have prevented my pushing any further an investigation which, as we shall see, promised to yield interesting results. I earnestly trust that it may be resumed and accomplished by other archæologists, with facilities which were denied to me.

My first object was to try to force my way into the opening 1, at the end of the chamber P in the upper story, in the hope that thus I should either find another chamber or the original entrance. We had to dig our way through a mass of loose stones which fell down continually. After two days of obstinate labour, often at the risk of the workmen's lives, we were obliged to give it up. We did, however, see and touch, on the right hand and the left, vertical walls of hewn rock with rectangular returns. These angles were about $1^m\cdot50$ from the doorway. The accompanying little sketch will explain the matter more clearly than the general plan, upon which these details have not been marked as accurately as one could have wished. These two walls may form part of

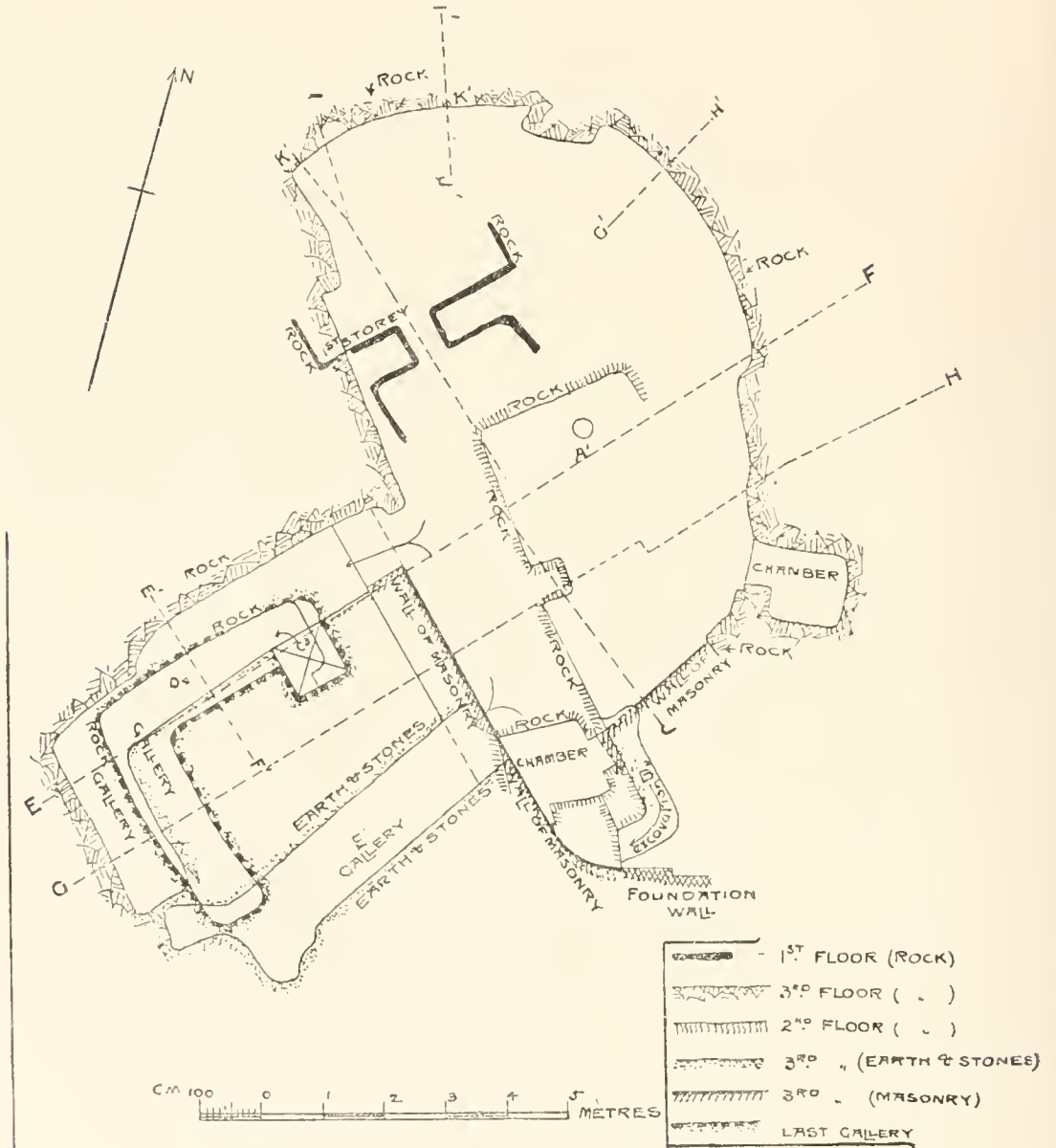


Enlarged Sketch of P on General Plan, p. 51.

another chamber like that marked P ; but they also may be only the sides of a rock-hewn vestibule open to the sky in ancient times. The latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that the floor of the passage A, which is higher than the floor of the chamber P, is on a level with the rocky floor of the space which remains to be explored ; an arrangement more suitable to the entrance to a sepulchre than to a doorway simply connecting two closed chambers. Moreover, the distance between the two outer walls is considerably greater than the width of the chamber P, the former measuring $3^m\cdot50$, the latter $2^m\cdot50$. Finally, the enormous mass of stones, against which we struggled in vain, argues the existence of a *vacuum* far more extensive than that of a mere chamber : either this chamber has had its roof demolished after it was made, or else the place never had any, and was always open to the sky. I therefore gave up digging here, as it could no longer be done, hoping that I might resume it after the stones had settled themselves somewhat, and the movement of the descending mass had stopped : but the circumstances related above did not permit me to carry out this project.

I now directed all my efforts to the lower stories. I cannot embark upon a detailed description of this complicated excavation, whose results

PLAN OF THE LOWER FLOORS.



appear in our various plans and sections. We explored more or less thoroughly a quite extraordinary group of rock-hewn chambers, placed one above another, and full of rubbish.

Many of these chambers had fallen in, the rock having in places yielded to powerful pressure, probably that of an earthquake. We could only make our way very slowly and with very great care, to avoid accidents, especially as we could not rely upon the strength of the half-rotten frames at our disposal which shored up our galleries and shafts in a very imperfect fashion. In spite of all our precautions, we sometimes had alarming downfalls, but fortunately they did our men but little hurt. Working under these conditions, I was obliged, for fear of risking their lives, to give up attempting to get the woodwork out of our shafts and galleries, and to leave it in the diggings, which, moreover, were abruptly brought to a close by the circumstances already related.

On p. 62 is a detailed plan* of this part of our researches; it completes and in several places corrects the general plans already given, with which, however, it is indispensable to compare it for the fuller understanding of certain details.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE (p. 62).

First story (counting downwards): the black marks show its place on the general plan.

Second story, ditto.

Third story (outer wall).

Wall of the lowest gallery.

A¹. Opening in the floor of rock between the second and third stories.

B². Slope of the exploratory digging from the second to the third story.

C³. Shaft connecting the third story and the last gallery.

D⁴. Upper gallery in which the great vase was found.

We hastily explored the rock-hewn chambers forming the second story of this group. We did no more than pass through them, forcing our way between the roofs and the masses of rubbish and detritus of all kinds which filled them up to the very top. As may be seen by an examination of our plans and sections, this story comprises several chambers, five, six, or it may be more. They are partly destroyed, either by the great cutting in the rock, or by the walls of rock which separated them having been deliberately pulled down. All that we did was to make a few soundings to find the level of the rock floor.

Our time and means being limited, I preferred to concentrate all my efforts on the third story, whose existence I had noticed, as I could always go back to the second if I had any time to spare.

* This plan must be compared with the sections given on pp. 52 and 54, which come down to the third story, and also with the special sections given on pp. 65 and 66.

This third story communicates with the second story, above it, by a narrow hole (at A' in the special plan, and visible in the section I-J (p. 52) pierced in the floor of rock which separates the two stories, and which at this point is from 0^m·70 to 0^m·75 thick. It consists of an immense cavern or rather hall, hewn very irregularly in a semicircular shape, with a rectangular part joining the right angle at one of its extremities. The largest diameter of this unsymmetrical figure measures some fifteen mètres from south-west to north-east. Like all the chambers on the second story, this hall, up to the very roof, is quite full of earth and rubbish of various kinds, which made its complete exploration impossible. We were forced to neglect in a great measure the examination of the middle part, and confine our attention to tracing the shape of the walls of rock throughout the hall, save only on the south-east side. We did, however, ascertain the existence of a great wall of masonry, about 0^m·70 thick, which separates the semicircular part from the rectangular part. This wall runs from the north-west to the south-east, for a distance of 5 mètres, as far as we could trace it.*

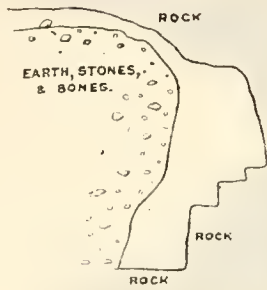
Above this wall, which perhaps was intended to prop it up, the rock-cut roof has given way under irresistible pressure, due, I imagine, to the earthquake which has caused an accident of the same kind in the upper stories. The same enormous force has split the rock from the top to the bottom; on the third story the roof has settled considerably, and is broken up into huge blocks, which hang in unstable equilibrium. In this region we were obliged to make our way with the utmost caution lest we should bring about a catastrophe. Indeed, our progress was hindered by several downfalls, each of which produced a general stampede. The sections E-F and G-H† will give a very accurate idea of the state of things in this place. In the semicircular part we made our trenches follow the outline throughout, and we ascertained that all along the wall, wherever we were able to get down to the floor, there was a sort of bench, sometimes double, and sometimes triple, its steps hewn out of the living rock. Below are two sections, from G' to H' and from i' to j', which will clearly explain the appearance of these steps.

The height of the roof above the floor is at the first point more than 3 mètres, and at the second point only 2^m·70.

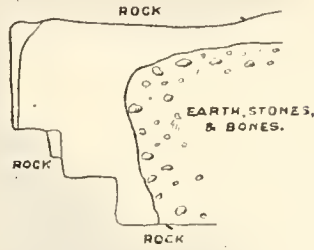
* We were obliged to break through this wall to get from the semicircular part to the rectangular part.

† See p. 54.

From κ' to κ' the concave wall (the section $i'-j'$ passes across the middle of it) assumes a particular figure, shown below in elevation.

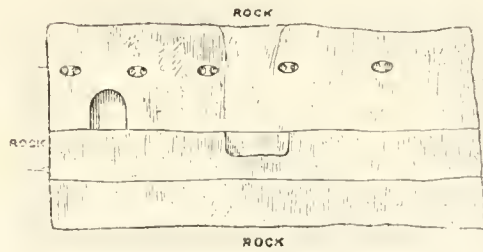


SECTION G'-H'.*
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

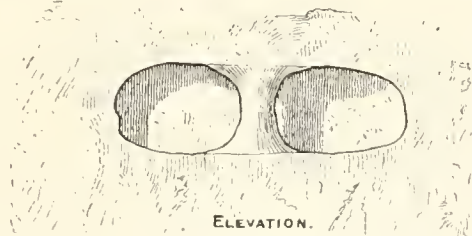
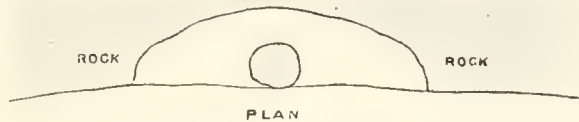


SECTION I'-J'.*
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

As shown in the figure, the first step, that at the top, has a rectangular trough cut in it. On the left side a little niche is cut, rounded at the top and standing upon the step itself. Above this, in a nearly horizontal line and at nearly regular intervals, there are five holes like rings cut in the rock. Here is a plan and elevation of them in detail, one tenth of the actual size.



ELEVATION OF THE PARTITION K'.*
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.



DETAIL OF THE RINGS CUT IN THE PARTITION K'.*
Details. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

* See the detailed plan, p. 62.

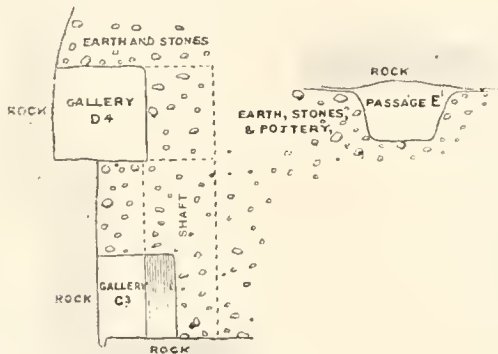
It seems as though these rings must have been meant to tie animals to; from this we gain a valuable hint as to the use for which this enormous hall was intended. Perhaps it was once a cattle lair, the benches which surround it being used for mangers. We may ask ourselves whether we have not here, in this hall and the other chambers of the upper story, stables, store rooms, and magazines of various kinds perhaps attached to Antonia, and meant to supply its garrison with food.

We must also note the existence of a small chamber further on, toward the south-east end of the semicircular part (between J and H). This chamber is rectangular, measuring about 2^m × 1^m·55, and is entered by a door in the concave wall.

In the rectangular part of the hall, at the south-west side, we dug to the very bottom, sinking a shaft and making two galleries one above the other. Here we were able to

SURFACE OF THE STREET BEFORE THE DOOR OF ENTRANCE

MIDDLE LEVEL OF THE FLOOR OF THE CAVERN, 3RD STOREY.



Section E'—F'. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

trace the two walls, which join at a right angle throughout their whole height. As is shown in the transverse section E'—F', taken across the north-west wall, this wall forms a kind of step 2^m·40 in height. Here the height of the step is so great that it cannot be supposed to have been intended for animals; moreover, at the foot of the wall one sees a narrow gutter cut in the rock, and evidently meant for draining the floor. By referring to the section E—F (p. 54), we shall see that the south-west wall, perpendicular to the wall which I have described, shows much the same arrangement; we find there

the same high step and at the foot the same gutter for drainage.

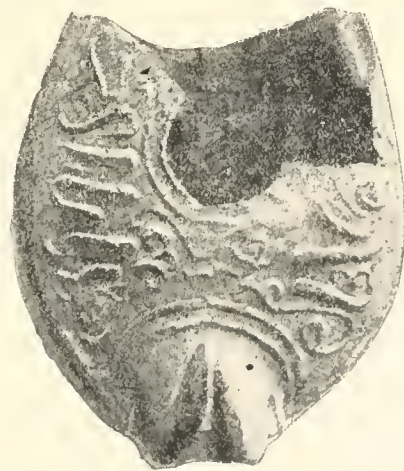
At this point, in the angle formed by these two walls, we made an archaeological discovery of the greatest interest, which I shall describe in detail. It was here that we found the great terra-cotta vase covered with sculptures, and other pieces of pottery of the same kind (see p. 68).

According to our levels, the rock-floor at this point is 9^m·20 below the level of the Via Dolorosa, which trends parallel to the scarped and excavated rock-cliff; and it has not been proved that this third story is the last.

I am very sorry not to have been able to push these researches further, and ascertain whether this great hall does not communicate with other excavations leading further into the hill, to the north, and connected perhaps with the great stone quarries identical with the "Royal Caverns" of Josephus. From the front of the houses in the Via Dolorosa to the far end of the great hall measures some twenty mètres, this brings us about as far as the little street *Zokâk al-Bûs*. From this street to the furthest point to the southward which has hitherto been reached in the "Royal Caverns," is about a hundred mètres; a long distance, no doubt, still they may possibly join. Nothing but a new series of explorations can settle this question.

As I have said before, the interior of the lower stories is choked with rubbish of all sorts, which seems to argue that it was used as a lay stall, and even as a charnel house. The human bones which we picked up here and there, especially at the point G', one mètre below the roof, and also at the north-western end of the wall of separation, leave no doubt whatever on this latter question. The roughly hewn steps which skirt the walls suggest the idea of a stone quarry; we have even found at the foot of them the chips as they fell on the ground from the quarrymen's picks.

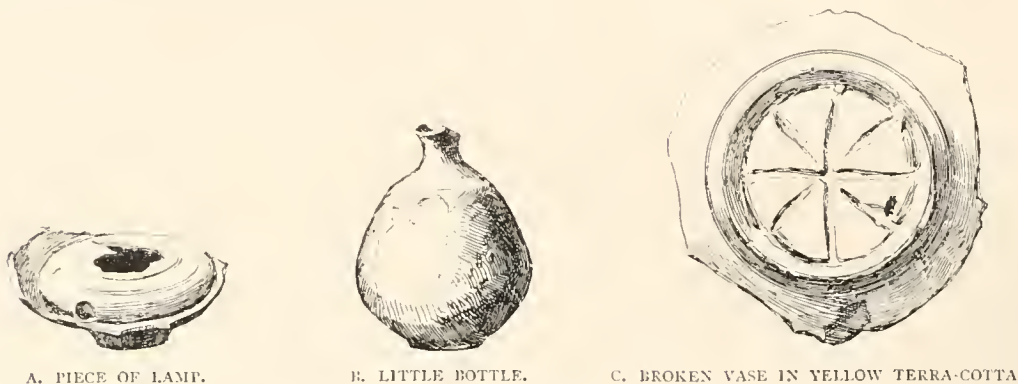
Much of the broken pottery which we picked up in the rubbish is of Arab make, but of an ancient period; several fragments are enamelled. Among them I may mention a lamp of common terra-cotta shaped exactly like the lamps of the Byzantine period, but bearing an Arab inscription, too much damaged to be legible. Since then I have found in Palestine other specimens of lamps of the same kind in better preservation. This proves that the Byzantine type in these things survived the Mussulman conquest for some time, and that one ought to be very careful about the dates, in some cases too early, which one is tempted to assign to uninscribed lamps of this shape.*



LAMP WITH ARABIC INSCRIPTION.

* See an account of several lamps of this kind (*lychnaria*) with Arabic inscriptions, in my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 19 and 67 and Vol. III, p. 4146.

I shall also mention among the broken pieces of terra-cotta, a piece of a lamp of a different type, belonging to a period not yet ascertained, standing on a tall narrow foot (A).



A. PIECE OF LAMP.

B. LITTLE BOTTLE.

C. BROKEN VASE IN YELLOW TERRA-COTTA

A little bottle (neck broken) 0^m·075 high (B).

The bottom of a large slender vase in yellow terra-cotta, with a sign engraved underneath the foot, having a very bold rim round it; diameter 0^m·06 (C).

A little pot with a handle; a piece of a trivet enamelled at the top, and a quantity of pieces of vases of different sorts.

We also found many pieces of glass vases, of uncertain age, notably the neck of a phial with ornaments of blue enamel.

Among the stones I may mention a piece of a corbel with mediæval tooling; some grindstones or weights of hard stone (one of them with a mark (?) engraved upon it); a marble mortar; a quantity of small pieces of marble, apparently from veneers, etc.

IV.

All these objects have but a very relative interest. This is not the case with those which we discovered in the north-west angle of the rectangular hall in the third story, in the gallery D 4 (p. 62), at the place exactly shown in the lower section E—F (p. 54);* these were a superb terra-cotta vase, covered with exceedingly rich and curious ornament, and a piece of another vase of the same kind. The vase had been crushed as it lay by an ancient downfall of the rock forming the roof, and this occurred

* The vase itself is shown here in the exact position in which it lay.

again during our digging; but all the pieces were there; not one was missing. We gathered them up with the greatest care, and by fitting them together managed to reconstruct the whole vase in its original form.

The piece of the second vase lay a few mètres further. This piece was itself broken into two parts which fitted together exactly.

The first vase, which was of grey terra-cotta, very much baked and



VASE RESTORED.

Height 38·3 centimètres. Diameter 30·4 centimètres.

very hard, measures 0^m·36 in height. It stands on a low base of very plain outline, and has a large body, its greatest circumference being at least one mètré. There is no neck; the mouth, which is made narrower by a small edging, measures 0^m·235 across.

It is flanked by two handles, each formed of a double plait elegantly

twisted ; at the top of each handle there is sunk a little square recess, from which, on either side, two serpents in relief, symmetrically arranged and crawling along the side of the base, seem to be going to drink ; their tails lose themselves in the lower part of the handles.

Immediately below each handle is modelled, full face, the mask of a Gorgon.

Moreover, quite close to each handle, there is twice stamped in relief by means of a mould (*τύπος*), a sort of little medallion representing a small naked male figure, standing upright, with the left arm raised and resting on the end




PIECE OF A SECOND VASE. For description, see p. 73.

of a staff, lance, or thyrsus. The right arm is stretched out and points toward the ground ; the right hand seems to be holding something that cannot be distinctly made out, which rests upon something else equally vague, lying upon the ground. The *ectypha*, or impressions of this figure, about which I shall presently say something more, are repeated six times upon this vase. At almost equal distances from either handles and on both sides of the vase, there is, twice repeated, another medallion. This is stamped like the other but is of larger size, and represents a Hermes or Mercury, naked, whose body is seen in front, and his head turned to the left. On his head he wears the petasus, and has his chlamys fastened across his chest and thrown behind

him. In his left hand he holds the caduceus, while in his right he supports something round, which may be a money bag, the *balantion* or *marsupium*, a common attribute of Hermes *κερδῶος*, the god of gain.

In the circular field which surrounds him there are four things like large pineapples (or are they tortoise shells?). The medallion is framed within a little border made by repeating moulds of the same figure: six points in a

circle round a central point ; this ornament is repeated profusely upon the rest of the vase.

Upon one of the two almost symmetrical segments into which the vase is divided by the handles, the medallion of Hermes is flanked on the left by the little medallion previously described, and on the right by a symbolic group which requires a special explanation. Under a kind of portico divided into three sections by four little columns, that is, two columns *in antis*, with fluted shafts. In the central space may be seen a vase with two handles, a large foot, and a long and very slender neck; it is ornamented with gadroons leading from the top to the bottom. In the space between the columns on the left hand is an altar, tall and narrow, and fluted like the vase and columns; it reminds one a good deal of some of the Assyrian altars. In the hollow shown in the upper part of the altar, eight little balls or roundels are arranged in the form of a pyramid; in the right hand space between the columns there is a second altar of the same kind as the first, yet differing from it in some essential particulars; the number of spheres is only seven, and moreover a sort of tablet runs across behind the altar, at about half its height; one can see its two ends projecting beyond either side of the altar.

Immediately beneath the portico, and corresponding to its three intercolumniations, there are stamped, also in relief, three small figures, each representing a female personage seen from the front, draped in a long tunic, the left hand leaning on a long spear, the right extended toward the ground, and holding something which cannot be made out. These three little figures seem to be repeated from the same *eclypon*; they occur again twice, separately on this side of the vase; but I must say that I have noticed some slight variations in the attitude of the head and right arm in some of these five little figures, which otherwise are much alike. The right hand altar is also repeated once separately.

Before leaving this part of the vase I must mention a shape resembling a great leaf of a tree, with ribs in high relief, which is stamped beside one

of the serpents. Perhaps, however, we ought rather to see in this vague shape the figure of a tree, obviously from its pyramidal form and the position of its branches a cypress or pine, the tree sacred to Attys and Cybele.

If we pass to the opposite side of the vase, we notice there the same elements, arranged in very nearly the same manner. We shall only observe that the little female figure, three times repeated, is not grouped in the same way as on the other side, that the vase between the two columns is itself reproduced elsewhere by itself, and finally that it is the left, not the right hand altar which is repeated by itself.

The lower half of the vase is ornamented with two bands close together, formed by the stamped repetition of a very strange figure composed of concentric half circles, whose six ends, with a seventh central dot, remind one somewhat of the seven-branched candlestick; but this resemblance is only apparent, for there is no trace of stem. This ornament is also figured several times, by itself, on the upper part.

Below this there is a third circle formed of elongated lozenges. Lastly, yet lower, the same forms are grouped in large triangles with their points downwards, which reach as far as the foot, and complete the scheme of decoration.

I have forgotten to state that the mouth of the vase is ornamented with five or six parallel lines of little wavy mouldings wrought with great freedom and not without taste.

A rather curious detail is that the whole surface of the vase, especially the stamped parts, is pitted with little holes made with the point of a sharp boasting tool or knife. It is impossible to suppose this to have been accidental; on the other hand, there must have been some important reason for covering the stamps with holes which spoil the figures. Was this done to make it bake better, or was it that the surface might be more easily coated with some substance to be applied afterwards?

This great vase, with all its rich ornamentation, is wrought with a certain carelessness which one cannot avoid noticing. Its shape is elegant, but nevertheless it is unsymmetrical and untrue; the handles are set on crookedly, and the details of the stamped moulds show much carelessness; one sees everywhere the marks of the fingers which have mended the damage caused by pulling off the stamps. The arrangement of the figures and symbols is made almost at random, without any exact rule. Still, such as it is, this great piece of pottery, with all its imperfections, is notable from an artistic point of view. The profusion of its detail, combined with the

slovenliness of its workmanship, sometimes makes one think that we have before us a kind of sketch, or rough draught, the first attempt of an artist who wanted to make a model which he intended to copy carefully, or even to reproduce in metal.

We must not forget that by the side of this vase we picked up a large piece of the same sort of ware (see fig., p. 70), which certainly did not belong to it, as is sufficiently proved by its different shape and curvature. This fragment nevertheless has some remarkable points of resemblance to it. We find on its upper part a Gorgon's mask like that on the great vase, but of less size; the same decoration of the mouth with wavy moulded lines; the same ornament composed of three concentric half-circles; and finally an exact copy, probably from the same models, of the little indistinct standing male figure leaning on a spear. The only different piece of ornament consists in some little countersunk stamps of leaves or palms.

The discovery of these two vases in the same place, their being made of the same ware but of different sizes, their resemblances, and even their variations of type, render it probable that we have in them specimens of local manufacture rather than importations from abroad. One might, indeed, be tempted to adopt this latter conjecture when one remembers how utterly barren Jerusalem has shown itself from an artistic point of view, even to the present day. We know that during the Empire vases of red earthenware were still made at Arezzo, with ornaments and figures in relief, which were cast in a mould and put on to the surface just as they are in our vases, and quite different, therefore, to the *δοτράκινα τορεύματα* of the Greek vases of the ancient type, which were modelled by hand. The method employed here is of the Arretine kind, but this does not necessarily prove that it may not have been practised by the potters of Jerusalem, as it was also in other countries besides that of Arezzo, especially in Gaul.

Having described this curious vase, we have now to determine its date and its use, and also the symbolic meaning of the chief pieces of ornament with which it is covered.

Considering the place in which it was found, and the limitations imposed by the history of Jerusalem, one is tempted *a priori* to attribute the vase to the Roman period, that is to say, to regard it as belonging to Aelia Capitolina. The workmanship and the style suit this view very well.

The general shape of the vase and the arrangement of the mouth seem to imply the existence of a lid, similarly ornamented, which has been lost. Judging from the size of the mouth and the breadth of the foot, we must

not reckon it among the class of amphoræ, but as one of those vases from which one ladled out the contents, and did not pour them out by tilting the vase. It must, in a word, be classed as a "crater," although perhaps its handles stand rather too high to match the classical "crater," whose handles as a rule are set on below the belly of the vase, and are intended to shake it rather than to carry it by.

"Craters" may have been meant either for religious or for domestic purposes, that is to say, to contain libations offered to the gods, or to be used at men's ordinary meals. In either case the contents, wine and water as a rule, were ladled out by means of a *simpulum* (ἀρυστήρ), or of a *cyathus*, a kind of cup or spoon with a long handle, with which they filled the *pateræ* or drinking cups. Even when it was only meant for non-religious uses, the "crater" still retained a certain religious character. It was the custom at formal repasts to have three "craters," probably of different size: the first, according to Suidas, was dedicated to Hermes, the second to Charisius, and the third to Zeus the Saviour. According to other authors the first (some say the third) was sacred to the "Good Genius" (Ἀγαθοδαίμων). There also was a "crater" sacred to "Health" (Ἑγεία).

Our "crater" shows by the distinctive character of its decoration all the signs of being a vase for religious use, and I am greatly tempted to believe that it was intended for sacrificial libations,—these vases being usually not only dedicated to deities as ἀναθήματα, but actually used in the ritual celebrated in their honour.

The four serpents going to drink out of the little wells sunk at the tops of the handles, as it were to catch the drops which fell from the *simpulum*, seem to me to symbolise the *genii foci*, and remind us precisely of the serpent formed *Agathodæmon*, to whom one so often sees libations being offered on ancient monuments.

Our Hermes, twice repeated, seems by his size and by the front place which he occupies, to be the chief deity of the vase, reminding us of the first "crater," which was sacred to Hermes. Have we then in our broken piece a fragment of the second, or of the third crater?

The little male figure, which is repeated six times on the great vase, and which we find a seventh time on the broken piece, is not easy to define. Still, it is singularly like the Dionysus which we find on many of the coins of Aelia Capitolina, especially on those struck during the reigns of Antoninus, Geta, and Gordian III. If we are really to see in our little figure an imitation of that on the coins, then the uncertain gesture which it is making

may be interpreted thus: the right hand would be offering a bunch of grapes to a panther either erect or sitting, strictly one might suppose the hand to be pouring wine from a *carchesium*. In any case, the presence of Dionysus on a vase intended to contain wine would be quite natural. Are we to see in him Suidas's Charisius, a very obscure divinity, who is only perhaps another form of Dionysus? Ought the pineapples which surround the Hermes to be understood as Dionysiac symbols? As for the female figure, I cannot identify it; it is apparently a deity: can it be Hygieia or, perhaps, a Tyche?

The presence of the vase and the two altars all grouped under the same portico complete the distinctly religious character of the "crater." It should be noted that the vase figured in the decoration of our vase is of quite a different type to the vase itself. The grouping of this vase between the two altars bears a striking resemblance to a sculpture in bas-relief on a door lintel at Seilûn.* These narrow fluted altars are somewhat like the shape of certain Assyrian ones. The number of spheres contained in the cavity of each of them is not, I imagine, without meaning. Whatever things these spheres may represent, it is probable that the number seven, in the first case, refers to the ancient cosmic idea of the five planets which, together with the sun and moon, formed the septenary. The number eight in the other may be connected with the idea of that number, symbolised and personified as it is in the very name of the Phœnician Eshmun. I do not wish to lay much stress on the symbolic meaning of numbers; I will only call the reader's attention to the seven points on our vase, six of them arranged in a circle round the seventh, and to the number seven formed by the ends of the concentric half circles with their central stroke.

It may be asked how this vase, and the piece of similar ware, came to have been put into such a place, that is to say, into this underground chamber hewn in the rock of Bezetha, and ruined by an earthquake. We can hardly suppose that we found them in their original place, in some sepulchral cave. The rubbish of all sorts among which we found them would rather lead one to suppose that they had been thrown into these caves at some very early period together with filth. If they ever were used for the sacrifices offered by the pagans of Aelia Capitolina in the sanctuary of Jupiter, which stood not far off, one can easily understand that at the period of the official triumph of Christianity these instruments of a proscribed ritual may have been

* See Vol. II, p. 300.

ignominiously thrown away in company with the vilest refuse. Possibly, on the other hand, they may at some crisis have been hidden in what was supposed to be a safe retreat by the last adherents of paganism. Indeed, we have elsewhere examples of similar precautionary measures taken by pagans to conceal their idols and sacred vessels from the iconoclastic fury of the lately persecuted sect now become persecutor in its turn. One fact which seems to favour this hypothesis is that the vase, though of brittle material, must nevertheless have been placed unbroken where we found it, and therefore with a care which certainly would not have been shown by Christians : it was broken where it stood by the fall of the roof of the cavern which sheltered it. In any case, this fall of the roof must have taken place after this period of religious reaction, which we may apparently assign to the time of Constantine.

V.

The central opening of the Roman triumphal arch which spans the Via Dolorosa is the property of the little convent of Uzbeg Dervishes which stands over the way, opposite to the convent of the Sisters of Sion. As I was a great friend of the Uzbeg Sheikh, I prevailed upon him, in 1871, to permit me to remove the layer of mortar which covers and disfigures both sides of the central arch, on condition, as soon as I had done so, of replacing every thing as it was before. Thus I managed to uncover the mouldings of the arch, and before proceeding to cover both sides up again, according to my agreement, after having had a momentary glance at them, I took photographs of them. This operation moreover enabled me to discover, imbedded in one of the faces of the arch, a fragment of a Greek inscription other than the one already known. I took a squeeze of it, but unluckily this squeeze, which I laid in a neighbouring house to dry, disappeared without my being able to ascertain how it went. The very rough sketch which I took of it, thinking that I could refer to the squeeze, is far from making amends for the vexatious loss of the latter.

Not to mention the great ancient pool, which at this day is underground and covered by a double vault, the works undertaken by the Sisters of Sion in their ground have directly or indirectly led to the discovery of some objects of interest. Among these I shall mention a little terra-cotta vase bearing geometrical ornamentation, painted in lines of brown colour upon a yellowish

ground.* A stone weight bearing a Greek inscription dated from the fifth year of the reign of a king Athamas, unknown to history. A fragment of a Cufic inscription in well-cut letters; I have been able to make out رعبيد الله بن سهلان بن مو 'Obeid Allah the son of Sahlân, the son of M. . .

At the Austrian Hospice, which stands in the ground with which I am dealing in this present chapter, they keep two inscribed stones which have for a long time been shown to visitors as having been discovered during the excavations undertaken in 1858 for the building of the Hospice.† If the discovery of such antiquities as these in such a quarter of Jerusalem could be proved with certainty, it would be a fact of great importance in connection with the topography and archæology of the Holy City. Unfortunately this is not the case; I have published elsewhere‡ a description of these relics, and have proved that they were really discovered at Sidon some time ago, were brought to Jerusalem, and now are improperly connected with the latter city.

* Now in the Museum of the Louvre, Salle Judaïque, No. 10.

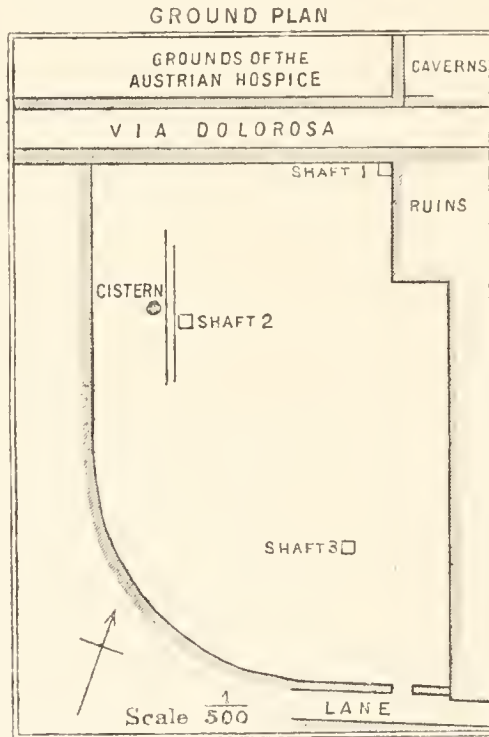
† *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 60. "Whilst digging for the foundations of the Austrian Hospice some years ago . . . a small column and a mural tablet to the memory of some lady—the same Greek inscription was upon both column and tablet, and on the latter a female figure, reclining on a bier, with her head raised and resting on one hand, was painted with much spirit, and is still well preserved."

‡ *Gazette Archéologique*, 1872, pp. 102–105 (with illustrations and coloured plates).

CHAPTER III.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE GROUND OF *HAMMAM ES SULTÂN*.

Taking advantage of the opportunity offered me by the Armenian Catholic parish priest, who owned the large piece of ground known by the name of *Hammâm es Sultân*, which lies between the Via Dolorosa, the *Tarîk Bâb el 'Amûd*, and the lane called *Daraj es Sarâi*, I decided to begin excavations there. I had the advantage of being able to work in enclosed ground,

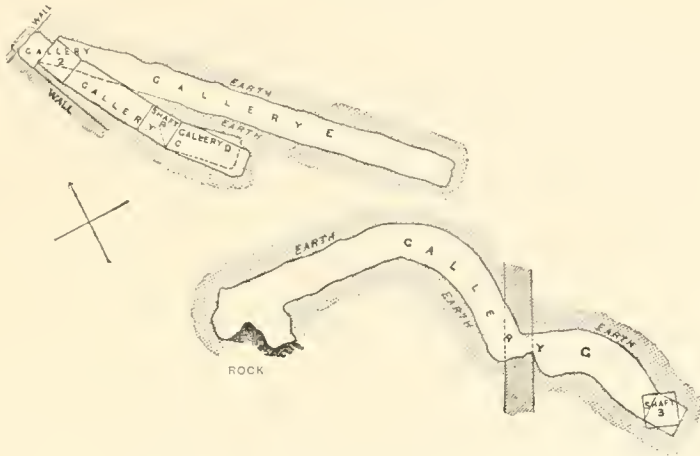


without fear of hindrance. My design was, if possible, to connect my excavations with those of the rock scarp near the "Ecce Homo" Arch.

These works, which were carried on at the same time as the others, took place at two different periods, with a pretty long interval between them, in consequence of our excursions into Palestine; the first period lasted from

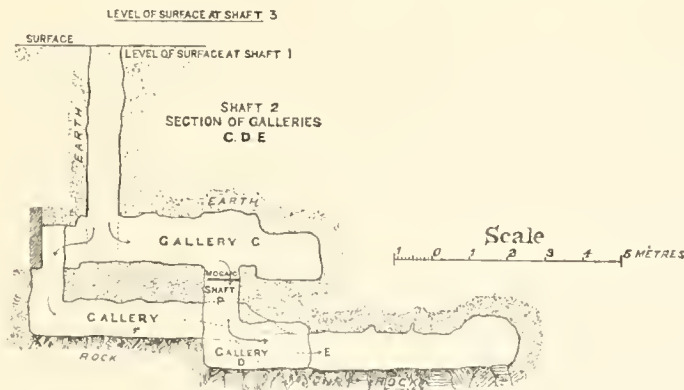
April 16 to May 31, the second from July 28 to August 22. From the 5th to the 10th of October was spent in removing the frames and filling up the galleries and shafts.

I began by having the first shaft sunk at the lowest point in the enclosure (No. 2 on plan). My intention was to bore down to the rock, and then to push a gallery thence as far as possible to the south-east, so as to cross the supposed line of the second wall of Jerusalem.



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT SHAFT NO. 2 AND AT SHAFT NO. 3.

After passing through an upper stratum of made earth, at the depth of 1^m·90 we came upon some broken tiles and a few cubes of mosaic. At the depth of 2^m·30 we found the upper part of a glass bottle with a triple or

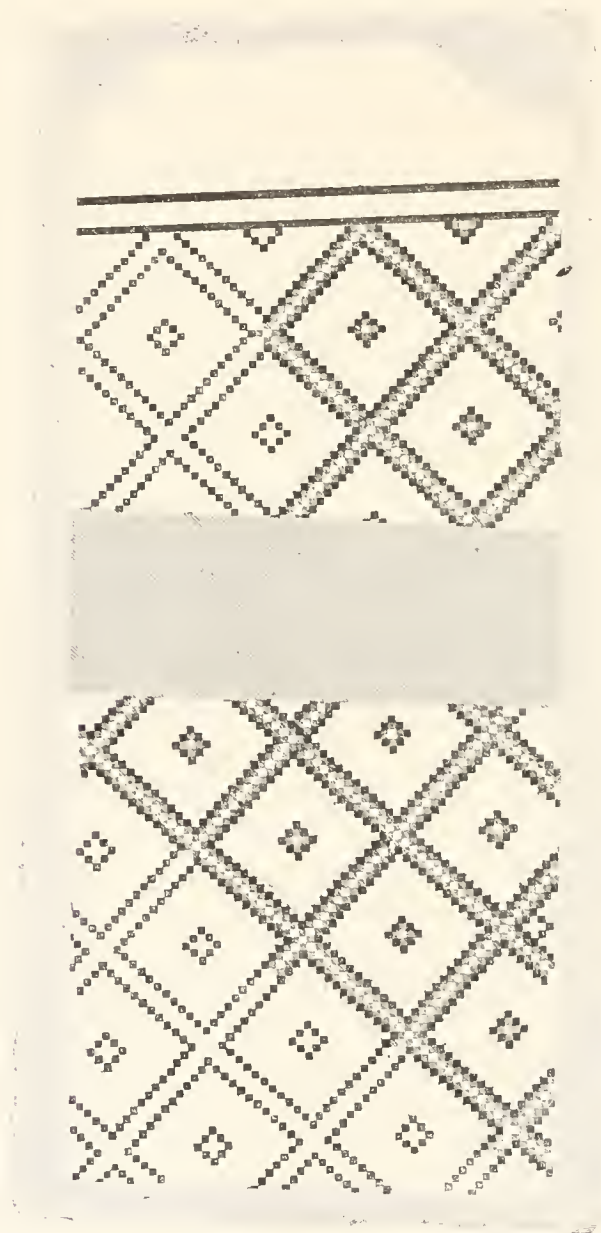


SECTION OF EXCAVATION AT SHAFT NO. 2.

quadruple neck twisted in a spiral form.* At 4^m·10, more cubes of mosaic ;

* Rough list, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 487, No. 90.

at 4^m·75, on the west side, found a large roughly-built wall, without regular courses. Here the ground became full of stones, and was damp. At the depth of 5 mètres found a piece of marble roughly shaped (? arm of a statue),



MOSAIC PAVEMENT.

a small Jewish coin, and cubes of mosaic. These last made me think that we must have come down almost to the level of an ancient mosaic pavement; I

began to drive a first gallery to the south-east, to try to find it. The floor of this gallery was at first 5^m·60 below the surface. After proceeding for a distance of 2^m·50 we did indeed find a mosaic pavement, still undisturbed, at a depth of 5^m·75. It was bounded by two great stones which may have belonged to an ancient foundation, 0^m·25 below the top of the stones. The pattern, in black and red on a white ground, is very simple, consisting of lozenges marked in the middle with what looks like a little cross. The pattern is exactly the same as that of the mosaic pavement lately discovered by the Dominicans in their piece of ground near Jeremiah's cave, and that of another pavement discovered in 1893 on the Mount of Olives.* It is laid on a bed of blackish mortar made of lime and ashes, from 0^m·04 to 0^m·05 thick.

For a distance of about 2 mètres the gallery c skirted a wall, running nearly north and south, and making a right angle with the wall which we had found at the bottom of our shaft. After driving the gallery about 2 mètres further beyond the mosaic pavement, without finding the rest, I had a shaft (p) sunk at the side of the mosaic pavement to find the level of the rock. A short gallery (D), dug at a steep angle, enabled us to reach a maximum depth of 8^m·50. But the earth now became so unsafe, and the work so dangerous, that I gave up the attempt at this spot, and renewed it at the bottom of the first shaft (No. 2). I sunk a second shaft behind the first one, resting against the piece of wall already discovered. At a depth of 2 mètres we came upon the rock. Once there, I had a new gallery (E) opened, making a very acute angle with the two others. We drove it for a distance of about 13 mètres altogether, without finding anything worth mentioning; we did not give it up till all the works were finally brought to a close.

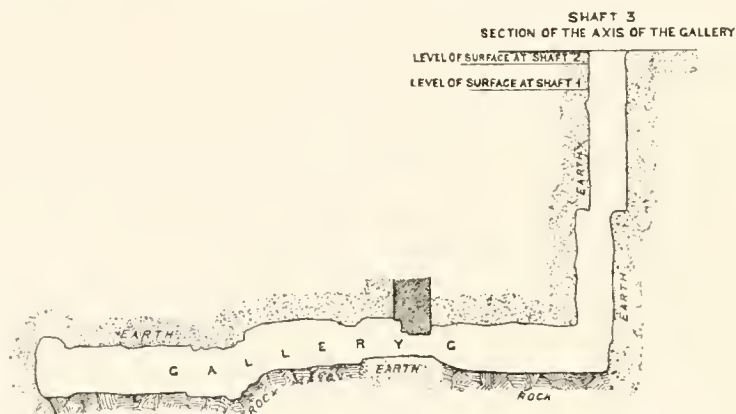
Meanwhile, on May 3 I had caused a second shaft (No. 3)† to be sunk in another part of the ground, 18 mètres to the south-east of shaft No. 2, in order to increase our chances of finding the city wall. At the depth of 4 mètres we were forced to alter the axis of the shaft, and the compass bearings of its angles, by some obstacle whose exact nature I have forgotten.‡ At the depth of 8^m·50 we at last reached the rock. We then

* This pavement bears an Armenian inscription. See below, Chapter XIV.

† For plan, see *supra*, p. 79, the figure that gives the plans of shafts Nos. 2 and 3.

‡ I think I remember that it was a wall of unimportant character built of rough stones.

drove a gallery (G) along the surface of the rock in a north-westerly direction, towards shaft N^o. 2. At a distance of about 3 mètres we noticed a



Scale same as on p. 79.

considerable rise in the surface of the rock, and found that we had butted against a great wall, a mètre thick, which crossed the line of our gallery at right angles. With some difficulty we made our way through it, and



TERRA-COTTA
STATUETTE.



HANDLE OF A VASE.*

continued our course horizontally along the surface of the rock, which at this place forms a kind of small elevated plateau, with a slope toward the north. At this point we found a fragment of a terra-cotta statuette, 0^m·085



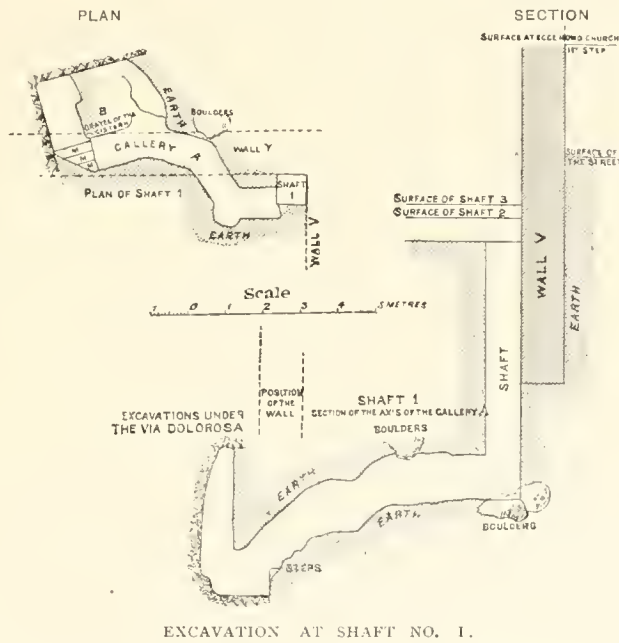
TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE.

high, roughly enough modelled, apparently representing a naked woman; a handle of a vase in terra-cotta, marked with a square and a cross, and the bottom of a vase of the same material. Shortly before we had picked up a fragment of a terra-cotta statuette representing a quadruped (an ox?). Only the trunk remained: its length was 0^m·12.

* These two fragments have by some mistake been engraved separately, and in such a manner that it is now impossible to show where they join one another.

At about 0^m.8 from the wall the rock forms a small step and descends for several centimètres. As we followed it, we found that it sloped gently downwards, till, at 3^m.50 distance, it abruptly dips by a series of small irregular steps, and forms a second floor 5 mètres in extent. At the end of the gallery, on the left hand side, we found that the rock formed a sort of right angled redan. As our explorations were stopped, we could not proceed any further.

On July 28 I had a third shaft (No. 1) sunk in the north-west corner of the ground, close to the Via Dolorosa, in the direction of the very remarkable caves which I had undertaken to explore simultaneously with the excavations in the Hammâm es Sultân. We dug down about 7 mètres through unworked



EXCAVATION AT SHAFT NO. 1.

stones, which made the work very hard, and found nothing of interest except a little bronze coin of Herod Agrippa. At this depth we came upon great irregular blocks of stone which prevented our going any further: we therefore with considerable difficulty drove a gallery through rough stones, among which we found a piece of a great stone bullet. Our gallery started westerly, but took a northerly turn to enable it to pass under the wall (v) on the north side of the ground, and under the Via Dolorosa. At the same time we made it slope downwards in order to get to the rock. At a distance of 5 mètres from the shaft as the crow flies, we found three plastered steps (M M M), leading down to a levelled surface of rock covered with water.

This rocky floor, which is 9^m.50 below the level of the mouth of the shaft, is merely the bottom of an ancient square cistern (B), filled with a thick layer of gravel deposited by the water. We found and cleared two of the sides of the cistern, which formed a right angle. The height of the cistern, from the roof to the floor, is 4 mètres. One of its walls still retained some of the original plaster.

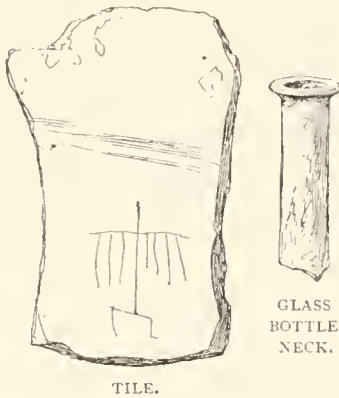
We had thus come to a place where we could go no further, and it was too late to push our explorations in any other direction.

Besides the few objects mentioned in the course of this brief account, we found several others, described below.

A piece of flat tile, 0^m.04 thick, on which is a *graffito* representing a sort of cross standing on a little base, with a series of lines drawn vertically down from its arms.

A little bottle neck of white glass, with a flat rim and blue glass stopper. Height, 0^m.03.

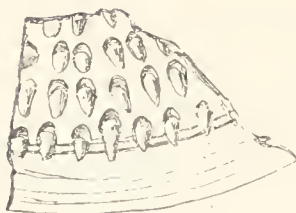
Fragments of a cornice of stamped plaster, representing palm leaves. One of the fragments shows a re-entering angle.



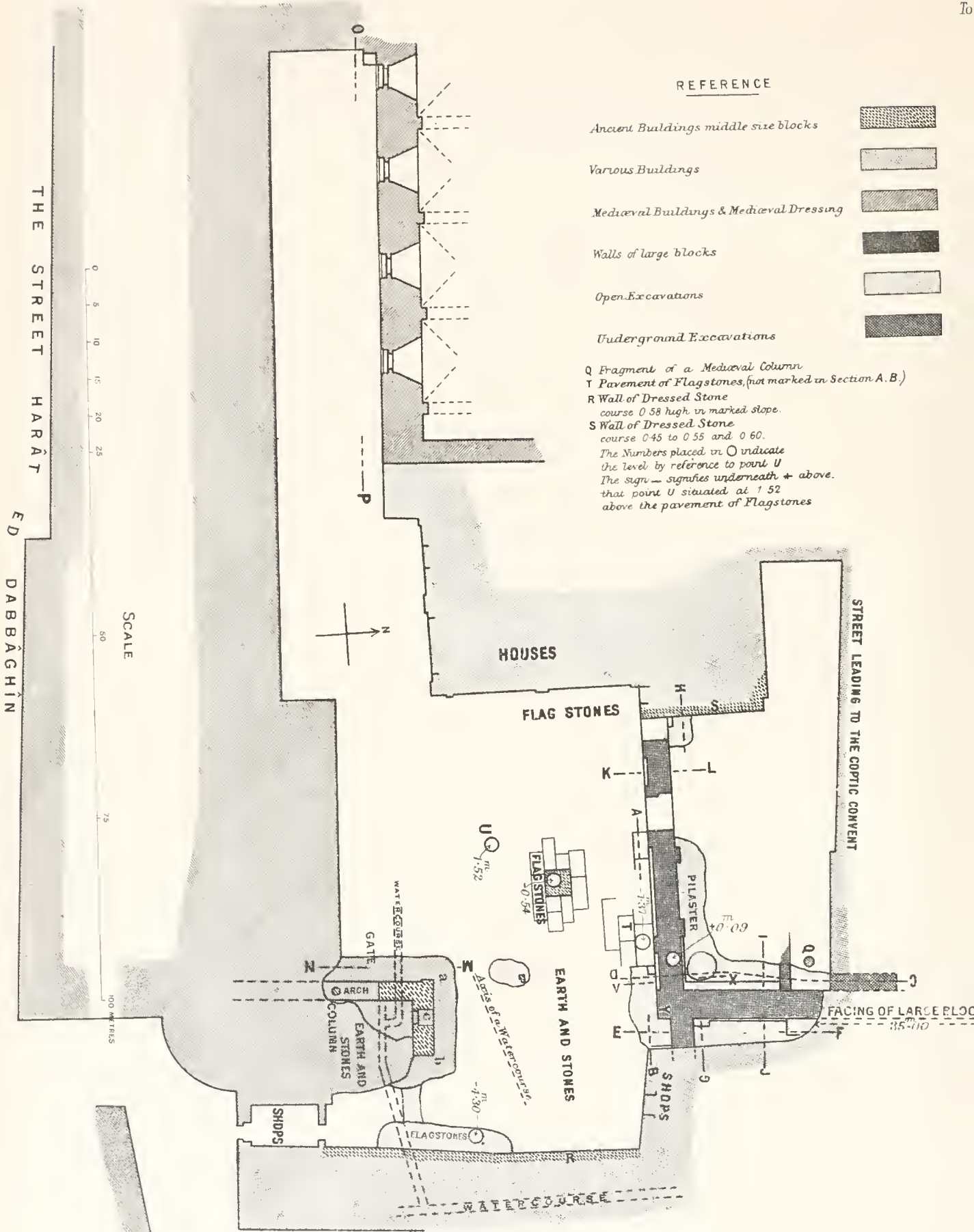
TILE.

GLASS
BOTTLE
NECK.

FRAGMENTS OF CORNICE.

FRAGMENT OF A TERRA-COTTA
VESSEL.

A little fluted terra-cotta bottle; a fragment of terra-cotta with a mark scratched on it; part of a terra-cotta vase, with ornament in low relief; part of a terra-cotta lamp with three pinched nozzles, with a foot; a fragment of a round terra-cotta dish, with a raised rim; on the outside it is deeply scored with the point of a graving tool, etc.



THE STREET KHAN EZ ZE'T LEADING TO THE DAMASCUS GATE

CHAPTER IV.

EXCAVATIONS ON RUSSIAN GROUND NEAR THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Forced to retreat from the caves along the Via Dolorosa by the ill-will which opposed any further research on my part, I determined to transfer our workpeople to the Russian ground, situated on the east side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the angle formed by the street *Khân ez Zcît* with the street of the *Dabbâghîn*. The Russian consul and the archimandrite, Mgr. Antonin, had most kindly granted me the necessary licence; here, at any rate, I was sure of finding myself beyond the reach of any hindrance, direct or indirect, of the local authorities.

The excavations which I undertook were carried on from July 28 to August 25, at which time we left Jerusalem for a long tour in Palestine.

Some years before, Sir Charles Wilson* had already made a beginning at this place, which interests both the topographer and the archæologist of the Holy City, by some diggings which he was not able to push very far. The more complete ones which we made there disclosed some new facts, and I am sorry not to have been able to entirely unearth the ruins which we discovered.

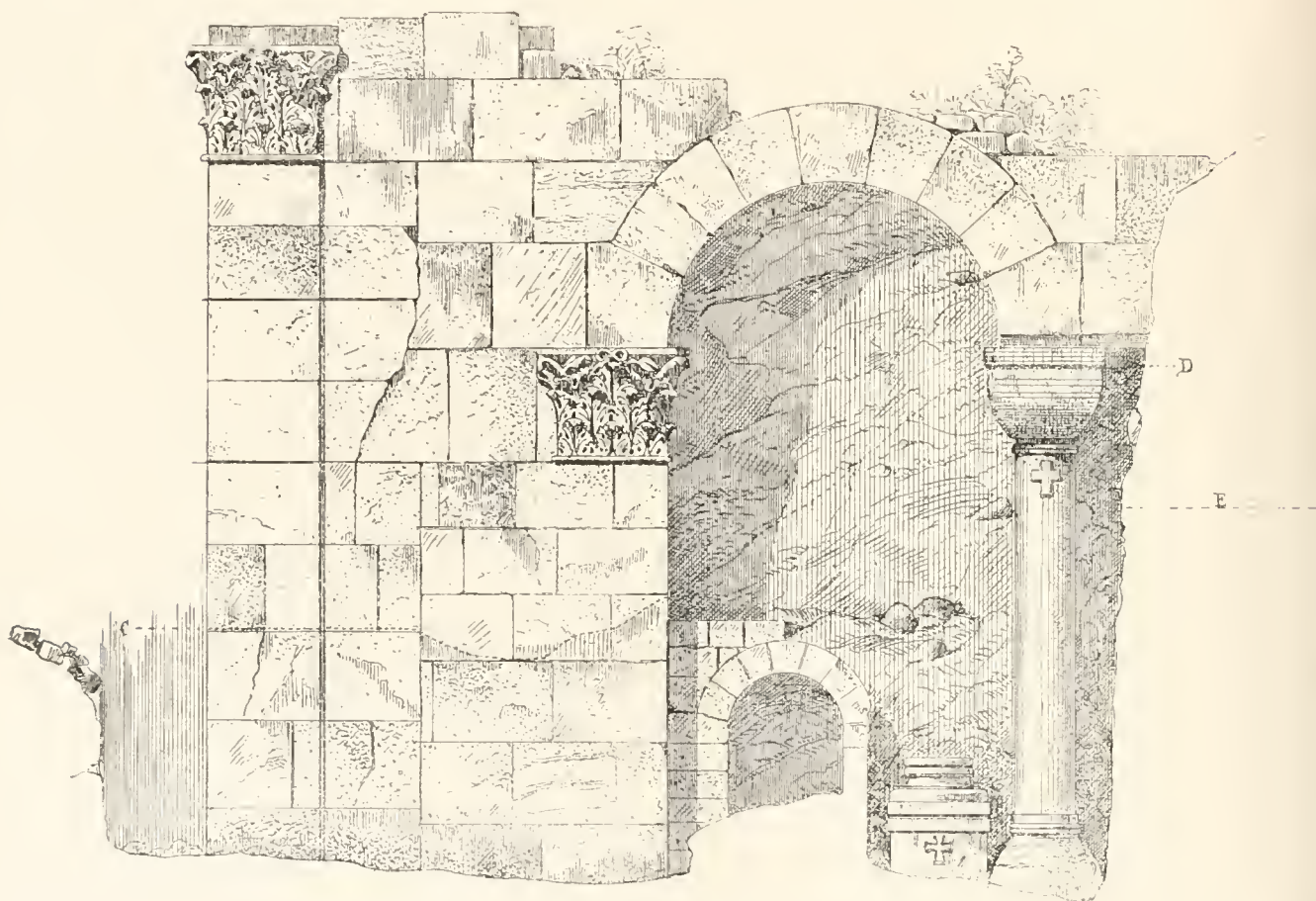
The annexed general plan shows the parts brought to light by our open trenches, galleries and soundings.

It will be seen that our researches were prosecuted at two principal points: the great arched Gate which stands at the south-east angle of the ground, and the angle of the great wall of drafted stonework which stands some thirty mètres north of it.

The following section M-N shows the front elevation of this Gate, cleared of earth as far as we were able. The broken line c-D shows the visible parts figured in M. de Vogüé's book (*Le Temple*, etc., pp. 118, 119); the

* Map of Jerusalem, No. 75. Excavation No. VI. *Ordnance Survey Notes*, p. 74, pl. xx, No. 8.

line E shows the level of a large slab pavement, of which I shall speak shortly.* As has been noticed for a long time past, this Gate has clearly been rebuilt out of more ancient materials of various dates brought from elsewhere. For example, there can be no doubt that the capital of the pilaster which supports the spring of the arch on the left hand is the fellow of the other

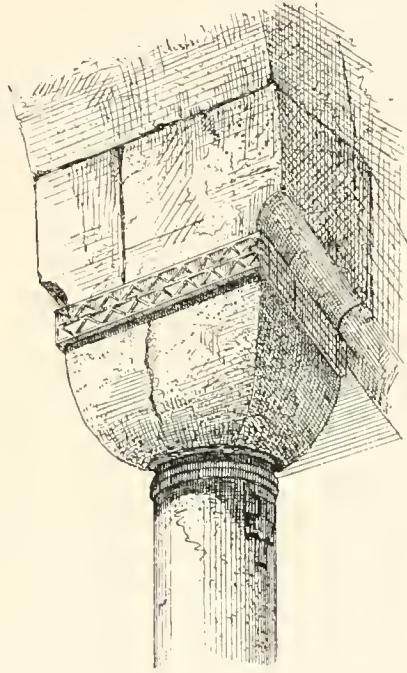


SECTION FROM M TO N, AND ELEVATION OF THE GREAT GATE. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

capital, in all points like itself, which latter indeed stands upon its original pilaster. Both of them show exactly the same scheme of ornament: acanthus leaves surmounted by a knot ∞ between two birds. The Gate to which these two pilasters belong evidently dates from the Byzantine period, as is

* There is some doubt about this last point. According to another of our notes, the course above the capital of the Byzantine pilaster on the left would be 0^m30 below the point ν , which we used as the base of our measurements, as will be explained hereafter.

shown by the style of the capitals. On the right hand the spring of the arch rests upon a capital of quite a different kind, a good specimen of the heteroclite character of this building. This capital itself rests upon a monolithic column standing on a coarsely chiselled or worn base. This representation



DETAILS OF THE CAPITAL. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

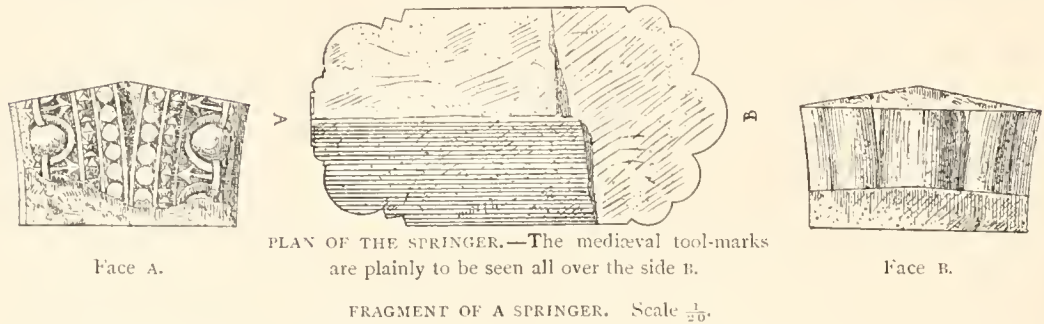
of it on a large scale will enable the reader to gain a clearer idea of it than the insufficient drawing published by M. de Vogüé (*l.c.*). On the upper part of the shaft a cross is carved in relief.

Under the arch we found a little semicircular opening of later date. Beside it stood the base of a column ornamented with a cross. We also discovered in the north wall (a b), in the return from the front of the Gate (M-N), a rectangular opening (c) made in the thickness of the wall, and measuring 1^m·70 in height, by 0^m·88 in width.

Among the fragments which we picked up during this exploration I shall mention a stone from the spring—what is technically called a springer (*sommier*)—of *two arches*, with Byzantine ornamentation (A). This springer has been subsequently re-cut on its other face (B), to receive the springs of *three arches*, one sub-arch* and two diagonal arches. This transformation

* *Arc doubleau*. Compare Willis's *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1835, page 83, note.

was wrought by the Crusaders, as is proved by the shape and profile of the three arches, and also the mediæval tool-marks on all the re-wrought parts.



We also found a watercourse, which runs from east to west under the pier of the Gate, turns beyond that at a right angle to meet another branch, and then bends towards east-north-east, and joins, at rather an oblique angle, a long branch running from south to north.



CROSS SECTION
TAKEN NEAR THE
NORTH END.
Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

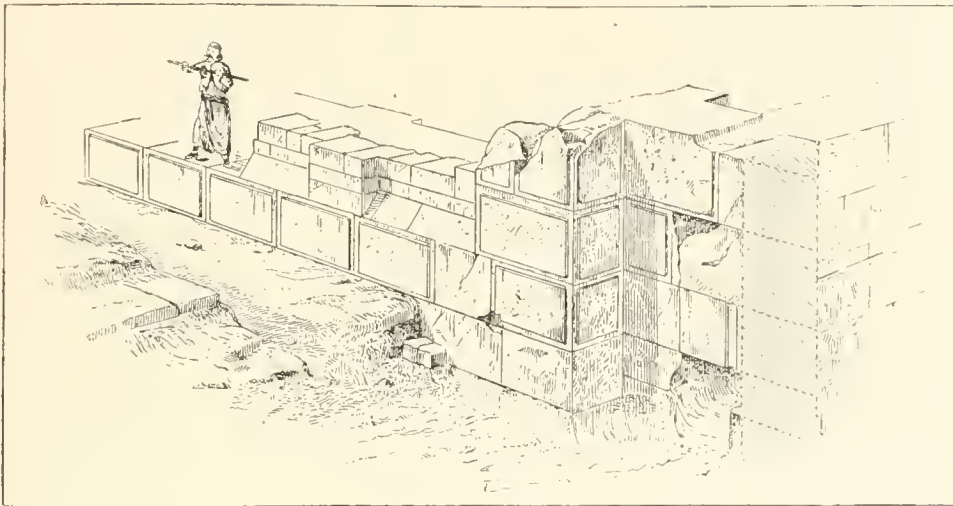
This watercourse has now been made into a sewer, which rendered its exploration very unpleasant and very difficult. It is cut in the rock open to the sky, the sides then raised by blocks of stone, and covered with flat slabs; the trough cut in the rock measures about 0^m·30 in depth, and 0^m·50 in width. These measurements, combined with the side blocks, make up 70 centimètres in depth and 80 in width. We traced it for about a hundred mètres, but were not able to ascertain its starting point, nor yet its destination. Possibly it is an ancient aqueduct which has been turned into a sewer, and perhaps it is connected with the immense underground reservoir discovered not far from hence some years later.* We also ascertained the direction of another watercourse, which runs from south-west to north-east (from M to R).

East of the Gate, parallel with the street Khân es Zeit, runs a wall (R), built, as may be seen on its western side, of courses of ordinary sized stones, 0^m·58 in thickness. The foot of this wall, which our diggings laid bare for some distance, sloped considerably outwards, and was skirted by a pavement of large slabs, which probably reached its whole length.

At four places in the ground between the Gate and the old wall of drafted work (A, V, F), of which I shall speak hereafter, we noticed here and

* *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1888, p. 57; 1889, p. 67.

there pieces of a similar pavement, but at different levels, corresponding in all probability either to different epochs, or rather to different architectural arrangements. To compare these levels, we referred them to the point *U* on the general plan, which is 1^m·52 above the adjoining pavement : 1st, the level of the pavement* at the foot of the wall *R* (on plan) is 4^m·30 below *U* ; 2ndly, 5^m·0 to the north-east of the point *U* there is another pavement 0^m·54 below this point ; 3rdly, farther on in the same direction, at the foot of the south side of the old wall of drafted work, there is another pavement marked *T*,



OLD DRAFTED WALL AT *Y* ON PLAN. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

which is 1^m·37 below *U* ; 4th and lastly, at the north-west corner there was a pavement whose level we did not take.

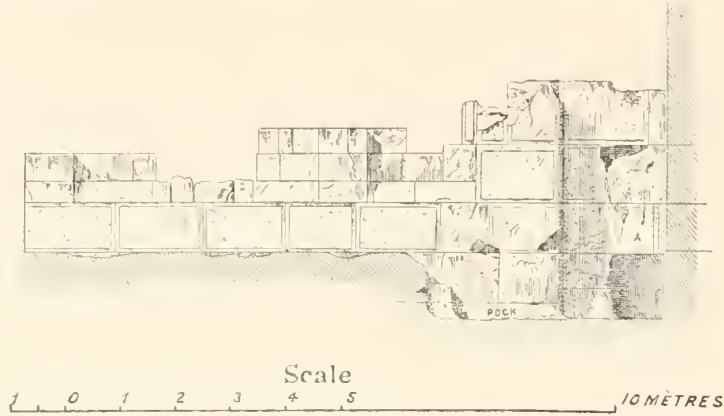
In the north-west part of the ground there is a wall *S*, of middle sized blocks of stone, very like the wall *R* in workmanship, and running, like it, north and south ; its courses range from 0^m·45 to 0^m·55 and 0^m·60 in thickness.

I now come to the old drafted wall, which forms a distinct obtuse angle *V*, and which we laid bare down to the rock in its chief parts. First, above is a perspective view of this angle, which will give a general idea of the appearance of this curious building, the lower courses of which alone remain.

Next, here is a series of sections which show the details.

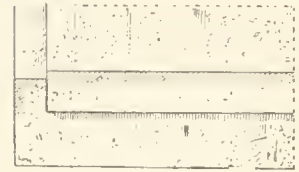
* The level of this pavement perhaps coincides with the dotted line *E* in the Section *M-N* on p. 86 ; see, however, doubt expressed upon this subject in the note on that page.

Section A-B shows a part of the outer south side. The ancient wall in the direction A beyond the redan loses itself in a modern wall belonging to some Arab shops, and must extend to the eastward to an unknown distance ;

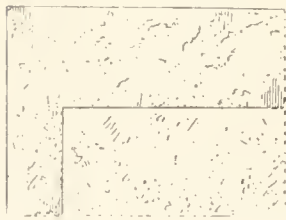


SECTION OF ANCIENT WALL, A-B ON PLAN.

we ascertained that it stretched further underground. The lowest courses, and those above it at the angle of the redan, are formed of magnificent blocks, very carefully dressed, with marginal drafts ; the face of the stone projects from 8 to 9 millimètres beyond the plane of the drafting in which it is framed. Here are the details of this projecting face and its setting.



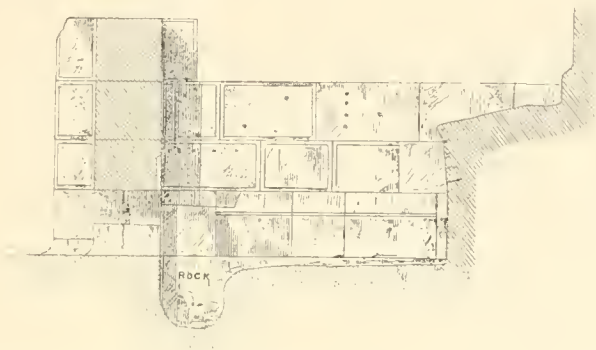
0m.39.



These stones have been cut with a toothed tool, with teeth from 0^m.0025 to 0^m.0003 apart ; the cutting edge was at right angles to the direction of the handle ; the tool marks are sometimes vertical, sometimes slanting, sometimes in all directions as though to level the surface more thoroughly. We noticed, below the present level of the ground, that one of the great courses was worked with the pick.

The section E-F, p. 91, shows the east outer face of the return of the wall from the angle throughout its entire visible length. The workmanship is the same as that of the part facing south. We ascertained by sounding and by researches in the neighbouring shops that the wall, built in the same manner, extends further to the north, for about 35 mètres from the point F ; it probably goes beyond that, but that we were not able to ascertain. It is remarkable that the lower course of drafted stones begins at the same level on both the southern and the eastern parts of the wall ; this course rests,

wherever the form of the rock allows, on another course of fine stones, dressed plainly, without drafting. We may suppose that this last course of the foundation was not ornamented in the same manner because it was not meant to be seen, but to be buried underground. Hence the line of the drafted course must show us the original level of the visible foot of these two walls when they were built.



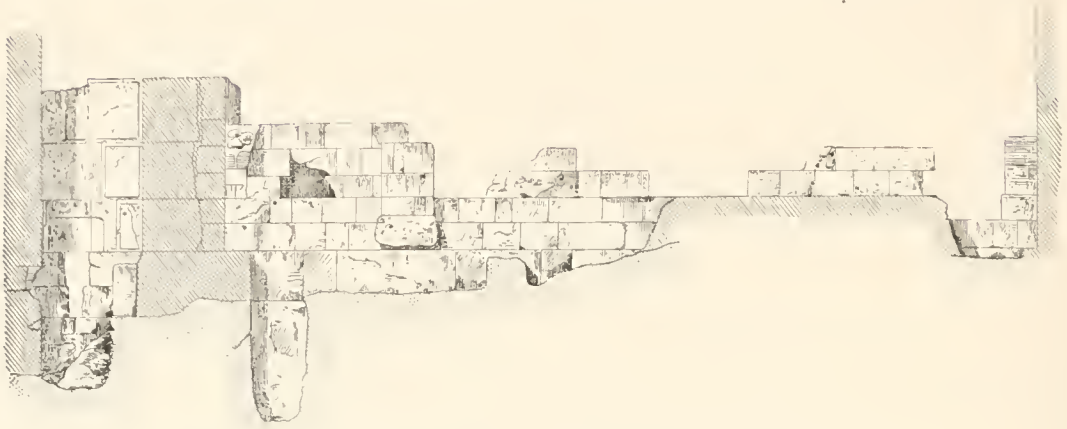
SECTION OF ANCIENT WALL, E-F ON PLAN. Scale same as A-B, p. 90.

Toward the interior angle formed by the meeting of the wall EF and the wall G, four of the drafted stones belonging to two courses, one above the other, displayed a number of little square holes. These same holes appeared on one of the same courses in the wall G, at the point of junction (see below, section G-II, p. 92). We discovered at the bottom of these holes little broken copper clamps, very like those used to fasten the enamelled tiles which adorn the Kubbet es Sakhra. These, no doubt, were intended for a similar purpose, to fasten a casing of some sort on to the wall, probably of marble.*

Above the drafted course, the south face of the wall A B shows several courses of very different workmanship; the stones are not drafted, are much smaller, and not so carefully laid. This might give the impression of being later in date, and of having been added as an after-thought; but this is far from certain. In this later work there have been built a kind of pilasters, having rectangular spaces recessed between them. These recessed spaces, at their base, rejoin the upright face of the wall by a bevel. This arrangement, which is plainly to be seen in

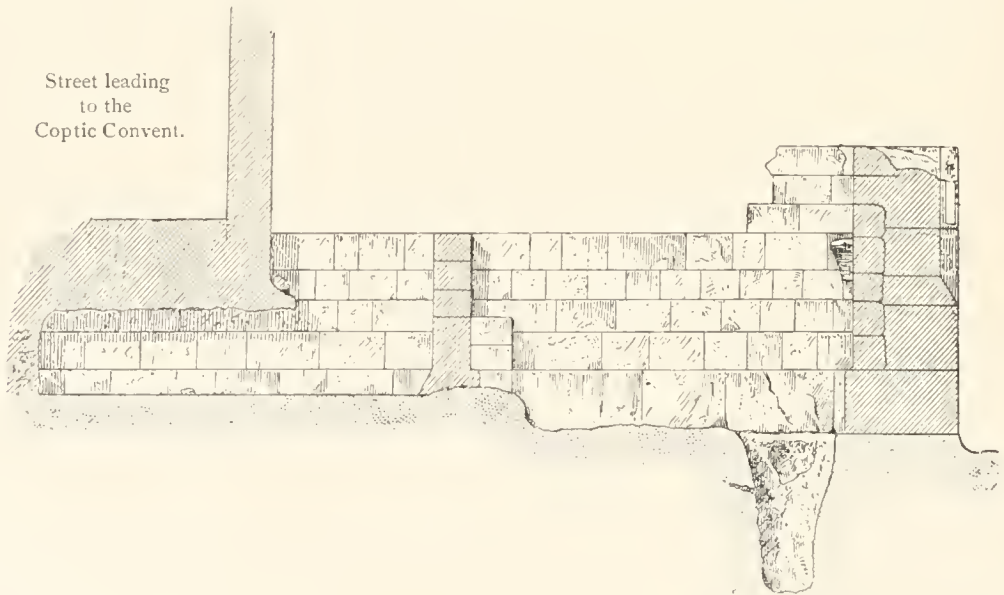
* It need not necessarily have been a facing of porcelain. I found holes of the same kind on the walls of the tomb of Zachariah, between the columns, which certainly must have been meant to receive some sort of facing, possibly of metal.

the perspective view of the angle v (p. 89), and in the sections C-D, K-L, and v-x given below, have been compared with that shown by the



SECTION OF BACK OF SOUTH WALL, G-H ON PLAN. Scale same as A-B, p. 90.

enclosing wall of the Haram at Hebron; it also reminds one of the portion of the old enclosing wall of the Haram at Jerusalem, the west face of which



Scale
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 10MÈTRES

SECTION OF BACK OF EAST WALL, C-D ON PLAN.

is visible near the north-west angle.* In the present case the bevel (*plan*

* I shall discuss this hereafter, in Chapter VII (p. 136).

incliné) might perhaps be of another date than the courses of drafted stones for it belongs exclusively to the smaller ashlar which rests on those courses, and has a less ancient appearance.

The sections G-H and C-D show the backs of the south and the east walls, as they join at the angle γ (on plan), which, as I have said, is not quite a right angle, but rather obtuse. It should be noticed that in the part G— . . . of the branch G-H leading east from the redan γ , there are courses of drafted stones exactly like those on the outer sides A-B and E-F; we find there the same holes for fastenings, at a level which corresponds with that of the holes already mentioned on the side E-F, where it returns from the side G. One of the drafted stones, marked A, besides these holes, shows also a vertical groove, cut all the way down the side of the stone; there is just such another groove cut on the opposite side of the same stone. (See section A-B, p. 90.)*



Details of the groove cut on each side of the course A.

HORIZONTAL SECTION.

Scale $\frac{1}{15}$.

It should be noted that the piece of wall which runs east from γ is the only one which shows drafted work both on its north and its south sides G— . . . and . . . B.

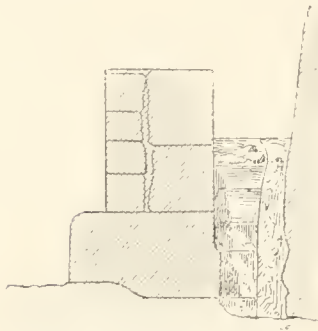
Within the angle formed by the south and east wall there is a sort of narrow deep basin hewn in the rock shown in Section v-x, p. 94.

The backs of the stones whose faces are ornamented with drafting are not drafted in the two principal branches of the building north and west of γ , but are carefully hewn. Here again one perceives all along the line the notable differences which exist between the large stonework and the smaller which has been built above it, apparently at a later period. With regard to this, see in the section G-H, on the north side of the south wall, about 3 mètres from where it meets the east wall, a pilaster whose base comes exactly above the line of the first course of the larger stonework. Another similar pilaster may be seen a little to the west of this one. The opening seen at the level A in the general plan does not seem original, or at any rate it must have been remodelled. As we proved by digging a short gallery, the south wall extended westward at least as far as the north and south wall s, but only in smaller stonework; the general plan shows the exact point where the large ancient stonework stops.

On the west side, C-D, of the east wall we made the following observations. At a distance of $13^m.32$ from the interior angle γ we found a wall running

* It may also be seen in section, E-F p. 91.

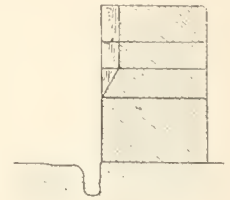
perpendicular to the wall c-d, of the same ancient stonework, but not so thick, being only 0^m·55, instead of 1^m·49; it extended westward for a distance which we could not ascertain; the foot forms a step on the south side and a slope on the north side; it must have been part of the interior arrangements of the original building. Beyond this we found a drum of a column which plainly showed mediæval tool-marks (q in the plan). The part of the great wall opposite to this fragment showed holes with copper clamps just like those on the other side of the wall at the point where it joins the wall g. A gallery of about 2 mètres long enabled us to ascertain that the ancient stonework reached further north, under the street leading to the Coptic convent. As I have already said, we were able to follow the course of this wall, sometimes on its west, sometimes on its east side, for a distance of about 35 mètres to the north. The cross sections i-j, v-x, and k-l, will complete the work of giving an



SECTION I-J ON PLAN.
Scale same as section c-e, p. 92.



SECTION V-X ON PLAN.
Scale same as section a-b, p. 90.



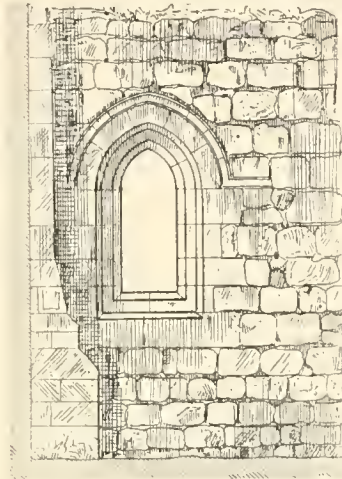
SECTION K-L ON PLAN.
Scale same as section c-d, p. 92.

accurate idea of these ancient walls, by showing their thickness, the appearance of both their sides, their foundation and its connection with the rock, and the mixture of the two systems of stonework, which one might be inclined to assign to different periods.

We also carefully examined some of the details of the south façade o-p, which looks into the Russian grounds, and which is the outer wall of an ancient building of the Crusaders, belonging to the cloister of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

Looking at the plan, we can see the exact point at which the south-east angle of this building stops; its southern side is extended further by a wall p which forms part of some modern buildings. A great deal of the side walls has been repaired, at a later period, by a less finished construction of roughly dressed blocks of stone which reminds one of the work in the church at Abu Ghôsh.

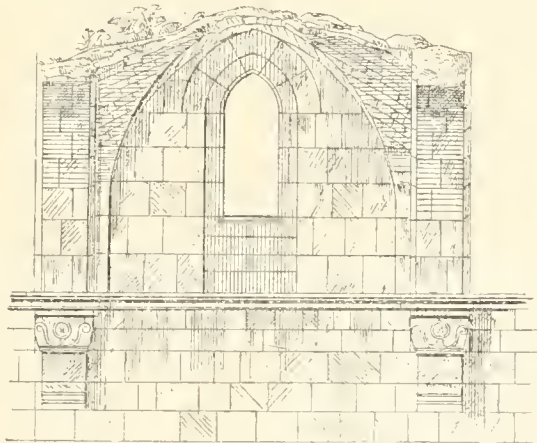
Below is given the elevation of one of the windows (the first on the left) looking into the Russian grounds ; the buttress which flanks it on the left side is also mediæval, as is sufficiently proved by its shape, the characteristic



ELEVATION OF THE WINDOW. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

tooling of its stones, and the mason's mark* cut on one of the stones of the highest course that remains. The stonework round the window has also the mediæval tooling.

Below is also given the elevation of the same window seen from the

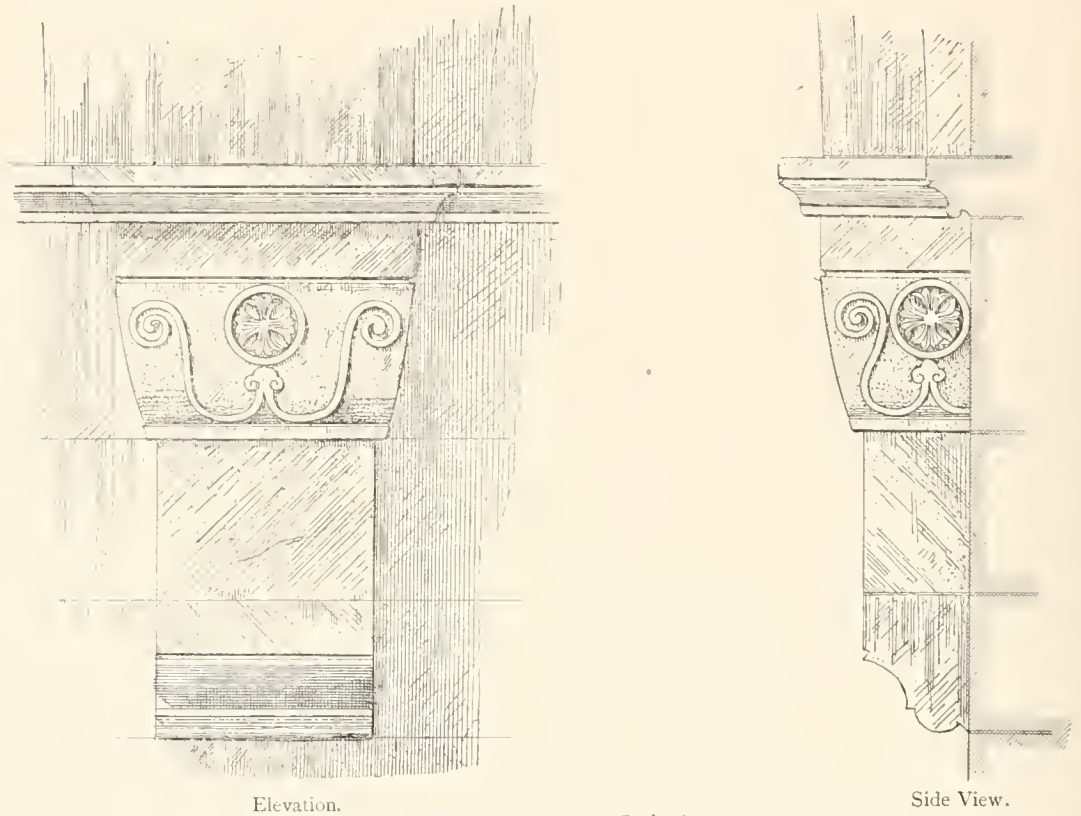


ELEVATION OF THE WINDOW AS SEEN FROM THE NORTH SIDE. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

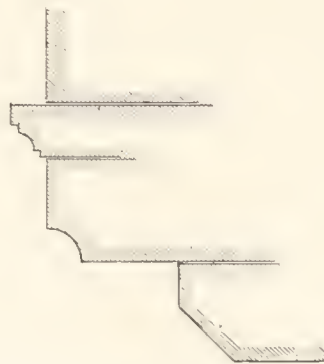
opposite (north) side where the convent stands, and showing one of the interior bays of the mediæval building.

* See Special plate, No. 26-13.

Detail of the corbels of the above bay, which support the spring of the arch-bands (*arcs doubleaux*).



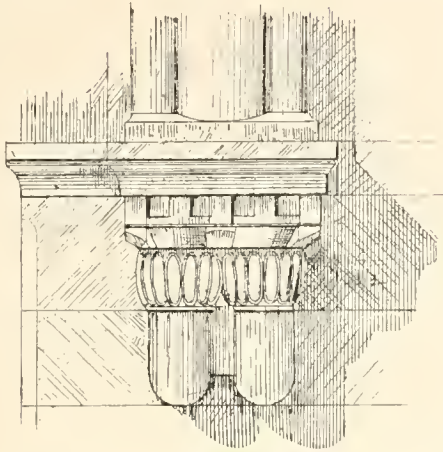
Observe the mediæval tooling, which is shown as plainly as possible in the two preceding figures.



DETAILED SECTION OF ARCH OF THE BAY.

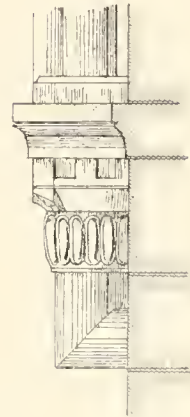
Other corbels from which the arches of the cloister of the convent spring.

The cloister is supposed to have been that of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre :

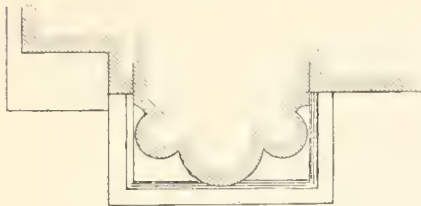


Elevation.

Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.



Side View.



Plan above the Abacus. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.



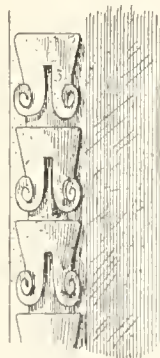
Detail of the corner of the Abacus. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

CORBELS OF THE ARCHES OF THE CLOISTER OF THE CONVENT.

In the midst of this court rises the cupola-shaped lantern which lights what is called the chapel of St. Helena. This lantern is supported by buttresses with mediæval tooling, as here shown. One of the little angle shafts (that marked M) bears an ornamental design carved in relief, which is shown here :

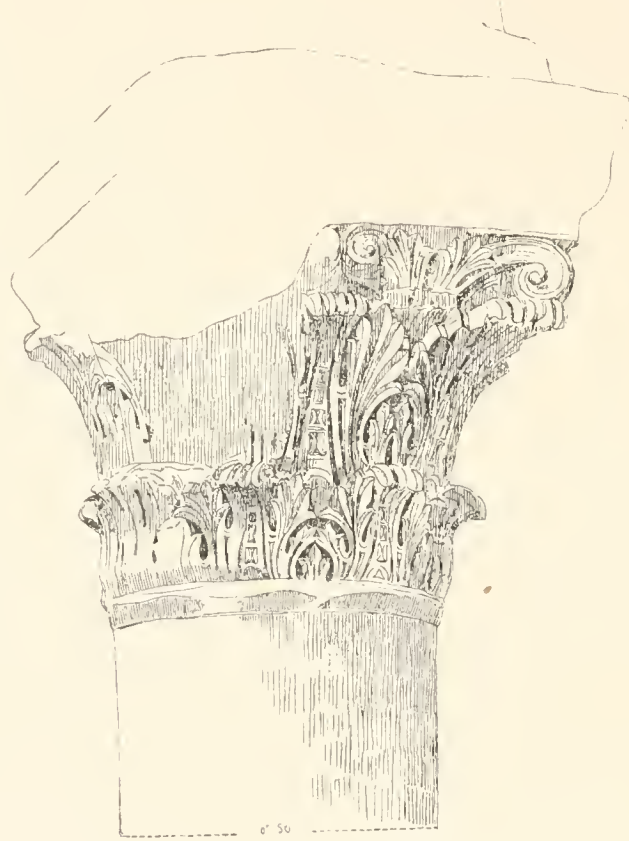


PLAN OF THE BUTTRESSES.
Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.



DETAIL OF COLONETTE. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

Lastly, here are two ancient fragments which we found in the vestibule of the Coptic Monastery. The first is a fine capital in white marble, richly decorated; its style is Græco-Roman, or, at all events, very early Byzantine. Its upper part is lost in the plaster of the modern building into which it is built; it surmounts a shaft of red and black granite 0^m.50 in diameter.

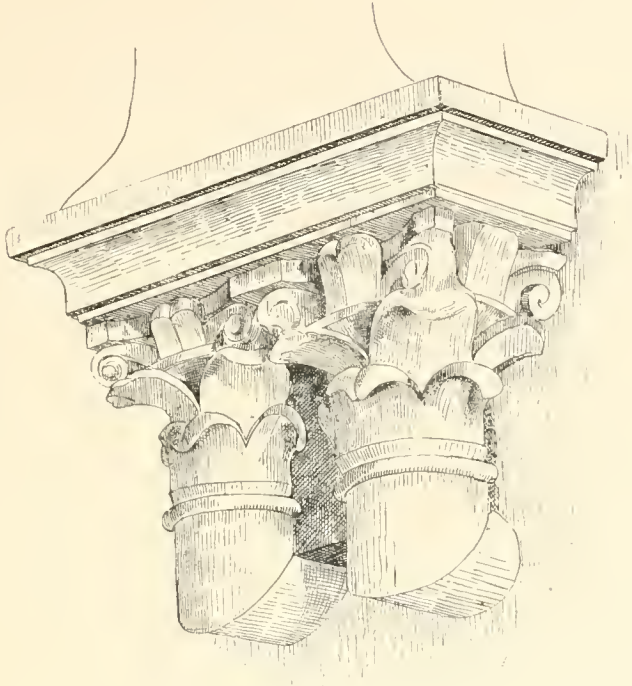


CAPITAL IN WHITE MARBLE.

The second is a stone corbel, formed of two little bent shafts, with capitals ornamented with crockets and volutes, just like the corbels in the church of Abu Ghôsh, which, like these, must belong to the time of the Crusades. From it apparently once sprang an arch, either of a transverse rib or a vaulting rib, which probably might still be found within the thick mass of plaster which covers everything above the abacus.

The stone plainly shows mediæval tool-marks, so that we cannot attribute this strange architectural device to Arab artists, as M. de Vogüé was tempted to do (*Églises de Terre Sainte*, pp. 341, 342), describing the corbels at Abu

Ghôsh. As for the ornamentation of the capitals, with its crockets and volutes just roughly carved, one finds the same thing in buildings undeniably



CRUSADERS' STONE CORBEL.

belonging to the Crusading period, for example, on the small columns of the doorway of the church at Gaza, and also in the church at Lydda.

* * * * *

In 1883 the Russian Archimandrite, Mgr. Antonin, took up these explorations at the point where I had left off, and pushed them as far as possible. A good account of the results obtained by these new explorations has been given by Messrs. Guthe and Schick in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1885 (Vol. VIII, p. 245, *et seq.*, pl. vi, *et seq.*). They have brought about the discovery, among other interesting matters, of a fine fragment of a Roman inscription, which I published at the time,* and in which I recognised the style of one of the Antonine emperors, perhaps of Hadrian himself, who caused a heathen temple to be built in this place, on the site of which temple Constantine's basilica was subsequently erected.

* *Quarterly Statement*, 1894, p. 194, reprinted from the *Times*.

— Quite lately (June, 1897) they have discovered a magnificent Cufic inscription carved on one of the blocks of stone which form the facing of the east side of the ancient wall E-F, generally supposed to be the east wall of Constantine's basilica, some thirty mètres north of the point Y. As I have pointed out in a special monograph, inserted in Vol. II of my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* (pp. 302-362),* this precious document is connected with an ancient mosque called *Omar's Mosque*, which was built in the tenth century, on the spot to which Omar was led by the patriarch Sophronius, and where he prayed: this place was at the top of the eastern flight of steps leading to Constantine's basilica, under the *dchliz* or vestibule of that basilica. As the inscription was *in situ*, it distinctly proves a series of most important facts: (1) the wall E-F, and its prolongation towards the north, is indeed the east wall of Constantine's basilica, or, perhaps we should rather say, is the wall enclosing the platform upon which that basilica stood; (2) the front of this basilica faced eastward, and not westward as has been supposed of late; (3) between the propylæa looking on to the market-place, *Hâr't Khân ez Zcît*, and the vestibule of the east front, there was a flight of steps which probably occupied the whole of the vestibule.†

* *Cf. id.*, p. 406, and Vol. III, p. 88.

† This flight of steps appears to be shown in the representation of the basilica in the mosaic of Mâdebâ.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THE TOMB KNOWN AS THAT OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

I made a thorough examination of this tomb, which is situated within the church.

My studies distinctly proved that whatever people may have said about it, it is a genuine Jewish tomb, hewn in the rock. My essay upon this subject, together with the drawings upon which it is based, will be found in the *Jerusalem* volume of Memoirs, pp. 319-327.

VAULTED STRUCTURE BENEATH THE GREEK CHAPEL.

The Greek Superior or Warden of the Holy Sepulchre assured me some years ago (in 1871), that the whole of the stone floor of the great Greek Chapel facing the tomb rests upon vaults, underneath which it was possible to walk about.

In 1874 I obtained leave to have one of the flagstones in the choir raised to verify this statement. We went down some two mètres below the present surface, into a sort of subterranean watercourse, which receives foul water. Unfortunately the whole of the passage was choked with fetid mud, and we were unable to make our way for more than two mètres along it. Still, the statement of this fact may be of some value as bearing upon the question of the original level of the rock and contour of the ground upon which Constantine's buildings were erected.

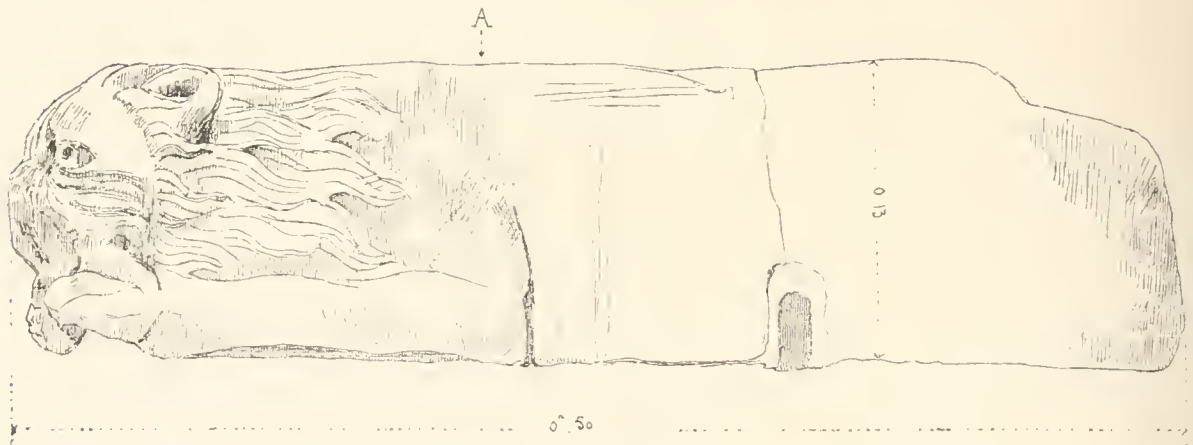
ANCIENT SCULPTURED CONSOLE.

In the course of the demolition of the ancient cupola of the church, they found a curious fragment of a sculptured console of white marble.

representing the fore part of a lion, with his fore-paws stretched out, in the act of devouring a little human head. The subject is a well known one, and the Arabs themselves have made use of it.*



ANCIENT CONSOLE OF WHITE MARBLE FOUND DURING ALTERATIONS IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.



SIDE VIEW.

The sculpture is well enough executed. I do not feel sure about the date to which it belongs. On the creature's back (at the point marked A) I have remarked a little hollow *cartouche* containing two Greek letters in relief, separated by dots, Α.Γ. I do not know how these letters are to be interpreted; probably they are the initials of proper names. Can this be the signature of the sculptor?



CARTOUCHE AT A.

* See, for example, the bas-relief on the bridge Jisr el Meddâd, on the *Hâjj* road, near M'zeirib (*Zeitschrift des deutsch. Palaest.-Vereins*, XVI, p. 78). This bridge was perhaps built by Beibars, like those at Dâmieh and Lydda. In this case the lion is rampant, and is tearing the human head with his claws.

GRAFFITI OF PILGRIMS.

The walls of the Chapel of St. Helena bear several graffiti by pilgrims of former ages. I have read on the right hand wall as you go down the stairs on the eighth step, the name of an Italian pilgrim, Justinus Veronensis, in fifteenth century characters. Above it, a little to the right, there is another name, in rather more modern letters; it is hard to make out, and is accompanied by the beginning of a date, 160 . . .

On one of the columns of what are known as "the Virgin's Vaults" I have noticed another graffito, above which is the date 1449. But it was placed too high for one to make out without the use of a ladder.

OLD GREEK DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY PLACES.

I have seen in one of the little convents connected with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre a MS. description of the Holy Land, which has never been published. It is written in Greek by Neophytos, an old monk who was present at the fire in 1808, and who died about a dozen years ago, taking with him, perhaps, the secret of the hiding place, where they say the tombs of the Frank Kings of Jerusalem which were spared by the fire are buried. The work, as far as I was able to judge from a very cursory examination, seems to contain among much useless matter, some precious hints and descriptions by an eye witness.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION BUILT INTO THE FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE.

In 1868 I discovered on the façade of the church an ancient Greek inscription which had up to that time remained unperceived by all the eyes, numerous as they were, which had viewed the building. It is engraved on a great oblong piece of stone, set quite at the top of the wall above the Calvary Chapel. I have on different occasions taken copies of it, and also a mould in clay, which unfortunately has been lost. The text has been much damaged, and it was not till after I had puzzled over

NOTE.—For the masons' marks and the discussion of the different modes of tooling of the stones in certain parts of the building of the Church, see pp. 12 and 13.

two fragments of which have been found in the Hauran.* It appears to deal with certain military regulations concerning the tribunes and *præpositi*. The position of these latter is not very accurately known. According to M. Waddington the word *præpositus* has no official meaning in classical Latin; it merely means the person in charge of some service; at Byzantium its special meaning was the *præpositus sacri cubilis* (generally an eunuch). In an inscription in Asia Minor† I find a *πραιπώσιτος*, qualified as *κράτιστος*, in charge of the police of a village or suburb. In legal documents we meet with *præpositi horreorum, largitionum, mansionum, pagorum, pistorum, and eccligalium*. I think, however, that in certain cases the *præpositus* is a regular military officer of a distinct grade, as we see in the following Roman inscription, which dates from the latter part of the third century:‡
 “. . . vexillationes atque equites itemque præpositi et ducenarii.” The manner in which the *præpositi* are connected with the *tribuni* in our inscription makes me think that the same must be the case here, and that they must be *præpositi militares*. Tribunes and *præpositi* are mentioned together, in certain legal and administrative documents, which one ought to examine more carefully than I am able to do.§

In line 6 the singular number invites us to read *τῷ δουκὶ* “to the *dux*,” and not *δουκι[κῶ]* “to the *ducianus*.” The *ducianus* was a subaltern agent belonging to the *officium* of the *dux*, and it is probable that if the inscription were speaking in this place of public servants of this order, we should have found them mentioned in the plural, as in the case of the tribunes and *præpositi*. In line 2, I am uncertain what to make of the group **ΔΟΥ . . ΚΟC**, because, according to my copies, there is room for one or two letters between the **Υ** and the **Κ**; yet the **ΤΟΥ** which precedes it seems to imply the genitive singular *δουκός*; it is perhaps the termination of *περιβλέπτου, spectabilis*, an epithet which was the official

* At Mothana and at Bosra. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Nos. 2033 and 1906. See the learned commentary of the author on a similar edict brought from Ptolemais in Cyrenaica.

† Le Bas, Waddington, V. No. 1202.

‡ Owing to a part of my notes having been lost, I cannot give the reference for this inscription, which I believe was found at Grenoble.

§ *Præpositi ac tribuni* qui facti sunt labore, periculis, et ordine militiae, immunes sunt a tironum præbitione.

Tribuni ac præpositi militum pretia annonarum loco portulare prohibentur. (Haenel, *Corpus legum*, in the index.)

title of a *dux*. The word with which the last line begins, ἐζημιώθησαν, "have been punished," implies some penalties, perhaps of a fiscal nature, attached to some restrictions imposed by the rescript.

THE TOMB OF PHILIPPE D'AUBIGNÉ, MASTER AND TUTOR OF HENRY III,
KING OF ENGLAND, GOVERNOR OF JERSEY AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

In the year 1867, there was still to be seen on the right-hand side of the door leading into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a great stone bench or *mastaba*, which, as it rested immediately upon the paved floor of the forecourt, partly blocked up the way into the church. The French Consul-General, M. Edmond de Barrère, having at this time obtained permission from the local authorities to do away with this bench, which was greatly in the way of pilgrims coming and going in and out of the church, its demolition led to an interesting archæological discovery. When the bench was removed, beneath

it was found, built into the floor stones of the forecourt, from which it formed a slight projection, a fine tombstone *in situ*. It was a trapezium in shape, with bevelled edges, and bore a Latin epitaph of three lines, in carefully carved thirteenth-century letters.

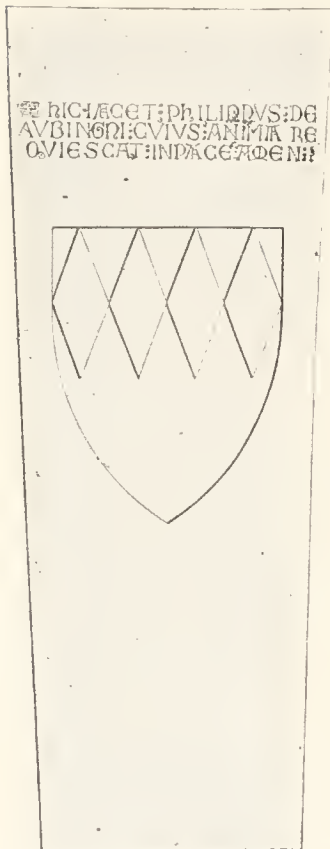
The epitaph can be read without any difficulty.

✠ HIC IACET PHILIPPVS DE AVBINGNI CUIVS ANIMA REQVIESCANT IN PACE AMEN: "Here lies Philippe D'Aubigné. May his soul rest in peace. Amen."

Below this are carved the arms of the deceased: four fusils in fess, upon a heater-shaped shield.

This discovery, curious as it was, passed almost unnoticed, and it was not until much later, after I had mentioned it in a periodical entitled *Musée Archéologique* (Vol. I, p. 241, 1875), that it led to the learned researches which have resulted in the certain identification of the

historic personage who still lies beneath this slab. One is almost inclined to



regret that they should have cleared away the bench, which, although it hid it, nevertheless protected it. Since it has been uncovered it is daily trodden upon by the pilgrims on their way to the door of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and whenever I have had occasion to see the stone, after long intervals. I have noticed that the inscription had become more and more indistinct by this continual wear. It would be very desirable to apply to the proper authorities for leave to put a little railing round it. The English Government is especially bound to take action in this matter, for, as I shall shortly prove, we have here a personage who played an important part in English history.

The credit of discovering the identity of Philippe d'Aubigné is due to M. Julien Havet, a young student whose premature death is deplored by science. He did this by means of two passages in the Chronicle of Matthew Paris, which he had noted while composing a learned essay on the chronological list of the wardens and lords of the Channel Isles.*

Here is the first of these passages :—

. . . Philippus de Albineto, postquam militaverat Deo in terra sancta peregrinando pluries, tandem in eadem diem claudens extremum et finem faciens laudabilem, sanctum meruit in terra sancta, quod vivus diu desiderauerat, sepulturam.†

Thus, Philippus de Albineto,‡ after having made several pilgrimages, died during the last one (the date of that event is 1236), and received in the Holy Land the Holy burial which in his lifetime he had long wished for.

This "holy burial" is evidently that which is pointed out to us by the tombstone built close to the very door of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The name of the personage when written in Latin agrees very well with that of the epitaph—we shall see presently what was the true original form of

* *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1876, p. 170; compare the double correction given further on, p. 580 of the same work. See also *Revue Critique*, 1876, II, pp. 173 and 398, and my article in the same volume, p. 206. By making use of these various sources of information, M. L. de Vaux has given in the Appendix to his work *La Palestine* (1883, p. xxvii) a notice of this personage which may be consulted with profit. Later, the Rev. J. E. Hanauer published in the *Statement* for 1887, p. 76, a note in which he comes to the same conclusions, without any idea that they had long ago been settled.

† *Historia Major*, ed. 1606, p. 417.

‡ It is probable, judging from the following passage, that *Albineto* is a false reading of the editor for *Albinicio*.

this name—and the palæographic character of the letters accords perfectly with the date which has been given.

In another passage, the same chronicler tells us that the departure of our personage for Palestine took place in the year 1222, and he gives us the most minute particulars concerning him :

“ Philippus de Albineio, miles strenuus ac morum honestate commendabilis, regis Anglorum magister et eruditor fidelissimus, iter Hierosolymitanum arripiens, illuc cum prosperitate ac sine rerum diminutione pervenit.” *

Immediately after this comes the full text of a letter written by our personage himself on his arrival at Jerusalem, and addressed to the Earl of Chester and Lincoln.† We learn that our English Crusader first bent his steps to Damietta, hoping to take part in the defence of that town. But he was too late ; the town had capitulated in September, 1221, to El Melek el Mo'addham. He was obliged, therefore, to fall back upon Acre. He reached it at the moment when the Emperor Frederick II was beginning his crusade, and we may presume that he took part in some of the not very important military operations to which it led.‡ But upon this subject we are reduced to conjectures, for we have no more information connected with him except the date of his death in 1236 and of his burial in “the Holy Land.”

We are better informed concerning the period of his life before his departure for the Holy Land. I do not know that I can do better than quote what M. Havet has said upon this subject.

“ Philippe d'Aubigné was one of the principal servants of King John Lackland, and of his son, King Henry III. We have just seen how Matthew Paris calls him the “Master and faithful teacher” of the young King Henry III. In the reign of John Lackland he is mentioned in the preamble to Magna Carta among the “nobiles homines” whose council the king

* *Historia Major*, p. 301, ed. 1606 ; cf. *Historia Minor* (Madden, *Rerum Brit. med. ævi script.*, II, p. 149), where he is styled *regis . . . informator et magister*.

† Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, 1217–1232. See *The Descent of the Earldom of Lincoln*, by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., in the Lincoln Volume of the *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*, p. 253, 1848.

‡ Perhaps he was one of the body of Englishmen who were engaged at the fortifications of Sidon : “en cel ost ot moult d'Englois” (*Estoire de Eracles*, p. 372, cf. 371), and of those who accompanied the Emperor Frederick in his march from Acre to Jaffa (Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 781).

declares that he has taken. Besides this he was, in the reign of both these kings, warden or bailiff (*custos, Ballivus*), that is to say, Governor of the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark, the only part of the Duchy of Normandy which remained in the hands of John Lackland after his war with Philip Augustus. Upon his departure for the Holy Land in 1222, the government of these islands passed to another Philippe d'Aubigné. "*Ph. de Albin. iunior*, probably his son."*

The Chancellor's Rolls of the reigns of John Lackland and Henry III contain several orders addressed to our Philippe d'Aubigné for the government of the Channel Islands.† He is there spoken of in August, 1207, as Governor of Guernsey and the adjacent islands; in 1212 as Bailiff of Jersey; and the last letter addressed to him while holding these titles is dated November 23, 1220.

But we have even better evidence than this—we have two Acts of Assises held by him at Jersey and Guernsey about 1219, with his seal, which bears the following legend: + *S(igillum) Philippi de Albignei*, together with his arms, four fusils in fess.‡

It will be remarked that the spelling of the names, which is proved to be genuine by the official character of this legend on the seal, comes near that shown in our epitaph in one important particular: I mean the slurred pronunciation represented by GN§: the only difference is that the seal adopts the Latin form AL for the first syllable, whereas the epitaph takes the common really French form AU. The essential point is that the arms on the seal and on the tombstone are the same; this heraldic identity removes

* This Philippe d'Aubigné, junior, was really the nephew and not the son of the subject of this essay. M. J. Havet has himself corrected his mistake in a letter which he wrote me (see *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartes*, XXXVII, p. 580). I may add that it was probably this Philip who, under the name of *Philippus de Albinaco*, signed as witness an Act whereby Henry III, King of England, in 1235 granted to Hermann de Salza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, an annuity of forty marks (London, Record Office, Cast 19, Henry III, m. 11; cf. *Arch. de l'Orient Latin*, I, p. 418).

† *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, I, 75, Col. 1; 126, Cols. 1 and 2 Cf. *Rotuli litterarum patentium*.—The Archives of the Manche (fonds du Mont St. Michel) possess two deeds executed by the subject of this essay, with his seal attached by a strip of parchment, and dated respectively 1218 and 1219.

‡ Sceaux des Archives Nationales, No. 16748.

§ In the epitaph it appears as NGN, which is quite agreeable to the old French fashion of spelling, in which *monsingneur, seingneur*, etc., often occur instead of *monseigneur, seigneur*.

the last doubt, if any doubt could exist after such a mass of evidence, about the personality of our Philippe d'Aubigné.*

Circumstantial details concerning Philippe d'Aubigné and some of his forefathers from the end of the eleventh century downwards will be found in Dugdale's† old book, where his name is written *Albini*. The family, which perhaps is not even now extinct, had representatives in England in the fifteenth century, as is proved by an interesting monument in the church of Brize Norton (Norton St. Brise), Oxon, which has been described by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, January 21, 1871, p. 54). It is a monumental slab sacred to the memory of a *Sir John Daubygné*, who died in 1346. "The recumbent effigy of the knight is accompanied with five escutcheons. The chief of these bears *four fusils conjoined in fess*, each charged with a pierced mullet; another bears the *four fusils plain*; another has the *fusils ermine*." These four fusils are clearly the heraldic characteristic of our old family of d'Aubigné, and we need not hesitate to see in Sir John a more or less direct descendant of Sir Philip, who lies buried at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The d'Aubignés were most likely, as I have shown elsewhere,‡ of Breton origin. Dugdale has already (*op. c.*) mentioned an ancestor of Philip's who bore the significant surname of *Brito*. We find, on the other hand,§ that a William d'Aubigné, a knight from the country of Dol, in Brittany, bore himself bravely in the Battle of Tenchebray in Normandy under the orders of Duke Alan Fergent (1106). We find among his descendants a William d'Aubigné, father of Stephen d'Aubigné, who was the father of Raoul I d'Aubigné and of William d'Aubigné (whose name appears in a deed of the



SEAL OF RAOUL D'AUBIGNÉ.

* I should have liked to corroborate this evidence by showing our Philippe d'Aubigné's own seal, but reasons with which I have nothing to do have rendered this impossible. As the next best thing, I show here a seal belonging to one of his Breton relatives, Raoul d'Aubigné, who bears the same family arms (according to Dom. H. Morice (*Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne*. 1742. Tom. I, pl. VI, No. 64).

† Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675, folio), Tom. I, pp. 115 and 116.

‡ *Revue Critique*. 1876. II, p. 206.

§ Dom Morice, *op. c.*, II, p. 87.

year 1137). Raoul I* lived in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion; he married Mahaud de Montsorel,† and took part in the Crusades together with many other knights from the country of Dol.‡ At the foot of a deed by which he makes a donation to the Abbey of La Vieuville, appear the names of a Philippe d'Aubigné and his brother Oliver as witnesses. His son, Raoul II, has left deeds dated 1247 and 1249. We can trace the descendants of this family in France down to the year 1374, at which period it becomes merged in that of de Montauban.§ The family arms, reproduced in the plates of Dom Morice's book from some seals, one of which dates from the year 1200 (?), are Gules, four fusils in fess or.|| Here again one sees that the heraldic identity is complete, and once again confirms the identity of the names. We must therefore conclude that the family to which he who is buried at Jerusalem belonged was an old family of Breton origin, whose two branches, in France and England, have flourished side by side for a long enough period. There only remains for us to discover in Brittany the name of the place which was the cradle of the family. This was, perhaps, as M. Havet thinks it was, the place which at the present day is called *Aubigné*, situated in the department of the Ille et Vilaine, that is to say, in the very region which once was known as the country of Dol.¶

It may appear surprising at first sight that an English knight, who most probably must often have fought heartily against the infidels, could have been solemnly buried at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, beneath a carefully carved tombstone, in the year 1236, that is to say, some fifty years after the Holy City had been retaken by Saladin. But we must not forget, as I said formerly, that at the time the Emperor Frederick II had won back

* Father du Paz, *Histoire Généalogique* (1520. Folio).

† Lady of Landal, in the parish of Boussac, in the Bishopric of Dol.

‡ Among them were Pierre de Querloel and Guyon de Cobar.

§ By the marriage, about the year 1374, of Mahaud d'Aubigné, only daughter of Guillaume d'Aubigné, Seigneur de Landal, with Ollivier de Montauban.

|| One may be permitted to entertain some doubts as to the nature of the heraldic metal, which apparently was not indicated on the seal, and has perhaps been arbitrarily interpreted by Dom Morice. The evidence which I am about to adduce makes one think that argent was more likely to be the tincture than or.

¶ The *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, I, p. 954, of La Chesnaye des Bois has, "Aubigny (*sic*) in Brittany, Gules a fess fusilly argent." *L'Armorial Général* says, "Aubigné (Bretagne) Gules."

As M. de Vaux justly remarks (*op. c.*, p. xxviii, note 5), the heraldic elements of the d'Aubignés' coat remind us, by their form, of the arms of Dinan (Gules fusilly ermine), and by their tinctures, of those of Dol (Quarterly, argent and gules).

Jerusalem by treaty, in the year 1229, and that the Crusaders held it for some fifteen years longer, counting from that date, down to the time when they were finally driven out of the Holy City by the Kharezmian invasion.

I may remark, finally, that the facts set forth above completely overthrow the gratuitous hypothesis of Tobler, according to whom the tombstone of Philippe d'Aubigné must be that of the nameless French knight whose body, according to John of Würzburg,* was substituted, out of hatred for the Germans, for that of the famous Wigger, a hero of the First Crusade. It is sufficient to point out that John of Würzburg wrote in the year 1165, and that the epitaph of our d'Aubigné dates from 1236.†

THE ENTRY OF JESUS ON PALM SUNDAY.

A Fragment of Sculptured Lintel from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

—While exploring the interior of an Arab house which stands not far from the Damascus Gate, I found lying in a stable a remarkable fragment of bas relief carved in fine white marble. The people assured me that it had been dug up within the house itself. We shall see presently from whence it really came. I should have liked to buy it then, but as an exorbitant price was demanded, I had to content myself with taking a photograph and an exact description of it.‡

First of all I noticed on one side of it the characteristic mediæval tooling, to which I have on many occasions had reason to give attention. Although at first sight one might be inclined to ask whether this may not be the work of some Byzantine artist employed by the Frankish kings, this infallible test leads us rather to see in it a work of the chisel of some artist from the West.

This fragment is evidently part of a bas relief representing Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Christ, habited in a long tunic with wide sleeves, with folds almost classical in their form and

* *John of Würzburg*, Ch. XIII.

† Tobler, *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, etc., 1874, p. 438: see also p. 154.

‡ Since then, on my return to Jerusalem in 1881, I succeeded in securing this fragment, which is now in the Museum of the Louvre.

execution, is sitting astride, not sideways, upon the traditional she ass, and is seen in profile as he rides towards the right. The head, which, to judge from the position of the breast, ought to show a three-quarter face, has unhappily been destroyed, to all appearances by the Mohammedans ; the foot likewise is mutilated. With the left hand Jesus holds the reins, and with his right hand, now lost, He gives His blessing with the usual gesture, which can be easily recognised in the movement of the half-lifted right arm. It is much to be regretted that this hand should have been lost, for it would then have been easy to tell whether the sculpture was carved under Latin or Greek influence



FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE REPRESENTING
CHRIST'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO
JERUSALEM ON PALM SUNDAY.

—the position of the fingers in the Latin act of benediction being, as is well known, quite different from that in the Greek one.

The ass, which bears housings adorned with a rich enough border, has likewise been decapitated, apparently by the same iconoclasts. Yet there can be no doubt about what she is meant for, though the slender, graceful outlines of its hind quarters might for a moment make one think of a horse ; but all doubt is removed by the presence of the little colt, the foal of the ass, which also has been much knocked about. It gambols along by its mother's side, with its head hanging down, in a graceful and life-like attitude, which proves that the sculptor was a thorough student of nature.

Behind this group, on the right hand, one sees the heads of at least two persons, the greater part of them destroyed by the hammer ; on the left, near the hind quarters of the ass, we can make out two others, dressed in flowing robes, who have been equally maltreated. The ass's hind quarter almost touches the moulding which forms the border of the bas-relief, and on the extreme left we can also make out the frame of the design.

The sculpture is in very high relief, deeply undercut, with evidently intentional attempts to get effects of light and shade, and a general slanting of all the figures, which shows that it was meant to be set on high, and looked up at from below, and to have a slight overhang.

At first sight I was inclined to think that it was a fragment of the lintel of a door, or of some decorative frieze in the style of that which stands above the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We shall see presently that this idea was not far from the truth.

It is interesting to compare this carving with the representation of the same scene in the mosaics of the Basilica at Bethlehem. We shall observe essential differences of style and also of composition between the two works. For instance, at Bethlehem Christ sits sideways on the she ass, and there is no foal. These variants are all the more curious because, as has already been remarked,* the composition of the Bethlehem mosaics is in absolute conformity to the precepts of the ancient Byzantine *Painters' Guide Book*, which contains detailed descriptions of how various religious subjects should be represented. The composer of the Bethlehem mosaic seems to have followed and desired especially to illustrate the almost parallel accounts of St. John, St. Mark, and St. Luke, the first of whom only speaks of "a young ass" (ὄναριον); the second and the third speak of a "colt" (πῶλον). Our artist, on the contrary, follows St. Matthew's account, which speaks of a she-ass and a colt with her (ὄνον καὶ πῶλον μετ' αὐτῆς).

Furthermore, the mosaic worker of Bethlehem and the Byzantine school to which he belonged, took the expression made use of by the four evangelists literally (ἐπιβαίνειν, καθίζειν), and show Jesus sitting sideways upon the ass, not astride of it. We need not remark that this literal interpretation is an exceedingly improbable one, for the Evangelist St. Mark makes use of the very same word in this passage when speaking of an ass whereon "never man sat." By this last expression I understand the ordinary way of sitting to be meant, that is, *astride*. Moreover, one might point out that the Hebrew text of Zachariah (ix, 9) to which all four Evangelists refer, and which they translate when describing these events, makes use of the word *rakab* (רכב), which designates the usual way of sitting on horseback or assback.

The interpretation followed in our bas-relief, although it apparently departs from the tradition usually accepted, is therefore really more accurate and nearer the truth. The fact, however, remains that this detail constitutes an open breach of the Byzantine custom, and tends to confirm

* De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 96.

the diagnosis already given, though based upon other evidence; the work is probably that of a mediæval artist belonging to the Crusading period, and familiar with the methods of the Romanesque school.

I think that, subsequently, I discovered the exact place from which this interesting fragment came, and this origin entirely agrees with the various remarks which were suggested by my examination of the stone itself. It must simply be a piece of the magnificent sculptured frieze above the left hand door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which represents a series of scenes from the Gospel history, amongst others the triumphal entry of Jesus on Palm Sunday. While studying a drawing of this frieze, which is indisputably of Western origin, I noticed that in this last scene there is a great gap which this fragment of ours seems exactly to fill. Unluckily I do not possess a photograph of the present entrance to the church, which would have enabled me to carry this restoration further, and to see how far my conjecture is well founded, for if it be so, the edges of the fragment ought to coincide with the broken edges of the mutilated frieze. If so, it is to be desired in the interests of art, that this fragment should be put back into its original place, which would be a very easy thing to do when once the necessary permission has been obtained.

I was assured, as I have said before, that the fragment came out of the actual foundations of the Arab house where I picked it up. This is not impossible, for the defacement of the sculpture must be of ancient enough date to enable the remnant to be used for building material. I have, indeed, discovered a formal witness to this, dating from the year 1480, in the Pilgrimage of Felix Fabri,* to whose observant spirit we have more than once had to be thankful. After telling us that the lintel above the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is of whitest marble ("*de candidissimo marmore*"), and that on its outer side it is sculptured with figures representing our Lord's entry into Jerusalem riding upon an ass (*sculptum imaginibus de ingressu Domini super asinam in Jerusalem*), the casting out of the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and the raising of Lazarus, he adds that these sculptures have been broken and mutilated ("*violenter destructae et mutilatae membris*").

The mutilation must therefore date at least from the fifteenth century, which gives us the necessary margin of time for this fragment to be re-worked into some Arab building from whence it was subsequently dug out.

* *Evagatorium* of Felix Fabri, I, p. 344.

CHAPTER VI.

ST. ANNE'S MARKET AND ABBEY.

The *Sûk*, or market of Jerusalem, consists of three long parallel galleries or alleys, lined with shops in arched recesses. These galleries, which are of unequal length, communicate with one another by cross passages: they are covered with vaults of pointed arches, and must be very ancient buildings, judging from their present appearance, and also from the descriptions which have come down to us from many writers of the Middle Ages.

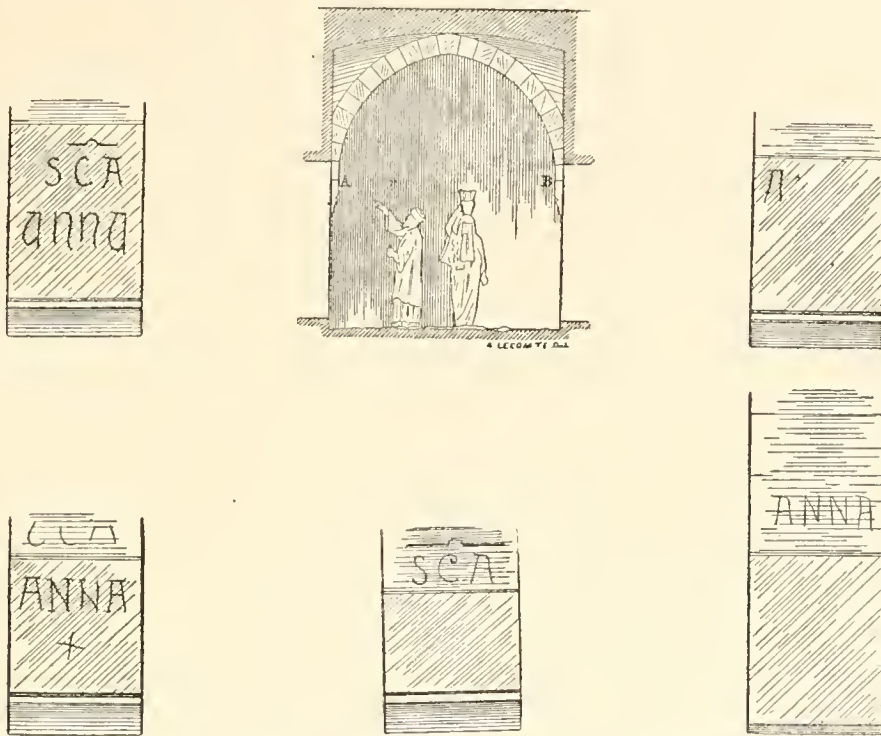
The Mohammedan chroniclers also speak of the market. If we can trust Mujîr ed Din, it dates from the Byzantine period, perhaps even from the days of the Roman Empire. This historian (*op. c.*, p. 401) indeed relates, following Selâmeh the son of Kaisar, that this market was in existence at the time of the taking of *Iliâ* or *Ailia* (Aelia Capitolina) by Omar in the year 16 A.H. (637 A.D.), and that the Caliph divided it about equally between the Christians and the Mohammedans. After relating this tradition in very obscure terms, he admits, nevertheless, that the market may have been rebuilt at a later period.

Even without this formal testimony, we know enough about Jerusalem, and the astonishing continuity which has been noticed in its local customs, to make us easily admit that, in spite of the reconstructions which it may have undergone at various periods, this market has never changed its position, or even been entirely rebuilt. Even at the present day as it stands, almost as a continuation of the main street leading to the Damascus Gate—the ancient *Via Recta** of Aelia Capitolina—it marks one of the main lines of the topography of the city, forming as it does the eastern boundary of the large piece of ground belonging to the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, which it separates from the quarter of *Bâb es Selseleh*.

I have made there a small discovery proving positively that this market in its present state and in all essential particulars dates at least from the time

* See the plan of the geographical mosaic of Mâdebâ.

of the Crusades. At the spring of the cross rib which covers the main and central alley which is called *Sûk el 'Attârîn* (the Market of the druggists), I noticed one day, at a place where the old plaster which covers the walls had peeled off, short inscriptions, several times repeated, engraved on the stone in fine large Gothic letters, whose period does not admit of any doubt.



MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS IN SÛK EL 'ATTÂRÎN.

I cannot explain how it is that they should have escaped the notice of my predecessors, except by the fact of their having been all day long more or less masked by the leaves of the shutters which close the shops at night, and which fold back over them when open; moreover, it was not easy to see them in the midst of the bustling crowd, which renders walking and looking about one far from easy in these narrow galleries.

There is no difficulty about reading the name ANNA, either when by itself or preceded by the epithet *Sancta*, represented by its usual abbreviation *SCA*: I have noted a considerable number of them; there must be more besides which I have not seen. Here, according to my note-book, are the exact positions of some of them:—

“Thirteenth arch on the left (counting from the entrance from the street *Khân ez Zeit*): the A has no cross bar, the beginning of ANNA, not finished; under it is the great T which we see on many of the buildings at Jerusalem, which perhaps marks the property of the Temple (*Templum Domini*).—Fourteenth arch: SCA ANNA in two lines.—Fifteenth, SCA; and sixteenth, ANNA.—Seventeenth, SCA ANNA in two lines, the first of which is mutilated: above, traces of a cross.”

All these stones show the mediæval tooling in a distinctly characteristic fashion. This tooling appears also on a fragment of a voussoir which came from one of these arches when it was pulled down. I have brought the piece to London,* as a specimen of this tooling. It bears on its concave side a splendid mason's mark. See p. 14.

The great size and regularity of the letters, and the symmetry of the inscription, which are all placed at the same height and at evidently equal intervals, the dressing of the stone, and the appearance of the courses on which they are engraved, all unite to disabuse us of the idea that we have to do with either mere masons' marks, trivial *graffiti*, or even with stones which have been removed hither from their original positions.

On the other hand, both history and palæography teach us that this Christian Latin formula, of an official and public nature, as we shall see, is necessarily earlier in date than the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, and consequently belongs to the period of Frank rule in Palestine.

This inscription, laconic as it is, would nevertheless be worthy of interest if it did no more than give us a specimen of the mediæval Latin script, which is so rare at Jerusalem, and at the same time a minimum date for the age of an important building in the Holy City. But its value does not end here: it gives us an unexpected piece of evidence which enlightens us both as to a point in the history of the Crusades and a characteristic peculiarity of the Mohammedan conquest.

If we try to make out, not indeed the meaning—that is quite evident—but the origin and the object of this series of inscriptions, all of which contain practically the same words, *Sancta Anna*, we find only one possible explanation of them. They can only refer to the ancient Abbey of St. Anne.

I need not now relate the history of this religious establishment, although it is a very curious one, and enables us to watch the formation and develop-

* Rough list (Vol. II), No. 65.

ment of one of the most interesting* of Christian legends. I confine myself to remarking, by the way, that before the arrival of the Crusaders in the Holy Land there already existed at Jerusalem, on the same site, a church dedicated to St. Anne, as we learn from the Mussulman writers themselves, and that this church was erected upon the supposed place of the Virgin's birth.†

The Franks retained both the character and the purpose of this church, and of the convent‡ with which it was connected, and established in the latter a small community of Benedictine§ nuns. St. Anne's Abbey rose to great importance in the days of Baldwin I, when the second king of Jerusalem immured therein his wife Arda,|| the daughter of the Armenian prince Tafmuz,¶ whose extraordinary Odyssey and strange adventures remind us of those of the betrothed of the king of Garbe.¶ A short time afterwards the convent of St. Anne had the honour of receiving a princess of the blood-royal, Joye,** the daughter of Baldwin II, who subsequently became Abbess of the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany. ††

* As I have shortly pointed out elsewhere, and shall some day set forth at length, the Sanctuary of the *House of St. Anne*, built on the actual site of Bethesda, has for its origin a play upon the words *Bethesda* and *Beit Hanna*, both of which mean "House of Grace." The legend guarantees the exactitude of the Gospel tradition and fixes its exact locality. We have a decisive material proof of this, the marble foot discovered at St. Anne's itself, and bearing, as I have exposed elsewhere (*Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, October 29, 1868) an *ex voto*, in Greek, of Pompeia Lucilia, in gratitude for her cure at the Sheep Pool. The "so-called Bethesda" (τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐραῖστὴ Βηθεσδα, John v, 2) was not a *pool*, but a regular *building*, a *beth*, a great hall consisting of five bays, that is to say, covered by a roof supported by columns forming *five parallel aisles*. Thus built, Bethesda stood on one side of the pool whose true name was the "Sheep Pool" (προβατικὴ κολυβήθρα).

† Abul Feda, *Annales Muslemici*, Ed. Reiske, IV, 125; "This *medreseh* (*Salâhiyeh*) was known before the coming of Mussulmans, by the name of *Sand Hanna* (سند حنة), and men placed there the tomb of Hanna, Mary's mother. It then passed into the power of Islam as *dâr el 'ilm*, before the taking of Jerusalem by the Franks. The latter took Jerusalem in the year 492, and turned it once again into a church, as it had been before Islam. When the Sultan (*Saladin*) took Jerusalem, he made it into a *medreseh*."

‡ The existence of the convent before the coming of the Franks is clearly proved by a passage in St. John Damascenus (*Collect. Migne*, I, 96, p. 678), not to mention other testimony which it would take too long to discuss here.

§ Both Sæwulf and John of Würzburg speak of this community of women (*cf.* de Vogüé, *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 242).

|| Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*, I, pp. 346, 355.

¶ See Guibert, 7, 43.

** Joette, Juette, Judith.

†† William of Tyre, 12: 4; 13: 17, and 15.

We may assume that the presence of these noble ladies procured high favours for St. Anne's Abbey, which had previously contained only a few poor women; "quibus ampliavit possessiones et patrimonium dilatavit,"* says William of Tyre, indeed, when speaking of Baldwin I and of our Abbey.

This is confirmed by the *Estoire de Eracles*,† in the following terms: "il enrichit le leu de rentes et de teneures." Unfortunately, among the authorities to which I have had access I have not been able to find the actual list of the names of these "rentes" and "teneures." The name of St. Anne's Abbey appears sometimes on the occasion of exchanges of land between it and other religious houses; but that is all. In spite, however, of the absence of any express mention of it, I am willing to believe that among these "rentes" and "teneures" which were granted to St. Anne's Abbey, there was a share of the revenues of the Jerusalem market, and that the name *Sancta Anna*, carved all along one of the alleys of this market, was the sign of the abbatial right to which the market was subject.‡

The probability of this conjecture renders it admissible and capable of acceptance without any further proof. But I think that I have found that further proof, and that, although it is indirect and, so to speak, retrospective, I consider it may be almost conclusive. This is my proof. When Saladin reconquered Jerusalem, he turned St. Anne's church into a medreseh, which was called from the Sultan's own name, *es Salâhiyeh*.§ The first and most indisputable piece of evidence which can be adduced to prove this transformation is the Arabic *Tarîkh*, or dedication, built into the wall above the door of the existing church of St. Anne, which sets forth that this medreseh was founded by Saladin for the doctors of the Shafeite sect in the year 588 (1192 A.D.).

* William of Tyre, II : 1.

† *Hist. occid. des Crois.* Tom. I, p. 451.

‡ This custom of marking by visible signs the property of certain communities was, moreover, not unknown to the Crusaders. Amongst others I have found a striking example of this in a deed of Amaury I, in the year 1174 (Paoli's *Codice Diplomat.*, I, p. 243), which speaks of the crosses which are engraved on the walls of the Hospital at Jerusalem "Signorum S. Crucis, quae in parietibus Hospitalis apparent pro meta."

§ It is by this name of *Salâhiyeh* that all the Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem, without distinction of religion, speak of St. Anne's Church at this day. It is amusing to see how, while the Mohammedans have, as we have seen, for a long time kept up the use of the Christian Latin name *Sand Hanna* for their medreseh, the Eastern Christians persist in applying the Mohammedan title of *Salâhiyeh* to the church which since the Crimean war has again become a Christian church (it was presented to France by the Sultan).

If I needed any other authority in addition to this stone, which is contemporary with the events which it describes, I might proceed to quote the testimony of 'Imâd ed Dîn, Saladin's own secretary and panegyrist, who in his *Fath el Kossy** relates as follows: "The Sultan took counsel with the holy Ulemas of his court, and the persons most notable for their piety, on the subject of a medreseh for the lawyers of the Shafeite sect, and for a hospice (*ribât*) for the poor religious of the Sufi order. He appointed for the medreseh the church known under the name of *Sand Hanna*, near the *Bâb Asbât* (*sic*), and he chose for the hospice the Patriarch's Palace (*Dâr el Batrak*), which adjoins the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Komâmeh*). He assigned *wakĕf* (endowments) to them, and enriched both these communities with his bounty."

Further on† the writer comes back to the same subject: "He had transformed St. Anne's church, near the *Bâb el Asbât*, into a medreseh for Shafeite jurisconsults: he thus turned it into a building founded out of piety, and he multiplied its *wakĕf*."

This fact is confirmed by Mujir ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 302), who reproduces almost word for word the first of these passages of 'Imâd ed Dîn, merely omitting a few poetical and obscure expressions; on the other hand, he adds certain information which is of value. He tells us, for example, that this church of *Sand Hanna*‡ was reputed to contain the tomb of Hanna the mother of Mary.§ In another place (*op. c.*, p. 463) he tells us incidentally that he has seen the original of the deed of *wakĕf* concerning the mosque in question. Although Mujir ed Dîn lived almost four centuries later, yet there is nothing extraordinary in this assertion of his, for, in his capacity as Cadi of Jerusalem, he was bound to have at his disposal the archives of the city.

This deed bore the date of Rejeb 19, 588, and had been drawn up by a Cadi whom Mujir ed Dîn takes to have been an *ad interim* administrator of

* In the Arab text, ed. Landberg, pp. 68 and 69.

† Arab text, ed. Landberg, pp. 442 and 443.

‡ The name has been cut down into *Sandha* in the Cairo-Arabic edition.

§ See the passage of Abu'l Feda, which I have quoted above. Observe, by the way, this variation of the tradition, which it is well to note, which makes out of the so called *House* of St. Anne (*Beit Hanna = Bethesda*) the place of her tomb. This tradition, moreover, is not peculiar to the Mohammedans, and finds its counterpart in the legend preserved by Bernard the Monk (ch. xij), who makes Gethsemane to be the *birth-place* of the Virgin, that is to say, where her sepulchre is usually placed.

that office. Before this (*op. c.*, p. 446), he seems to have intended to speak of this same deed of *wakĕf*, although here he gives its date as Rejeb 13, 588, instead of the 19th. Further on (p. 487), this deed is again mentioned as bearing the date of Rejeb 13, 583, instead of 588. These several variations in the figures must be due to copyists' errors. The last passage shows us a detail which is not without interest, namely, that the foundation of the Salâhiyeh was preceded by the *regular purchase, by Saladin, of the church of Sand Hanna*, and that the sum of money appropriated to this purchase was raised by the sale of various property belonging to the treasury (*Beit el mâl*) and situated at Jerusalem.

These circumstantial details prove that Mujîr ed Dîn was perfectly well acquainted with the origin of the foundation. This, therefore, gives great weight to the following passage (*op. c.*, p. 463), which I also quote from him:—

“There are also* the three markets side by side, not far from the gate of the Mihrâb, which is also called the Hebron Gate.† They are of Greek (*Rûm*) construction. They extend north and south, and communicate with one another by passages. The first of them, that to the westward, is the market of the Druggists (*Sûk el 'Attarîn*), which Saladin gave as a *wakĕf* to his medresch Salâhiyeh. The one by its side, the central market, is for the sale of vegetables, and that which adjoins it on the east is for the sale of cloth. These two latter are *wakĕf* of the holy mosque El Aksa. Travellers declare that they have never beheld the like of these three markets‡ in

* He has been speaking of the market known as the *Sûk el Kattânîn*, on the west side of the Haram.

† The Jaffa Gate, as it is now called by Europeans.

‡ These three galleries correspond to the three markets which are spoken of in the descriptions by western travellers in the middle ages; in the time of the Crusaders they were called: *Le Marché aux Herbes, la Rue Couverte* (where the drapers' shops were), and *Mal Cuisinat*. The present names are: *Sûk el Lahhâmîn* (Butchers' market), *Sûk el 'Attarîn* (Druggists' market), and *Sûk el Khawâjât* or *es Suiyâgh* (Merchants' or Goldsmiths' markets).

In another passage Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 637) speaks of another market which he calls the “Cooks' market” (*Sûk et Tabbâkhîn*) whose name reminds us of the *Mal Cuisinat*. It was vaulted with stone in the year 878; previous to this it had been covered with a simple roof of palm leaves. It extended from the *Daraj el Harâfîsh* to the vault of Khân el Jubeily. In yet another passage (*op. c.*, p. 403) he fixes the exact position of these various points. The *Sûk et Tabbâkhîn* must represent the long vaulted passage which forms the prolongation to the north of the *Tarik Bâb es Selseleh* of our day, at right angles to the *Sûk el Khawâjât*. I think that the *Daraj el Harâfîch* answers to the stair which we see at the end of the blind alley, on the left hand as we come out of the south entrance to the vaulted passage of which I have spoken.

other lands, as regards their plan or their execution. They are one of the beauties of Jerusalem."

This passage, in the midst of exaggerated and even erroneous details, contains some exact evidence. In the first place, the style of these buildings is said to be Greek (Rûm), and this, from the *kalam** of Mujîr ed Dîn, who never makes mistakes in such matters, always signifies "Byzantine," previous to the arrival of the Franks. In the next place, the Druggists' market is declared to be *wakĕf* of the medresch Salâhiyeh, that is to say, it paid dues to what was once St. Anne's Abbey. Now, if we visit the place itself, we see that our mediæval inscriptions in the name of Sancta Anna are engraved on that very one of the alleys which in our time, as in that of Mujîr ed Dîn, is known by the name of "The Druggists' market" (Sûk el 'Attarin). Only Mujîr ed Dîn, or one of his copyists, makes a slight mistake when he says that this market is in the western alley: we should read, "in the *central* alley."

So striking a coincidence can hardly be the effect of chance. We are inevitably led to infer that the Druggists' market, which was given as a *wakĕf* to the Salâhiyeh, must have previously belonged to St. Anne's Abbey, and that Saladin, when he turned the Christian community into a Mohammedan one, simply confirmed to the new foundation the privileges enjoyed by the former one, public notice of which was given by our inscriptions bearing the name of *Sancta Anna*. Moreover, as I have already explained, Saladin became possessed of St. Anne's by a regular legal process, and consequently it is reasonable to suppose that he at the same time obtained possession of all the privileges connected with the property. Indeed, it is possibly because of this transfer *en bloc* that the Mohammedan historians have preserved the LATIN NAME of the establishment under the very slightly altered form of *Sand Hanna*.

I think, therefore, that notwithstanding the silence of the Western historians of the Crusades, I am amply justified in reckoning the revenues of a part of the market of the Holy City among the endowments granted to St. Anne's Abbey by the Frankish kings. Whether this privilege was bestowed upon the abbey by Baldwin I himself, who endowed the abbey so richly, or by one of his successors, is a comparatively unimportant question, and in the present state of our knowledge of the subject I shall not attempt to deal with it.

* Reed pen.

The conclusion to which we have come may appear to have but little intrinsic value ; it is but a small point in that vast and complex subject, the Crusades. Yet, let us not forget that in history as in geometry, it is from points that we get lines. Moreover, science knows no small facts, and the following is the lesson which I draw from the fact which I have here established. This continuous life of institutions which enables a Christian religious house to preserve its privileges, its revenues, and its household organization practically untouched after being turned into a Mohammedan one, is exceedingly significant, especially when we compare it with other parallel cases taken in the same connection. Such a fact as this, which does not stand by itself, characterises an entire epoch, and reveals a complete system. I have just now spoken of parallel cases. I can quote no more analogous or more striking example than the following, which has not been hitherto noticed. We have already seen that Saladin, together with his medreseh of the Salâhiyeh, founded at the same time a *ribât*, or hospice, for Sûfis, which is still at this time called the Khânkâh. This latter is none else than the ancient palace of the Latin patriarchs, which adjoins the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and, indeed, partly encroaches upon it.* This we are distinctly told by 'Imâd ed Dîn and Mujir ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 302). The latter adds that the Sultan richly endowed these two establishments. We have seen what endowment he bestowed upon the Salâhiyeh. What did he bestow upon the Khânkâh? Mujir ed Dîn tell us this incidentally in another passage (*op. c.*, p. 409). Speaking of the great *birkeh* situated in the street of the Christians (known even at this day as *Birket Hammâm el Batrâk*, "the reservoir of the patriarch's bath), he tells us that it received the water intended for the patriarch's bath, which pool, he adds, *is a wakf of Saladin's Khânkâh*. Now I find in the Cartulary of the Order of St. John† two charters of the years 1137 and 1167, from which it appears that the *Lacus Balnearum* belonged to the Latin patriarch. It lies in his quarter of Jerusalem ("in quarterio nostro"), and its water was exclusively set apart for use in his baths ("hauriendi aquarum in lacu Balnearum nostrorum") and the

* The identity of the palace of the Latin Patriarchs of the period of the Crusaders with the Khânkâh, has been distinctly proved by the discovery, at the end of last year, of a fine mediæval inscription within the Khânkâh itself. The inscription runs thus: "[Ar]nulfus patriarcha domu(m) qui condidit istam . . ." See for further particulars my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. III, p. 57.

† Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Archives*, etc., pp. 73 and 108. See also in another deed of the year 1174, the "*ruga balnearum patriarcha*."

adjacent houses, which had been built with his permission, were even obliged to pay him an annual rent. We see, therefore, that in this case likewise Saladin merely transferred the privileges and right enjoyed by the patriarch to the Khânkâh, which he had established on the site of his palace.

I have elsewhere* had occasion to allude briefly to the essentially conservative spirit of the Arabs who became the masters of a part of the Byzantine and Persian empires. Palestine, in particular, affords remarkable and suggestive instances of this feeling. The ancient soil of Jerusalem, where excavations have enabled us to note so extensive a material rise of the surface, has also undergone a series of governments which themselves have also been piled one above the other in successive layers, so to speak. Often through all these historical strata, one can trace the distinct existence of institutions which, though on the surface at this day, yet have their original archtypes at the very bottom of this heterogeneous mass. In this substratum the layer formed by the Crusades, although a very thin one, nevertheless has its own place; but it only interrupts for a moment the continuity between the first and second Mohammedan layers, the lower of which rests upon the Byzantine stratum.

Thus, to return to the particular case with which we are dealing, I shall be inclined to suppose that just as Saladin did no more than confirm to the Salâhiyeh the privileges which were bestowed upon St. Anne's Abbey by Baldwin I, even so Baldwin perhaps did no more than restore or confirm to the abbey the revenues which, from of old, had belonged to the hospital† which preceded it, whose curious adventures I shall some day describe at length. An otherwise obscure passage of Bernard the Monk (ch. X) speaks of a market (*forum*) situated before the hospice which Charlemagne had established at Jerusalem for pilgrims of the Latin tongue; every merchant, he says, paid an annual rent of two *aurci*, "illi qui illud providet." May not St. Mary's‡ Church, with which this hospice was connected, be none else than St. Anne's Church,§ as is thought by some writers? Does the word

* *La Palestine inconnue*, p. 29, *sqq.*

† This is the place to remind the reader that according to the passage of Abu'l Feda already quoted, the transformation of St. Anne's Church into a medreseh, which was actually carried into effect by Saladin, had already been begun by the first Mohammedan conquerors before the coming of the Crusaders.

‡ This Church "in honore Sancte Marie" possessed other sources of revenue besides this, twelve houses, some fields, some vines, and a garden in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

§ Cf. Theodosius, § 49. Upon the subject of the various churches dedicated to St. Mary at Jerusalem, see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 150, *et sqq.*, and Vol. III, p. 55.

illud, in this phrase, agree with *hospitale* or with *forum*? that is to say, is the writer speaking of a toll levied by the governor of the hospice, or merely by the governor of the market itself? In any case, does not the word *ante* imply a less distance than that between St. Anne's Church and the present Sûk? All these are embarrassing questions and hard to answer. Nevertheless, this curious piece of evidence was worth quoting, for, even if the case to which it refers is not that with which we have been dealing, it is at all events an analogous one.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HARAM ES-SHERÎF AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SÛK EL KATTÂNÎN.

On making my way into one of the little deserted chambers which open on the right hand side into the long alley of the Sûk el Kattânin, leading to the Haram, not far from the bath Hammâm es Shifâ, I noticed on the back wall of this chamber a stone bearing traces of letters which seemed to belong to the period of the Crusades. I made out amongst others the letters . . . *do* . . . There is an Arabic inscription built into this small wall, above which are carved two cups with the armorial bearing of some mamlûk emîr.*

ANCIENT CHURCH, POSSIBLY ST. MICHAEL'S.

Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 395) when describing the various medresehs near the gate of the Haram, which is called Bâb en Nâdher even to this day, speaks of a Zâwiyeh Yûnesiyeh and of a medreseh Jehârkesiyeh,† as being near neighbours.

He tells us that they originally formed one and the same building, which was divided by the Mohammedans into two parts, the first to the south, and the second to the north. He also says that this building was once a church built by the Rûm, which, in our author's language, means by the Byzantines.

* Subsequently, M. Max. van Berchem has copied this Arabic inscription, and has been good enough to communicate its contents to me. It speaks of various buildings erected by the Emîr Tankiz, Viceroy of Syria, in the reign of Mohammed the son of Kelâûn. The first word of those describing these buildings has been lost: considering the close proximity of Hammâm es Shifâ, I think that we ought to restore the word as حمام, "bath."

Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 387) indeed tells us that the Emîr Tankiz caused the bath at Bâb el Kattânin to be built, and says that in his (the writer's) time it was called "The New Bath."

† So called after the *Emîr Akhûr* Jeharkes el Khalily, who died in 1389.

While exploring the houses which stand at the approach to the gate in question, I discovered, on the south side of the street which leads up to it, some traces which may very well belong to the church spoken of by Mujir ed Din. It is in an ancient medreseh, which stands on the right hand in the little street leading to Bâb en Nâdher. One reaches it through two long vaulted vestibules,* at right angles to one another, which give access to a great paved court surrounded by chambers, with a cistern in the centre. At the north-east angle there is a great vaulted hall, which serves at this day as a stable for the bashi-bazuks; the vault ribs rest upon a central row of columns bearing capitals of an extremely simple form, reminding one a little of the capitals of the church at Neby Samwil. I counted four columns each eight paces apart, and ranged exactly north and south; on the west side of the third column (counting from north to south), at the same interval of distance, I found a fifth column engaged in the present west wall, and certainly occupying its original position; on the other side of this wall I found a sixth column in the same line from east to west, but having evidently been moved from its original position.

I should be willing to believe that we have here a part of the church mentioned by Mujir ed Din. The remainder of it is perhaps hidden in the adjoining structures, which I have not been able to explore. According to the all too hasty sketch which I made of the place, we may recognise in it a section of the three aisles of the church, which must as usual have had its apse pointed towards the east. I advise future archæologists to study this ruin, of which it would be very desirable to have an exact plan.

What church could this have been? Mujir ed Din, in another passage (*op. c.*, p. 383), gives us a hint which may perhaps put us on the right track. The Bâb en Nâdher, he tells us, is an ancient gate which was rebuilt in the reign of Mu'addham 'Isa, in 1203. *It used to be called Bâb Mîkâil* (ميكائيل). They say it was to this gate that Gabriel tied Borâk on the night of Mahomet's ascension. May we not infer from this that the desecrated church was originally dedicated to St. Michael? I must, however, admit that I have found no trace in ancient writers of a church of this name at Jerusalem, at all events in this quarter. Yet it is true that we are far from knowing the names of all the churches, great and small, in the Holy City.

* Above the door of the second vestibule there is built into the wall an Arabic tarikh which I had not leisure to copy. According to an account of it which M. van Berchem has obligingly sent me, this will be the inscription put up by the founder, El Melek el Mansûr Kalâûn.

NEAR THE BÂB ES SELSELEH.

Outside the Haram Gate, whose name is commonly pronounced *Bâb es Selseleh* (Selseleh "of the Chain"),* or *Bâb es Sekîneh* ("Gate of the Ark"),† towards the Mehkemeh, there was a modern building which almost entirely masked the left hand way (*Bâb es Selâm*) of the double gate: it was a little *sebil* with a trough. In 1871 they cleared away this *sebil*, and the trough when freed from the stonework wherein it had for so long been encased, turned out to be a magnificent antique sarcophagus. This demolition laid bare the base of the central pier, which is made of fine blocks of stone, showing mediæval tooling with masons' marks (see Special plate, p. 10).

I moreover observed on one of the voussoirs of the left hand arch, still masked by a neighbouring house, another mark. We have now material proof that this gate is entirely of mediæval workmanship.

On the right and left sides of the gate there are two great bases carved in red *mizzeh*. I ascertained that they bear unmistakable traces of two large crosses sculptured in relief, which the Mohammedans have obliterated.

On the pier which stands between the two interior arches of the gate, and is built of many pieces of stone, upon which I could trace no mediæval tooling, I copied a large mason's mark shaped like a shield, and deeply cut. It will be found on the Special plate (No. 17-9), though I do not regard it as a true mason's mark, *i.e.*, a signature of the worker by the piece, but rather as a mark of proprietorship set there by some Crusading religious community, after the fashion of the carvings of SCA ANNA in the bazaar, and of certain great "T's" (= Templum?) which I have found here and there in various parts of Jerusalem. It should be noted that the exact counterpart of this shield occurs on the stones of the blind alley which leads out of the street *Khân ez Zeit*.

Moreover, I think that in the entire mass of building which directly adjoins the *Bâb es Selseleh*, the Mohammedans have used a great quantity of material dating from the period of the Crusaders. Indeed, subsequently, in

* A strange tradition, which I repeat just as I heard it from the lips of certain Mohammedans, declares that this name comes from the Melek en Nemsâ having been hung there. Nemsâ is the Syrian for Austria.

† Shechinah = שכינה means properly "the real presence of God in the Ark." (See Vol. II, p. 300, note.)

1881, I discovered on the south front of the second pier of the portico, which is on the right hand as one enters the Haram from the Bâb es Selseleh, a great block of calcareous stone, which displays the mediæval tooling in oblique strokes, and the remains of an inscription in fine large Gothic letters now reduced to one single line.

[HIC I]ACET DROGO DE BUS . . . *

"[Here li]es Drogo de Bus . . ."

The rest has been destroyed by the Arab masons, who have cut up † the original slab to enable it to form part of their pillar. ‡ Evidently we have here the epitaph of someone—perhaps a Knight Templar—bearing the Christian name of Drogo, § and the surname of Bus . . . , the restoration of which is too wide a subject for me to embark upon.

I now return to the sarcophagus which was thus brought to light. The coffin, which is of *maleki* stone, and rectangular form, measures 2^m·02 in length, and 0^m·55 in width. There is no *dormitorium* inside for the head of the corpse. The front side is ornamented with five fine full-blown rosettes carved in relief, bearing ten or twelve petals, with four small roundels with a central knob in each spandril. At each end there are two crowns in high relief. In one of the crowns is inserted a full-blown rosette of eight petals. The other long side is plain. The three carved sides are framed in an elegant moulding of classical profile. The sarcophagus greatly resembles that which used to be in the Mehkemeh itself, and was brought to the Louvre in 1866; like that one, it probably came from the K'bûr es Salâtin. It has been placed in the neighbouring house, which is called the house of *Khalîl Beg et Terdj'mân*.

In the unedited portions of Mujîr ed Din's chronicle I find a very interesting piece of evidence on this subject. || After having described with enthusiasm the fine Medreseh el Ashrafiyeh, the building of which, by the

* These thirteen letters are 0^m·85 long.

† Proved by the line of the inscription not being parallel to the present line of the edge of the stone.

‡ Mujîr ed Din (*op. cit.*, p. 375) says that the portico of which our pillar forms part was built in the year 713 (1314 A.D.).

§ This Christian name occurs in several charters in the Holy Land.

|| Page 661 of the Arab text, Cairo edition.

order of Sultan El Melek el Ashraf, was completed in A.H. 888, he tells us that this prince caused the "basin (or fountain—*el fiskiyeh*), which is between Bâb es Selseleh and *Bâb es Sekîneh*," to be built.

Evidently this passage alludes to the *sebîl* of which I have just been speaking. We learn from this, by the way, that the double name "Gate of the Chain" and "Gate of the Ark," which is given indifferently to this double gate leading into the Haram, ought to be divided into two parts, and that each name belongs exclusively to one of the two bays of the gate. Probably it is the left hand one, the one which at this day is called Bâb es Selâm, which must be the true Bâb es Sekîneh. Moreover, it is probable that it was in about the year 1483 of our era that the sarcophagus was placed where I found it. If, as I suppose, it came from the K'bûr es Salâtîn, it was probably taken away from its original place about that time, and probably others also were brought away with it: the sarcophagus of the Mehkemeh, for instance, which certainly came from the same source; perhaps also the fine sarcophagus which I discovered within the Haram, and of which I took a photographic negative, since unluckily broken. The same may be the history of the sarcophagus of the Hâr't el Wâd, of which I shall speak hereafter.* Mujir ed Din indeed tells us that El Melek el Ashraf caused many *sebîl* or *fiskiyeh* to be made, especially in the interior of the Haram. We may, therefore, conclude from this series of facts that the caves of the K'bûr es Sâlatîn must have been plundered by the Mussulmans about the year 1483. Who knows what they may then have found besides these fine sarcophagi, which certainly belong to the same series of tombs?

I have spoken above of the Medreseh el Ashrafiyeh which stood above the western interior portico of the Haram, and adjoined the gate Bâb el Selseleh. It is a curious fact, and one which does not seem to have been noticed, that the German pilgrim, F. Fabri, who visited Jerusalem just at the time† when they were building this medreseh, has left us a description which agrees singularly with that of Mujir ed Din. Fabri‡ had obtained from the *cadi*§—"the Bishop of the Saracen Temple," as he calls him—leave to visit the new mosque, where he found the workmen engaged in making the casing of marble of divers colours, the paintings, pavements, etc. He

* Chapter IX.

† Fabri's pilgrimage lies between the years 1480 and 1483.

‡ Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Vol. II, p. 125; *cf.* p. 245.

§ The corrupt word *Thadi* should evidently be emended *Khadi* or *Chadi*.

describes, with as great admiration as the Mussulman writer, the gilded and richly-adorned ceilings, the glazed windows, etc. ; all of them details which agree precisely with those given by Mujir ed Din. This place was, he says, an oratory which His Majesty the Soldan was having built, that he might say his prayers there when he came to Jerusalem. This last sentence completely proves that it is indeed our medreseh of which Fabri is speaking. He congratulates himself on having obtained the remarkable favour of entrance into this mosque before it was consecrated to the Mohammedan religion, and he tells us that it was from it that he was able to see the platform of the Haram and the Kubbet es Sakhra close at hand, and to form an idea of their arrangements both within and without. I shall have occasion hereafter to make use of Fabri's valuable testimony in connection with another subject.

EXPLORATION IN THE INTERIOR OF THE HARAM, ALONG THE EAST WALL.

On the (east) external face of the eastern boundary wall of the Haram, about 160 mètres* north of the south-eastern angle, there is a stone, built into the wall, which bears a curious Arabic inscription. It is placed on a level with the loop-holes, in the eleventh course (including the battlements) counting from the top downwards. It consists of only two lines, as follows :—

هذا مكان فيه حجارة
مختزون لشروقت الحرم شريف

“In this place are buried the stones for the needs of the Haram esh Sherif.”

The writing is of the kind called *sulus*. The construction and spelling show several peculiarities and even mistakes which seem to argue that it came from the hands of a Turk.† This inscription may have been contemporaneous with the great general scheme of works executed in the sixteenth century, in the reign of Sultan Soliman the Magnificent, perhaps after the general restoration of the ramparts of the city.

* Another of my notes says 133 mètres. I am unable at the present day to say which figure is correct.

† *شروقت* for *شروقة* is particularly suggestive in that respect.

In any case we should note that exactly at the place where the Arabic inscription is built in, there occurs a notable break of continuity in the Arab masonry of which the upper part of the wall consists, that seems to point to a later restoration. The line of junction between the two pieces of masonry extends obliquely down from north to south at an angle of about 45° , and the work to the north of this line seems to be more modern than that to the south of it.

This mysterious inscription is well calculated to rouse our curiosity. What are these stones? Where are they buried? Probably what the inscription means is a reserve of stones all ready hewn, which could be drawn upon for any subsequent works of construction or restoration in the Haram. Stones hewn by whom? At what period? Here we have perhaps a mound of ancient building material, whose discovery might have important archæological results. This attractive inscription naturally pricked up the ears of the Turkish officials who were in charge of the works of restoration undertaken in the Haram in 1873-1874. A first attempt to find them was made; a shaft was sunk on the inside of the wall, on the west side, opposite to the point on the east side where the inscription is. But this insignificant attempt at exploration led to nothing.

Taking advantage of the excellent terms upon which I stood with the new manager of the works, I eagerly encouraged him to renew his attempt, and succeeded in persuading him to do so, for I was most anxious to make use of this unhopèd for opportunity of sinking an exploring shaft within the very precincts of the Haram.*

* Seven years afterwards, when I returned to Jerusalem, I again made good use of this inscription to obtain success in a delicate negotiation in which I was engaged. Having discovered on the east front of this same wall, some fifty mètres south of the inscription (below the column projecting horizontally from the wall, which is connected with the Mohammedan legend of the Last Judgment), a built up postern whose existence no one seemed to have noticed, I succeeded in prevailing on the Governor to make an excavation there, pointing out to him as an argument for doing so, the famous inscription, so full of promises, whose meaning every one in Jerusalem had forgotten. Thanks to this fortunate circumstance, I was able to have this postern opened, make my way straight into the platform of the Haram, about six mètres below the surface, and drive a gallery of some dozen mètres in length northwards along the west side of the wall. Unluckily this time also the exploration was stopped before it had led to any result, in consequence of my leaving Jerusalem. Some details of this matter, and an elevation of the postern, will be found in my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie entreprise en 1881*, pp. 47 and 121. See also Lieut. Mantell's plan and description, in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 169, and *Memoirs (Jerusalem)*, p. 238.

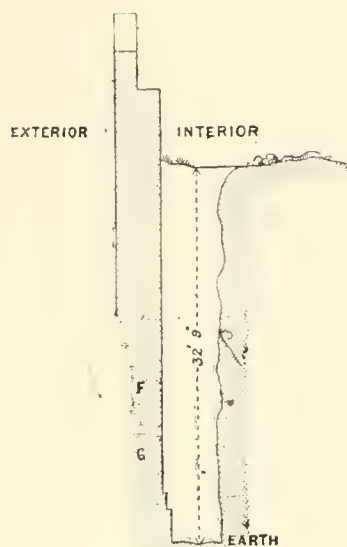
I need not say that I watched most attentively the digging of this shaft in the sacred Haram, or that I spurred on as well as I could the zeal of the Me'mûr, which was rather too much inclined to slacken in the face of the difficulties of the operation, by giving him practical advice, and lending him the necessary frames for the propping of the shaft and of the gallery which was to be subsequently undertaken. The work jogged on slowly. On March 27, the shaft had reached a depth of 5^m·70. We were still far from winding up the undertaking, as we could not expect to find the rock at a less depth than some twelve mètres below the present level of the ground outside the wall on the east side, and the inner platform of the Haram, as is well known, is notably higher than the ground outside. I prevailed upon them, not without difficulty, to dig a little deeper. But when we got to a depth of ten mètres, the Me'mûr's heart failed him and he would go no further. The shaft, which had been clumsily enough dug, and inadequately propped, was beginning to be unsafe. Moreover, the fanaticism of the Mussulmans was beginning to be aroused. The personal influence which I had hitherto enjoyed among the Turks was diminishing in consequence of the false position in which I had been placed by the deplorable incident at Gezer, and also by the absence of my firman, which was continually promised, but never arrived. In short, the work was finally brought to an end and the shaft filled up again. They had scarcely dug down inside the wall to the level of the earth outside; we should have had to dig some twelve mètres lower to reach the rock. This inadequate exploration, therefore, had not brought about the results which we had a right to hope for.

I do not know what grounds there are for the assertion that this postern is not at any rate earlier than the fifteenth century. I have on the contrary some reason to believe that it was in existence as early as the period of the Crusades. Who indeed knows whether this is not the postern mentioned by Theoderich in the passage (p. 49): "Hinc per quoddam posticum angusta via inter murum orientalium civitatis et hortum Templariorum transitur et ad venerabilem ecclesiam, quae ad balneum sive ad praesepe Domini . . . pervenitur."

It is clear that the existence of a postern at this point must have been a great convenience to the Templars whose headquarters were in El Aksa, as it would give them direct access to the valley of Kidron, and from thence to the village of Selwân, the Mount of Olives, and the road to Bethany, which is the road to Jericho. Mujîr ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 214) speaks of an ancient tradition of an old gate, known as "the Jericho Gate," which, it seems, must have been cut through the east wall of the Haram, and whose position was unknown in his time. If this gate is not another name for either St. Stephen's Gate, the Golden Gate, or the other postern to the south of it, we may be inclined to identify it with the postern which I have discovered.

Nevertheless, it enabled me to ascertain certain material facts which are not entirely devoid of interest. Here is the section of the shaft, looking south.

The soil through which the shaft passed for a depth of ten mètres was entirely composed of made earth, mixed with a quantity of broken pottery, cubes of mosaic, fragments of marble, and other rubbish. The west side of the wall, which was laid bare to this depth, was roughly enough built. I did not find any stone down to the very bottom that bore the mediæval tooling. At the bottom of the shaft the face of the wall shows two successive set-offs or scarcements, the first projects 0^m·08 in width, and is 0^m·40 high; the second, the lower one, projects 0^m·20, and its height is at present unascertained, the excavations having been brought to an end 0^m·90 below this second set off. At the level marked by the space between F and G, there is a notable alteration in the masonry, which seems to argue that it belongs to two different periods, and corresponds to a similar change which can be seen on the *exterior* or *eastern* side of the wall. At F the wall is built of quite rough stones without any hewn joints; at G, on the other hand, the stonework is more carefully wrought.



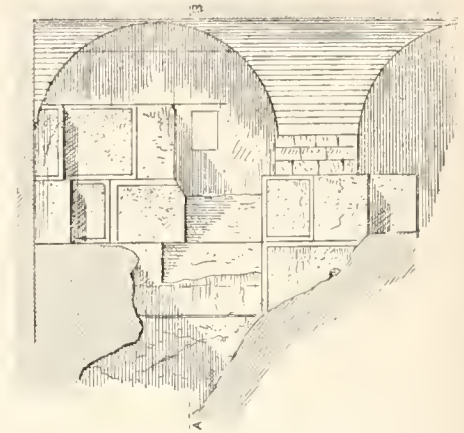
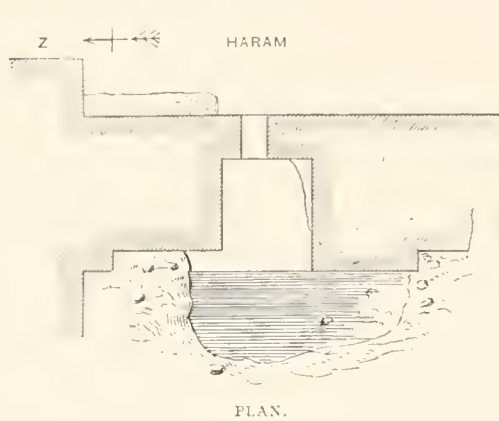
SECTION OF SHAFT.

BOUNDARY WALL OF THE TEMPLE.

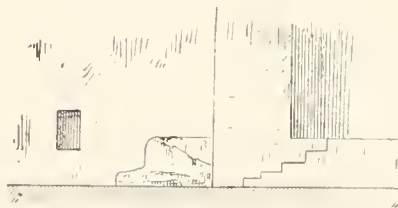
A Fragment of the western boundary of the Temple, in the north-west quarter of the Haram.—In the north-west quarter of the Haram opposite the gate Bâb es Sarai and the gate Bâb el Ghawânimeh there is a well known spot where the outer stonework of the west part of the ancient enclosure wall of the Temple is partially visible for a distance of some fifty feet. Herr Schick and Colonel Conder have drawn this interesting fragment (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 136), and after them Lieut.-General Warren wrote an exhaustive description of it (*Memoirs*, Jerusalem Volume, p. 214). We, for our part, made a special study on the spot of the part of it where the pilasters and the bevelled plinth are. I think that it will not be useless to give here the results of our

study in drawings, which may serve to check and supplement those already published, with the addition of an instructive section and elevations.

The judicious observations which have already been made upon this piece of wall render it unnecessary for me to enter into any further explanations. I shall confine myself to the conclusion to be drawn from certain architectural resemblances between the stonework of this wall and

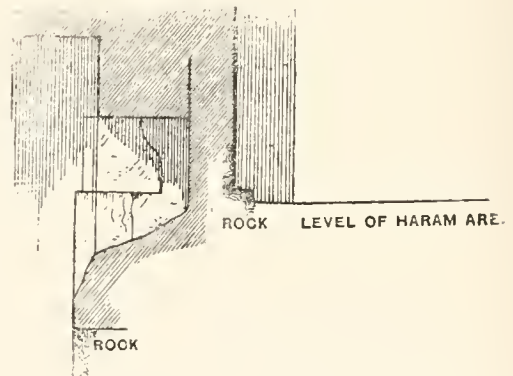


ELEVATION OF THE OUT (WEST) SIDE.



ELEVATION OF THE INSIDE (EAST OR HARAM SIDE).

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.



CROSS SECTION, FOLLOWING THE LINE A—B IN THE ELEVATION.

that of (1) the enclosing wall of the Haram at Hebron; and (2) the piece of ancient wall in the Russian ground near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; referring the reader to the remarks which I have already set forth in Chapter IV, pp. 89, 92, and to my special essay on Constantine's Basilica.*

* *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II. p. 359.

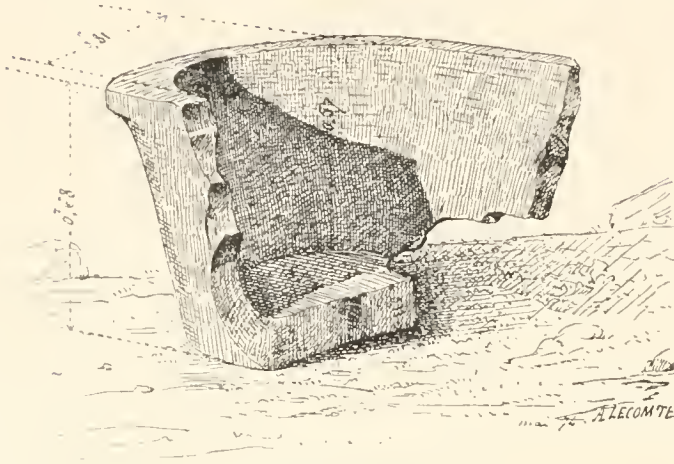
The lower part of the gate Bâb el Ghawânimèh consists of a sort of trench hewn in the living rock; the width of the passage is 2^m·47. If, as seems probable, there was here in ancient times a gate giving access to the Temple, it must have been a rather narrow one, and consequently one of secondary importance, a sort of back-door or postern.

The south side of the Boundary Wall in the north-west quarter of the Haram.—The south side of the rock, hewn with the pick, in the north-west quarter of the Haram, on what must have been the site of the fortress Antonia, deserves to be studied afresh with the greatest attention. Before we come to the mass of buildings which stand at the base of the eastern minaret, the rock-hewn wall stops short, making a return at right angles, and proceeding due north; it then resumes its former direction from west to east, in the direction of the Bâb el 'Atmeh, after a break of about six mètres. This considerable interval is filled up with stonework. It seems as though we had here the eastern limit of Antonia, isolated on this side by a great cutting in the rock. A little further to the west I noticed in the rock-hewn wall traces of an ancient cistern(?), which must have been originally excavated in the solid rock before the date of the cutting which formed the present wall. Furthermore, I noticed here and there in the wall, at about the same height, some great quadrangular holes, which evidently are joist-holes meant to receive the ends of beams. Can it be that we have here traces of the north portico of the Temple, whose roof must have rested against the south face of the scarped rock which formed the base of the fortress? Or are they merely the traces of the alterations made, at the time of the Crusades, in this spot, where stood the cloisters of the canons of the Templum Domini?

FRAGMENT OF A LAVER OF BASALT.

There was brought out of the old storehouse near El Aksa a large fragment of a magnificent laver of basalt, which had lain buried there beyond the memory of man. The basalt is very close-grained, of a slightly bluish-black colour, and excellently wrought and polished. Whether it be a sarcophagus or a bath, this great laver, which must have cost a large sum to make, because of the beauty and hardness of the material, could only have been designed for some great personages, and

must have been meant for some important purpose. Its sides are not vertical, but splayed outwards like those of an actual bath. Its internal measurements are $0^m \cdot 57$ in depth, and $0^m \cdot 81$ in width; the mean thickness of the sides is $0^m \cdot 11$, and the greatest length remaining is $1^m \cdot 15$. At the bottom may be seen a small opening, perhaps made afterwards, to let the water run off.

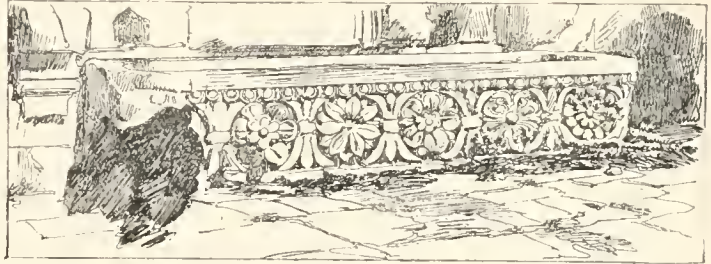


BROKEN LAVER OF BASALT.

We must decidedly recognise in it a relic of antiquity, but what is its date? I cannot tell.

ANCIENT SARCOPHAGUS.

Near one of the fountains built in the Haram area, that, namely, which is called *El 'Afif*, I noticed a fine ancient sarcophagus, of calcareous *malcki*, whose existence had not hitherto been mentioned, and which the Moslems must have used as a trough for the fountain. It now stands at the foot of a large barred window.* Its front is richly decorated with five elegant roses carved in relief, with full blown corollas and leaves of various shapes. Between the roses are triple sheaves of foliage, and above is a line of ovolo moulding. The inside of the coffin is square at



SARCOPHAGUS.

* The fracture which appears on the left hand side of the figure is not in the original; it is the result of an accident to the photograph which we took of this relic. I wanted to take another photograph, but we never had the opportunity; so I recommend the task to future explorers.

one end and rounded at the other; this last arrangement, showing the place for the head, is very rare indeed; as a rule the square bottom of the coffin rises at one end, sometimes ending in an angle, so as to form a resting place for the head. My notes say that there was a trace of an inscription cut inside; I wished to revisit the coffin to make certain of this, but did not have leisure to do so.

I suppose that this fine sarcophagus, whose style is exactly that of the sarcophagi of the *K'bûr es Salâtîn*, must have come from that cemetery, and so must the two others, which the Moslems have also turned into troughs for fountains, not far from there, at the Mehkhemeleh and at Bâb es Selseleh, and there is one also in the street Hâr't el Wâd.*

THE CRADLE OF JESUS.

All who have visited the little Mussulman sanctuary called "The Cradle of Jesus," which is in the underground chamber at the south-east interior angle of the Haram, must have seen there a great block of stone, lying flat on its side, with a niche hewn out of it. This is the stone which, according to the Mussulmans, is the true "Cradle of Jesus;" the tradition is a very ancient one. The upper part of this niche is carved in radiating flutings like a cockle-shell. After a careful examination of it, I came to the conclusion that it must originally have been *the niche which contained an antique statue*, a niche shaped like a *concha*. In the Greek inscriptions in the Hauran,† mention is often made of these *κόγχαυ*, which were especially intended to receive a statue of some deity. I think that our niche, the "Cradle of Jesus," must have served the same purpose, and have sheltered the statue of one of the gods worshipped in Aelia Capitolina, either Jupiter Capitolinus, Venus, or Serapis.‡ Judging from the dimensions of the niche, the statue must have been a comparatively small one; perhaps it was of bronze. In this way one can explain well enough the vitality of the legend which has always caused this stone to be regarded with peculiar respect, by

* See *supra*, pp. 129, 131; and hereafter (Chap. IX).


† Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie*, Nos. 1913, 2203b, 2218, 2405, 2413b.

‡ As to the worship of Serapis at Jerusalem, see the Roman inscription which has been recently discovered (*Quarterly Statement*, 1895, pp. 25 and 130).

merely substituting the name of Jesus for the less orthodox one whose image once stood in the niche. I intended making an exact plan and drawing of this fragment, which from this point of view is a very interesting one, but I never had time to do so. I commend this to the care of future explorers. They might, at the same time, plan the two other similar niches which stand side by side in the wall itself, with their ornamentation perhaps hidden by the whitewash. Mussulman legend, faithful to its theory, has named one of them Mary's Mihrâb, and the other Zachary's Mihrâb. They also perhaps once sheltered two other statues of deities, connected with that which stood in the first one, the whole forming a sort of Holy Trinity. Knowing as we do that Jerusalem, when transformed into Aelia Capitolina, became a sort of miniature Rome, we may be tempted to think of the three deities whose presence was the leading characteristic of provincial capitols, and formed the triad of the Capitol at Rome—namely, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

A SO-CALLED FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HEROD.

In the pavement surrounding the Kubbet es Sakhra, M. de Vogüé had already* noticed a marble slab, upon which he imagined that he saw a fragment of an ancient inscription. "It bears only one letter," he writes, "an enormous Ω , which measures more than 0^m.30 in diameter, and from its form seems to belong to the early days of the Roman Empire. Can it be a fragment of some inscription from Herod's Temple?"

After attentively examining this so-called omega, I have ascertained that it is nothing more than a fragment of a very common piece of Arab architectural ornament. The carving is exceedingly thin and shallow, and is entirely different in shape to the letter for which it has been taken. I found not far off another specimen which leaves no doubt as to its real origin; in this one can still make out the traces of two vertical lines  under the feet of the *omega*. It is evidently a copy of the *mihrâb*, or niche, like those which we see figured on the prayer carpets called *sijâdeh*. What makes this certain is the presence on the second specimen of a still visible representation of a lamp hung by a chain from the crown of the arch. Nay,

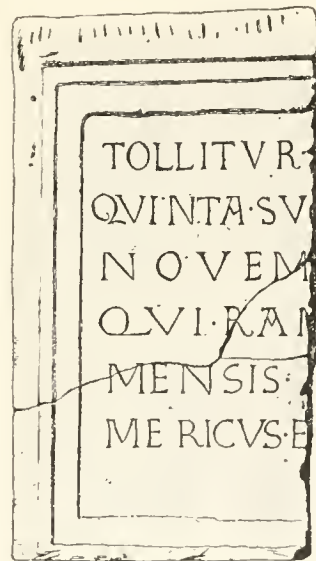
* De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 133.

more : in the left hand angle of the design can still be seen the Arabic word or name *معييد*, carved with the same tool which was used to make the outline of the *mihrâb*.

A FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIPTION OF THE CRUSADING PERIOD.

On a great marble slab with a moulded border, which comes from the Kubbet es Sakhra, where it was brought to light during the repairs executed in 1874. This slab,* which itself is broken into three pieces, was in ancient times cut from a very large slab, which has been purposely broken into several pieces to mend an old Mohammedan building. It is possible that some day the remainder of this interesting memorial of the Crusades may be discovered. We have only the beginnings of the six lines which formed the original inscription. It consists of fine letters of Roman shape, more like the twelfth than the thirteenth century.

TOLLITUR
 QUINTA SU
 NOVEM
 QUI RA (P ?)
 MENSIS
 MERICUS E



The inscription seems to have been a metrical epitaph, like those of the Frankish kings of Jerusalem, and mentioned the age and the date of the death of some person named Mericus (Aimericus?)† The marble slab may have been conveyed into the Haram from without. Yet we must not

* Subsequently acquired by the late Russian Archimandrite.

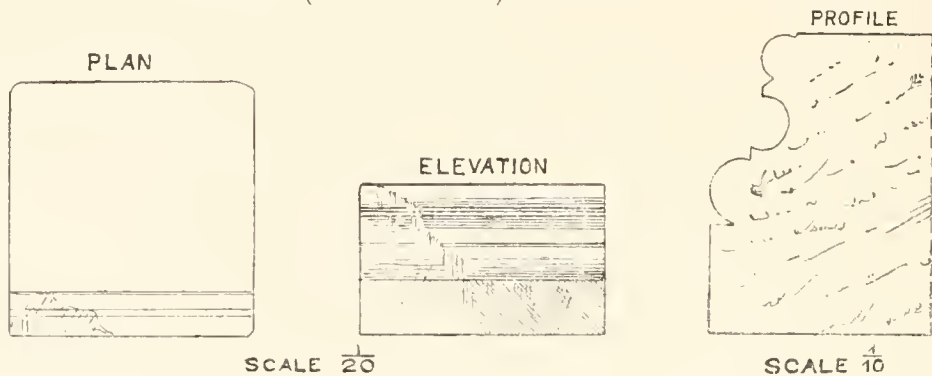
† The name of Amaury, Patriarch of Antioch, is thus written, *Aimericus*, on his own seal, an impression of which is extant.

forget that at the period of the Crusades,* probably only in exceptional cases, burials took place within the enclosure of the Templum Domini.

VARIOUS FRAGMENTS OF THE CRUSADING PERIOD.

As I mounted the central stair on the south side of the Sahën which surrounds the Kubbet es Sakhra, I observed on the left hand side, embedded in the wall, a fragment of a moulded stone with mediæval tooling of the most characteristic kind.

This fragment is very interesting, because it gives us the profile of a moulding which undoubtedly belonged to the period of the Crusades, a moulding we may find again in buildings whose date has not hitherto been determined. I noticed another one of just the same kind embedded in the north wall of the barracks (Via Dolorosa).

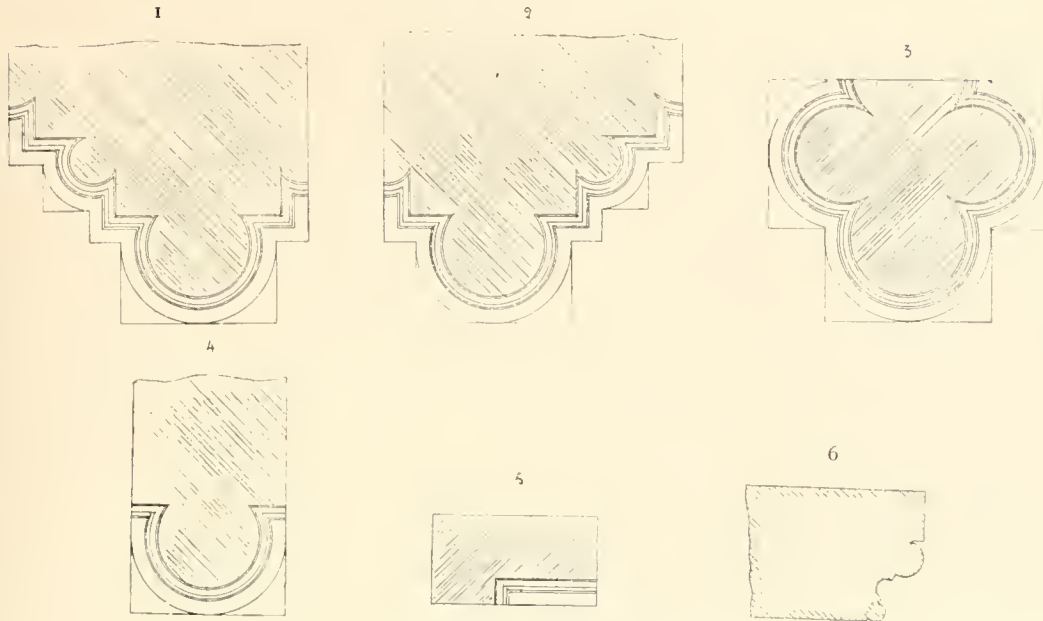


Indeed, all the south-west angle of the Sahën appears to me to be formed of Crusading material ; on both sides, including the buttresses on the western side, the stones show tooling of a decidedly mediæval character, and many of them bear masons' marks as well (see Special plate, p. 10). At various places in the pavement of the platform we found some large bases of columns grouped together, which evidently came from the same source,† the oblique mediæval tooling is shown in the drawings.

* Theoderich says, p. 36 : " Super gradus autem ante quos piscinam diximus esse sitam (*i.e.*, on the west side of the Sahën, or central platform) quatuor columnæ arcuatae consistunt, ubi etiam *sepulcrum divitis cujusdam viri* ferreis cratibus circumseptum, ex alabastro decenter incisum consistet." I did for a moment wonder whether our inscription may not have come from this tomb, and whether the *ricus* of our epitaph may not perhaps have suggested the *vir dives quidam* of the German pilgrim. But I dare not entertain this idea, nor yet another even more daring, which would make us see in this fragment no epitaph, but the dedication of the Templum Domini, at some date which we cannot precisely fix between the year 1136 and 1142 (on Wednesday in Easter Week).

† Two of the fragments collected in these drawings, but I cannot exactly say which, come from the part of the Haram which lies to the westward of El Aksa, in the direction of the Women's Mosque.

BASES AND PIERS OF THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES IN HARAM ESH SHERIF.



BASES OF COLUMNS.

Scale $\frac{1}{40}$ Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$ Profile 6.

THE NORTH FRONT OF THE WOMEN'S MOSQUE.

All the north front of the side building now called Beka't el Beidha or El Aksa el Kadimeh* (Mujir ed Din's "Women's Mosque"), which extends like a great gallery of two naves along the southern enclosing wall of the Haram, between the west wall of El Aksa on the east, and the Mosque of the Moghrebins on the west, is of Frankish mediæval construction. A minute examination of the stone work showed me that all the stones had the characteristic oblique tooling; many of them also bear masons' marks which (see Special plate)† leave no room for doubt on the subject. The gate which stands in the middle of this front belongs to the same period; each voussoir bears a mason's mark. I ascertained the same thing to be true of the south end of the west wall of the Mosque of the Moghrebins, which joins this front at a right angle. Mujir ed Din, therefore, is quite wrong in attributing this building to the Fatimites. However,

* I give this name on the authority of Dr. Sandreczki, but I may remark that Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 379) applies it to quite a different place, namely, the underground passage of the Double Gate, near El Aksa.

† There are, also in the pavement, several bases of columns, which should be mediæval from their form and their tooling.

I have had occasion elsewhere to remark that often in the language of our chronicler the term "Fatimite" is applied to work really built by the Crusaders. There can be no doubt that we have here the remains of the very considerable additions built by the Templars on the west side of El Aksa.*

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE

(*From the capital of a column in the Haram*).

I. The Capital.—Several years ago I noticed built into the minaret, which stands at the north-west angle of the Haram enclosure at Jerusalem, a capital which seemed to be ornamented with defaced figures.†

During the mission with which I was entrusted by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I went again to make a more careful study of this interesting relic, which by a too rare piece of good fortune has escaped the iconoclastic frenzy of the Mohammedans. It has, however, paid a considerable tribute to it, as can easily be seen by an examination of the accompanying illustration, which has been carefully drawn with a camera-lucida by my assistant, M. Lecomte.

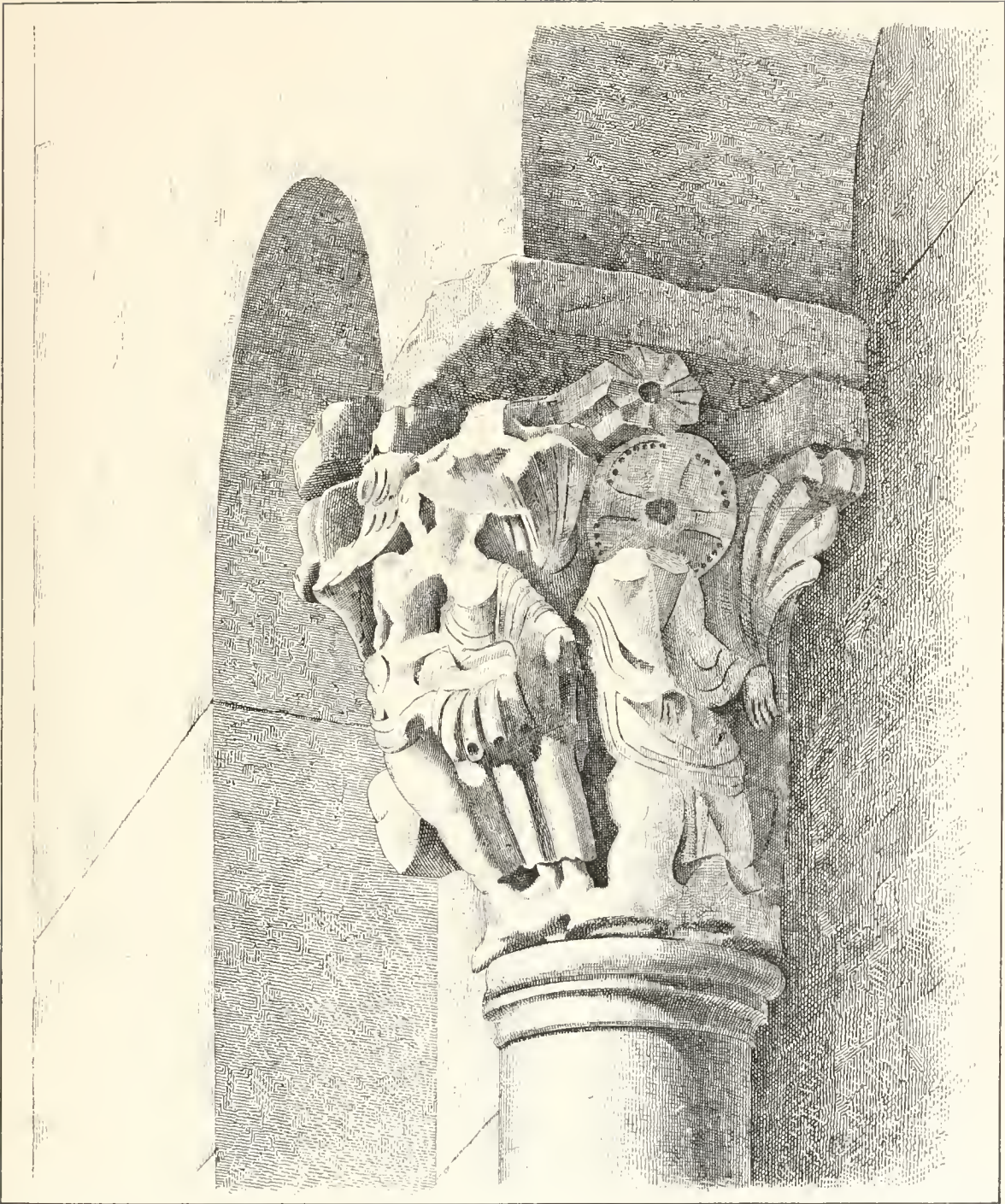
The minaret consists of a tall and graceful square tower, which stands above the Turkish barrack, where once stood that famous fortress Antonia, which has so greatly exercised the ingenuity of topographers. The view from the top of this minaret must be nearly the same as that once commanded by the Roman garrison of the tower Antonia over the wide precincts of the Temple.‡

Mujîr ed Din, the Arab chronicler of Jerusalem and Hebron, tells us that this minaret was called *the minaret of the Ghawânimeh*, because it stood near the gate of that name. He assures us that a minaret stood on this spot as early as the time of Abd el Melik—that is to say, in the first century of the era of the Hegira; the same remark is applied

* Compare, on this subject, John of Würzburg, Theoderich, Ibn el Athir, and the other Arab historians.

† The existence of this capital had been pointed out to me by my lamented friends C. Tyrwhitt Drake and E. H. Palmer, in the year 1870.

‡ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, p. 336, ed. Haverkampff: *ὡς καθορᾶν ὄλον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν* and *Καθῆστο γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰς μὲν Ἰουδαίων*. The engraving which serves as frontispiece to Messrs. W. Besant and E. H. Palmer's *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, London, 1871, from a photograph taken from the top of this minaret, will give an idea of this view. (*The Dome of the Rock, frontispiece, from a photograph by C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq.*)



A. Lecante, Arch^t, del

F. S. Weller, lith

**CAPITAL OF WHITE MARBLE, IN ONE OF THE MINARETS OF THE
HARAM ESH SHERÎF, AT JERUSALEM.**

by him to the three other minarets which stand in different parts of the Haram enclosure.*

For my own part I am inclined to believe that these minarets correspond to certain strategic fortified points in the ancient enclosing wall of the Temple. I am even prepared to apply this theory to the minarets which stand in the interior of the city, and to admit, for instance, that the minarets of the *Jâme' el 'Omari* and of the *Khânkâh* (between which stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) mark the outline of that second line of city wall which at this day has disappeared.†

After mounting the staircase contained within the minaret, the exact number of whose steps I have forgotten, one comes out on to a little platform carried on corbels, which is fenced by a balustrade and covered by a screen which runs all the way round.‡

It is round this platform that the *muezzin* walks, shouting his call to prayer to the four quarters of the horizon. The screen to keep off the sun and rain is a modern addition which is no part of the original architectural design.

On each of the four sides of the minaret are windows divided by two small arches which rest upon a little central column. This arrangement is repeated with some variations on each story of the minaret.

The capital with which we are now dealing surmounts the central column of the window which faces the east on the platform story.

It is sculptured in white marble. The Mussulman hammer has wreaked its vengeance upon it: the pious work has especially vented its fury on the heads of the figures which stood completely out from the design, and which have been utterly destroyed.

On a careful examination we make out, first, on the extreme left, a figure dressed in a close-fitting robe, tied round the waist by a cloth girdle, the end, or ends, of which hangs down. The figure stands upright, with its legs slightly bent, and stretches both arms forward parallel to one another. Over its fore arms there hangs a piece of linen or cloth with many folds, which forms a distinct hollow between the two arms. The

* Mujir ed Din, *op. c.*, p. 379; *cf.* p. 249.

† This second wall had fourteen flanking towers: τὸ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ ἑκα πύργους μιέρηστο. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, p. 329. Everyone knows that the problem of this second wall is intimately connected with that of the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre.

‡ One can go even higher, into the octagonal lantern which stands above the screen, and which is itself surmounted by a small building with an oval cupola roof, pierced with windows and bearing a crescent at its apex.

attitude of this figure, although undecided and hard to make out, is not wanting in a certain natural grace, and one easily perceives that it represents a respectful eagerness to receive into the *sinus* of the linen which lies across its arms. What this is remains for us to discover.

This gesture seems to be addressed to a second draped personage, seated at the extreme right, with its body turned to its right hand. Of course, its head is gone, as also are its right arm and hand. The left arm, which has been spared, is bent at almost a right angle, and the hand is open.

Above this headless personage, in the background, there is carved a large nimbus containing a cross; its circumference is edged with a number of little holes which form spots of deep black. The cross consists of branches of equal length, widening slightly at the ends; in the middle there is a large opening.

The head which stood in front of this nimbus must have been held somewhat on one side, judging from the position of the cross, which is not quite upright.

Between these two figures, in the background, one sees a third, standing upright, draped, and with the skirt of its mantle cast over its left shoulder: the tunic, which only reaches to above the ankle, allows the feet to be seen. The left arm has been broken off: the other appears to be bent at a right angle and brought up to the breast, under a fold of clothing. This third figure, which stands immediately behind the outstretched arms of the first one, seems by its very position to play only a subordinate part in the scene.

Above the place where the first figure's head should be, there is an outstretched wing in high relief, belonging to some celestial being which the hammer has not spared. Finally, we may notice a few less important details: a kind of rosette above the nimbus, and quite at the end, on the right hand, a sort of conventional palm leaf, which is, perhaps, a hint at some building, for it seems to be surmounted by a kind of abacus.

Plainly we have here a subject taken from the Christian iconography: the style of the capital at first sight reminds us of the forms of Romanesque art, and we might compare it to many capitals of the same kind which are to be found in our ancient churches.

Unhappily the sculpture is in such a state of ruin that we cannot push these comparisons very far. Let us start by deciding what must be the scene here represented.

I do not think that one can see in it anything else than the *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*.

We all know the origin of this tradition. It is derived from a passage in St. Luke's Gospel,* which does not occur in the narratives of the other Evangelists.

The text, immediately after speaking of the Circumcision, tells us how the Virgin and St. Joseph came to Jerusalem to present their infant to the Lord, according to the custom, and to offer the usual sacrifice. At this moment a just man, the aged Simeon, filled with the spirit of prophecy, came into the Temple: he there met the Holy Family, took the infant Jesus in his arms, and recognised and proclaimed him as the Saviour. At the same moment the prophetess Anna, who was present, gave thanks likewise to the Lord, and spake of Him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

This incident in the life of Jesus, though passed over in silence by the other Evangelists, seems even in very early times to have played an important part in the Christian liturgy.† It is commemorated by one of the fixed feasts of the ecclesiastical year, the Purification of the Virgin, whose date in the Christian Calendar is February 2. This feast is also sometimes, and at a very early period, known as the Lord's *Hipapante* or *Hipapanti*, from the Greek word Ἑπαπαντή, *meeting*. This alone is enough to show the antiquity of the celebration of this feast, which is that at which the candles used in churches are blessed, and is therefore known as Candlemas Day. All the details connected with this feast, and notably its substitution for the Roman Lupercalia, will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*.‡

This scene must necessarily have tempted Christian artists; thus we find it described in detail in the *Painters' Guidebook*, a Byzantine MS. at Mount Athos, which tells how the various iconographical subjects of the Old and New Testament should be treated:

"Candlemas. A temple and a dome. Above the dome a table; thereon a golden censer. St. Simeon Theodochos (the Receiver of God) takes the Infant Christ into his arms and blesses Him. On the other side of the table the Blessed Virgin opens her arms and stretches them towards him. Behind her, St. Joseph, bearing two doves in his robe. Near him, the prophetess, St. Anna, saying on a scroll, 'This Babe is He who made Heaven and earth.'"[§]

* St. Luke, ii, 22-38.

† As to the antiquity of this Feast in the Latin Church, see *Acta Sanctorum*, February 1, 271.

‡ February 2, par. IV, cf. Martigny, *Dict. des antiq. chrét.* s.v. *Fêtes immobiles*, p. 268.

§ Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, translated from the Byzantine MS., *The Painters' Guidebook*, by Durand, p. 160.

Our capital seems to answer fairly well to the main points of this description in the matter of general arrangement. It is difficult to find any sign of the temple, the dome, the table, and the censer. I think that the truth is, the sculptor was cramped in his work by the small size of the capital upon which he had to represent this complicated scene.

The same reason probably led him to leave out the prophetess Anna.

On the other hand, we have an addition, that of an angel, whose wing, spared by the destroyer, reveals its presence. These variants ought not, however, to surprise us much, for we shall shortly see that we are here in the presence of a piece of Crusaders' work, and we must not expect, therefore, to find the rules of Greek iconography rigorously followed.

With the assistance of various specimens of this scene, as we find it pourtrayed in Western art,* we can without difficulty recognise in the figure on the left hand side, stretching out his arms covered with linen or cloth, the aged Simeon, making ready to receive the Infant Jesus. In many cases the arms are represented as covered by a fold of the wearer's cloak, beneath which they are passed. Strictly, we may admit in the present case that what covers Simeon's arm is not a linen cloth, but his cloak, which he has taken off.

The presence of the angel, one wing of which we can make out above Simeon's head, is not unusual. In the most ancient known example of the Presentation, the mosaic at Sta. Maria Maggiore, two angels are present.

The figure in the background, behind Simeon's arms, can only be St. Joseph. He is sufficiently characterised by the subordinate place which is assigned to him, and more especially by the position of his left arm held up against his breast to hold the two doves meant for the sacrifice, which are

* R. Guéneault, *Dictionnaire Iconographique* . . . II, 278; Rohault de Fleury, *l'Évangile* I, pp. 53-55, pl. XIV and XV; Grimouïard de St. Laurent, *Guide de l'Art Chrétien*, IV, pp. 150, 152.

The most remarkable of these representations are:—

Fifth century, the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore; Eighth century, the mosaic of St. Peter; Ninth century, a miniature in a Greek MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 150; Tenth century, *Graduel de Prüm*, Latin MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 9448; Eleventh century, a Greek MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 74; Eleventh and Twelfth centuries, the gates of St. Paul's and the *Exultet* of Pisa, etc.

Compare the bas reliefs of the great *châsse* of the treasure of Aix la Chapelle (Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, I, pp. 20, 23, pl. II), and Drogo's Service Book (Cahier *Nouveaux Mélanges* . . . *Ivoires*, etc., p. 124. We may also compare many painted glass-windows, for example, those of Chartres.

now broken off. This attitude agrees completely with that in which he is represented in many specimens of ancient art.

Moreover, we have a witness on the spot, which proves to us that in the period of the Crusades this characteristic detail of the two doves was an essential part of this scene. This testimony is that of Achard d'Arrouaise, the Prior of the *Templum Domini* in the reign of Baldwin I, under whose direction, in the *Templum Domini*, were executed those very works of art of which our capital forms part. In his curious poem on the sanctuary of which he was in charge, he describes the scene of the Presentation, and is careful to say, "*cum duabus columbarum pullis vel turturibus.*" (*Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. I, p. 574, v. 309.)

As to the third person seated on the right, one meets with certain difficulties. It seems natural to take it to be the Virgin; but the Virgin is generally represented as standing in this scene; moreover, this person seems rather a subordinate one. Indeed, it has been so defaced that one can hardly form an idea of what its original attitude may have been. We may conjecture that its right arm, now destroyed, upheld the Infant Jesus as He turned towards the aged Simeon. The figure itself has met with the same fate as the Virgin's arm.

According to the usual rule of Christian iconography, the nimbus with the cross in the group of Jesus and His mother, ought to belong to the former. The size of it in this instance, and the way in which it is arranged, make it seem more as if it was connected with the sitting figure; but it is so difficult to form a distinct idea of the original arrangement of the two heads of this group, that I should not care to make any positive assertion about it.*

On the other hand, the nimbus with the cross clearly shows the importance of the sitting person. We cannot, therefore, take this person to be the prophetess Anna, and the Virgin to be that which I propose to recognise as St. Joseph.†

* I have submitted this obscure point to a consummate archæologist, M. Didron, who has been good enough to give me the benefit of his experience on the subject. The nimbus with the cross is reserved for the Deity alone: it was originally confined to Christ; later it was given to the other persons of the Trinity, and the symbols which represent them; it may, for instance, accompany the dove of the Holy Ghost, the lamb which personifies Jesus, the Hand of the Father, etc. The Virgin has no right to it.

† One might indeed take this nimbus to belong to the Divine Hand, this Hand sometimes appears in this scene, for instance, in the miniature in the *Benedictional* of St. Æthelwold (tenth century).

Be this as it may, in spite of these unascertained details, we may admit without hesitation that it is indeed the *Presentation of Jesus* which is sculptured upon our capital; the attitude of the aged Simeon alone would suffice to remove all doubt on this subject.

We must not think, as we might be tempted to do, of some incident in the childhood of the Virgin, who herself also was, according to the legend, presented in the temple while a little child.

The *Painters' Guidebook* is acquainted with this scene also, which it calls *the Mother of God blessed by the Priests*.^{*} But the Apocryphal Gospel on which this description is based, says expressly that the Virgin was then *three years old*,[†] and the *Guidebook* does not fail to repeat this.

But it is quite a little child which the person on the left is preparing to take in his outstretched arms, covered with a linen cloth or cloak; we are therefore necessarily brought to the early childhood of Jesus. Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day;[‡] according to the chronological system of the best interpreters of the Scriptures, the Presentation of Jesus took place immediately after this ceremony, before the Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt. In other words, at this moment Jesus must be regarded as a new born babe, which agrees exactly with the features shown on our capital.

Two other capitals, placed in the same minaret, in two other windows of the same story, show the greatest possible likeness to this one. Unfortunately they have both been much more defaced. Nevertheless, from what is left I think that I have made out on them repetitions of this same scene of the *Presentation*, perhaps with some other details representing different stages of the scene. Not only do these three capitals resemble one another, but the columns and bases which support them are of the same pattern.

Finally, and this is a fact of essential importance, these three capitals have all been originally carved so as to fit between *two walls meeting at a right angle*; they are, properly speaking, corner capitals. I conclude from this that they come from some Christian church or chapel destroyed by the

* Didron, *Guide de la peinture*, p. 279.

† *Protevangelium Jacobi*, VII, 1, 2. I have been obliged to dwell upon this point because the remembrance of the *Presentation of the Virgin* seems to have subsequently assumed a very great importance: according to tradition it was this remembrance which was hallowed by Justinian by the erection of the great Basilica of St. Mary, by some writers, wrongly, I think, identified with the mosque El Aksa, which, like our capital, stands in the Haram; one might at first sight be tempted to regard our capital as having come from that Basilica.

‡ The circumcision has sometimes been confounded in iconography and legend with the *Presentation in the Temple*.

Mohammedans, and that they come from it *directly*, that is, they have not been picked up as an afterthought, or made use of at secondhand, otherwise they would have been scattered abroad, and one could not explain the presence of all three together except by a strange coincidence.

We are led to inquire how it was that they contented themselves with defacing these capitals; why these relics which were contrary to the religious rules of Islam were not altogether cast away by the Mussulmans into the mass of shapeless building material destined to be lost in some piece of stonework; why, in a word, they were used over again for their original architectural purpose, and merely put in a not very accessible situation.

The same question may be asked with regard to many similar pieces of stone contained in the Haram enclosure. I may point out, for instance, in the eastern hall adjoining the Mosque El Aksa, two fine capitals which represent fanciful animals; they serve at this day as bases to two columns which flank a *Mihrâb*. They have been hidden for centuries beneath a thick coating of mortar, and were a few years ago accidentally brought to light.

During the deplorable restorations effected by the Turks at the Sakhra, several fragments of the same kind of work, with human heads, were brought to light, as I saw with my own eyes; for instance, near a *Mihrâb* on the inner wall, called the *Hancfite Mihrâb*,* in the holy cave, at Abraham's *makâm*,† in the enclosure round the Rock itself, near the shield of Hamzeh,‡ etc. I need not say that care was taken to hide again these abominations after they had been seen for a moment. All these sculptures appeared to me to be of mediæval origin.

I think that the comparative respect which has been shown to these fragments, and more especially to the capitals in our minaret, can be explained by the fact that a large number of the masons were Christians, and that it must always have been so.§ It is probable that during the

* See L in the plan which I give further on, p. 154.

† X on the plan.

‡ K on the plan.

§ We are distinctly told by Mohammedan writers that native Christians were admitted to the sacred enclosure for the work necessary for its maintenance and repair. An interesting passage on this subject will be found in Mujir ed Dîn (Arabic text, Cairo, p. 249). Ten Christians had the office, transmissible from father to son, of sweeping the matting, cleaning out the watercourses and underground cisterns, etc., of the Mosque. Even *Jews* were admitted in the time of Abd el Melik to perform similar tasks; this should perhaps be borne in mind if we wish to discuss with full knowledge the question of the Hebrew *graffiti* in the underground chambers of El Aksa.

course of the work committed to their charge, they took care to preserve as far as they were able all stonework connected with their religion. The Mussulmans could shut their eyes to this breach of their religious law with a better conscience because these capitals had already been defaced, and were sufficiently mutilated to be not very shocking to their scruples. Moreover, the veneration professed by the Mohammedans for the Virgin and for Jesus is well known.

We have, then, every reason to believe that the three capitals in our minaret were brought from some chapel, probably at no great distance from it; our next task is to discover this chapel.

II. *The Chapel of the Presentation and the TEMPLUM DOMINI at the period of the Crusades.*—One piece of desirable information to begin with would be to know at what period this removal happened.

Mujir ed Dîn, the chronicler of Jerusalem, tells us that the building of the two porticos which stand below the *Dâr en Niâbch** took place at the same time as that of the minaret of the *Ghawânemch*, which is our minaret; he adds that a tarikh (inscription) built into the wall gives the date of this building; but the text of this stone document had already perished in the time of Mujir ed Dîn (fifteenth century) *owing to its great age*.†

In another passage‡ he attributes this building to the Cadi Sheref ed Din, whose appointment goes back to the year 696§ of the Hegira. This brings us to somewhere about A.D. 1298. But he adds, "I am assured that the building of this minaret took place in the reign of the son of Kelâûn;|| this may very well be true."

All this chronology is pretty vague; it proves, however, that in the fifteenth century this minaret was already regarded as very ancient.

We may, moreover, rightly regard these dates as a *minimum*.

It is well known how little distinction the Arabs make between the actual building and the restoration or repair of an edifice; it is an old Semitic habit which we have already noticed in the case of the inscription

* *The Residence of the Governor (Niûb)*, seems to answer to Antonia, which held a similar position during the Roman occupation.

† Mujir ed Din, Arabic text of Cairo, p. 376.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 380; *cf.* p. 606.

§ The Arabic text of Cairo corrects thus the erroneous date of 677, which it gives on p. 380. The author says that he *saw* the original deed.

|| 678 A.H., 1279 A.D.

of Mesha.* The interchangeability of the words 'amara, 'ammara, singularly favours this eternal confusion, of which the vanity of the Arabs delights to take advantage.

There is, therefore, no reason why our minaret should not be older than these various pieces of evidence would make it, or that it should not date from the time of the return of the Mussulmans to Jerusalem.†

We must not, however, lay too much stress upon these considerations, because whatever the date of the minaret may be, the upper part of it, where the capitals are, may have been rearranged at a later period, Mujir ed Din himself tells us of such a rearrangement of the four minarets of the Haram, which, he says, are probably built upon the ancient foundations of those which were to be seen in the times of Abd el Melik.‡

Is it possible to find out from what building these capitals came and thus to discover to what period they belong?

A curious passage in Phocas seems to me to give a happy answer to this question.

Johannes Phocas, a pilgrim from Crete, visited the Holy places while the Crusaders still held Jerusalem, for he wrote his work in 1177 (not in 1185, as M. E. Miller has so arbitrarily decided). §

He has left us a valuable description of Jerusalem itself.

After briefly describing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he comes to the *Templum Domini*, which stood in the eastern quarter of the city "on the site of the Holy of Holies, on the very foundation of Solomon's famous Temple."|| This *Templum Domini* means the present Kubbet es Sakhra, which the Westerns commonly and wrongly call *the Mosque of Omar*.

"On the left hand site of the Temple," he says, "there are two vaulted chambers, wherein is set forth (*ιστόρηται* described, represented) in the one

* The Moabite king continually makes use of the verb *bana*, "to build," meaning that he *rebuilt* or restored towns which were in existence long before he was born.

† The Franks were ejected from Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187.

‡ Mujir ed Din, *op. c.*, p. 379.

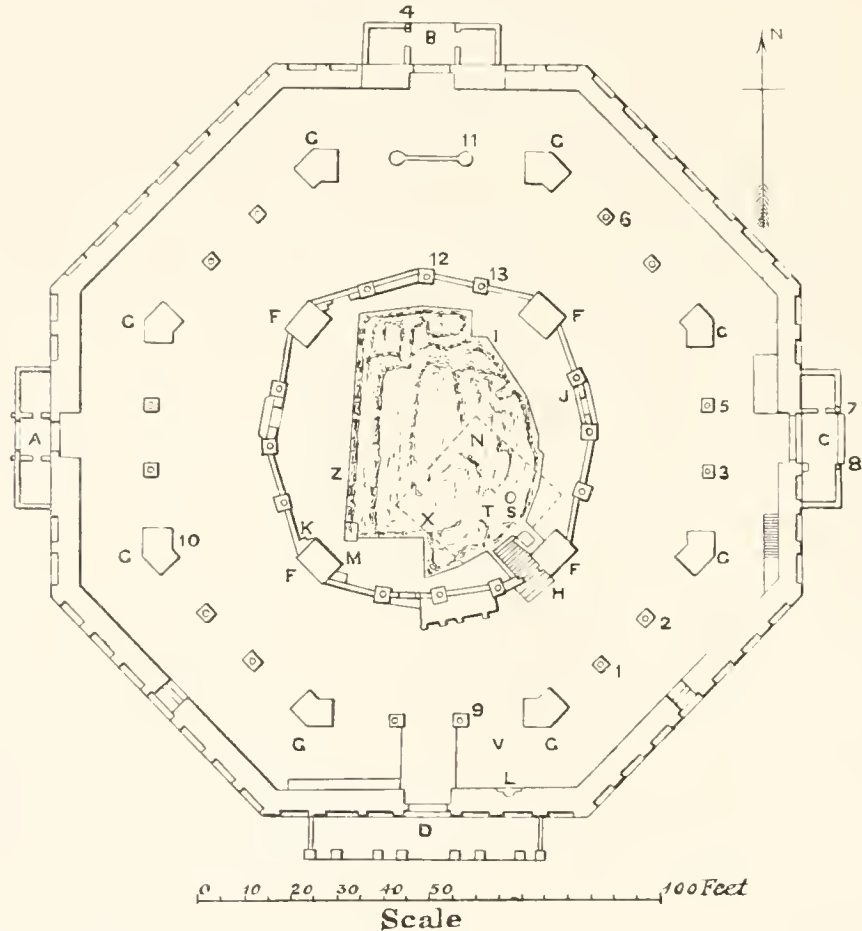
§ *Recueil des histor. des Croisades, Historiens Grecs*, Tom. I, p. 8, etc.

|| One detail will prove Phocas's extreme accuracy: he tells us that the *Templum Domini* was adorned with coloured marbles and with *mosaics both within and without*. These outside mosaics, of which no one could find the least trace in the Kubbet es Sakhra, are those whose existence I shall prove hereafter.

the Presentation of our Lord Jesus Christ, for this is the very spot whereon Simeon took our Lord Jesus Christ into his arms."

Εἰσὶν οὖν περὶ τὰ ἐνώνυμα μέρη τοῦ ναοῦ καμάραι δύο, ἐφ' αἷς ἱστορήνται, ἐν μὲν τῇ μιᾷ ἡ Ὑπαπαντὴ τοῦ Δεσπότην Χριστοῦ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ὁ δίκαιος Συμεὼν τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν ἐγκαλίστατο.*

There can be no doubt that Phocas meant some two little chapels which stood near the Kubbet es Sakhra, if not within that building.



PLAN OF KUBBET ES SAKHRA.

In the second of these chapels was represented Jacob's dream.

What proves that by the word *ναός*, temple, we are to understand the Kubbet es Sakhra and not El Aksa, is that immediately afterwards he adds,

* *Recueil des Histor. des Crois.-Histor. Grecs*, Tom. I, pp. 545, 542.

“on the right hand” there is an opening which leads down into a cave beneath the temple . . . etc.*

By this is indisputably meant the Holy Cave which is beneath the Sakhra itself, which is said to be the place of the “well of souls,” Bir el Arwâh.†

Not only must we look for these chapels beside the Kubbet es Sakhra and not in the direction of El Aksa, but they must be inside the former building, for Phocas immediately continues his description as follows:—

“On the *outside* of the Temple (Ἐξωθεν δὲ τοῦ Ναοῦ) there is a great platform paved with stone slabs,” etc.‡

So previously to this we were *inside*, as indeed we might have guessed from the mention of the cave.

Ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει is clearly opposed to περὶ τα ἐνώνυμα μέρη; the opening into the cave was on the right, and the two chapels on the left. On the right and left of what?

In order to enter upon this difficult question to any purpose, we must first obtain a general idea of the arrangement of the place.

The Kubbet es Sakhra, which the Crusaders found ready built on their arrival at Jerusalem, was turned by them into a church.

In the present building therefore we see both the mosque erected by Abd el Melik in the first century of the era of the Hegira and the famous *Templum Domini* or *Templum Dominicum* of the Crusaders.§ It is built on an octagonal ground plan, exactly according to the points of the compass, with four doors on the south, north, east and west sides (D, B, C, A).

In the interior there are two concentric ranges of piers and columns (GG, etc., and FF, etc.); the first of these is octagonal, the second almost circular. They support the roof, which covers the outer ring, and the circular tambour or wall, which is surmounted by the dome.

* *Hist. gr., op. c.*, p. 542.—Ἐν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει ὅπῃ εὑρίσκεται καταβαίνουσα μέχρι σπηλαίου τινὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ ναοῦ.

† See T on the plan given, p. 154.

‡ This is the *Sahn* (*Sahĕn*) of the Arabs, the trapezoidal platform which surrounds the Kubbet es Sakhra.

§ Called also *li moustiers del Temple Domini* (the minster of the Lord's Temple), *Domus Domini* (the Lord's House), *Domus Consilii* (the House of Counsel), and even *Solomon's Temple*. It must not be confounded with the mosque El Aksa, which was also called *Domus Dei Templique Salomonis sive Domus Templi*, and which belonged to the Knights Templars.

In the midst stands the irregular mass of the Holy Rock, the *Sakhra* (M S I).

On the south-east side of the rock has been made the opening n, by which even to this day one descends into the cave s τ κ x (shown by dotted lines) described by Phocas, and placed by him on the right of a point which we must ascertain in order to know, the position of the chapels, which were situated symmetrically on the right and left sides of this unknown point.

Here we may call in the testimony of a German pilgrim of almost the same time as Phocas, John of Würzburg, whose description dates from the year 1165.*

John of Würzburg tells us that the four gates described above did indeed exist in the *Templum Domini*; nevertheless, we seem to gather from his description that the two principal gates were those on the north and west sides† (A, B).

When mentioning the woman taken in adultery, he speaks of *a small crypt* in the *Templum Domini*, the entrance to which is in the left hand part of the *Templum*, and which is called the *Confessio*:‡ this is the cave which is placed *on the right* by Phocas. There can be no doubt about this, because the German pilgrim, as well as the Greek one, connects this cave with the name of Zachariah.§

If the cave is spoken of as being on the left by John of Würzburg, we must expect that when he mentions the chapels of the Presentation and of Jacob's Dream, he will place them on the *right* side of the Temple.

This is exactly what does happen: John of Würzburg says that on the *right hand side* of the *Templum Domini* they show a stone of peculiar sanctity, whereon Jesus stood when He cast out them that bought and sold in the Temple. This stone, he adds, is *joined* to another stone, above which is

* The quotations which follow are taken from the excellent edition of this text published by Dr. Tobler, in his *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, Leipzig, 1874.

† *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*. V. *Johannis Würzburgensis descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 125.

‡ *Descriptiones*, etc., p. 123. "Locus ille representatur in parva crypta ejusdem templi, ad quam introitus est in sinistra parte templi, et vocatur Confessio. In eundem locum dicitur ingressus Zacharias . . ."

§ Phocas, *op. cit.*, ἐφ' ᾧ τέρθεται ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας. They do not seem both to allude to the same Zachariah, but this is an unimportant detail.

figured *the Presentation of Christ*, with this inscription (in rhymed hexameters after the fashion of the time):*

*Hic fuit oblatus rex regum virgine natus
Qua propter sanctus locus est hic jure vocatus.†*

Jacob's dream is also mentioned, in verses of the same style :

*Hic Jacob scalam vidit, construxit et aram,
Hinc locus ornatur, quo sanctus jure vocatur.*

But John of Würzburg, who was not devoid of the critical faculty, remarks by the way, with a boldness unusual for his period, that this last tradition, *salva templi reverentia*, must be an apocryphal one.

To sum up, we have obtained the result that Phocas and John of Würzburg described what they saw from two opposite points of view : what is on the right hand of the one is on the left hand of the other, and *vice versa*. This does not as yet give us the actual positions of the points which we are endeavouring to ascertain.

To settle this, we must call in the testimony of a third pilgrim. This is furnished for us by an anonymous writer published by Dr. Tobler,‡ who assigns to him, apparently on good grounds, the date of 1145.

This account, which is much shorter than the others, is much more precise as regards the *Templum Domini*. It begins by speaking of the *great stone* in the middle, whereon the Ark was placed : this is the Holy Rock Sakhra.

It was near it, says our author, that the Son of God was presented, and that Jacob saw the ladder reaching up to heaven.§

* *Descriptiones*, etc., p. 121 : " *In dextra parte templi ostenditur lapis cum magna veneratione luminarium et ornatus, tanquam pede Domini calcatus et insignitus quando ipse solus virtute divina tot restitit hominibus eos violenter ejiciendo : qui lapis adjunctus est lapidi, super quem tanquam in altare depingitur Dominus noster oblatus fuisse, ut demonstratur in pictura et superscriptione quae talis est, etc.*"

† All the churches of the Crusaders were covered with similar monumental inscriptions. John of Würzburg has preserved faithful copies of them for us.

‡ *Descriptiones Palaestinae*, p. 100, iv. Innominati VII, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. From a MS. of the thirteenth century in the library of the University of Erlangen. This description, with regard to the point with which we are dealing, agrees exactly with that of the anonymous French Pilgrim (Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, II, p. 103) : " *a senestre partie del cuer fu offers nostre Sire, a la destre partie aparut li angles a Sacarie.*"

§ *Descriptiones*, etc., p. 102 : " *et hic juxta Dei filius praesentatus fuit et Jacob scalam de caelo descendentem vidit.*"

Afterwards he adds :—

“ *A sinistro latere chori*

(On the left hand side of the choir is :)

*Est oblatum rex regum de virgine natus,
Quo locus ornatur, quo sanctus jure vocatur.
Hic vidit scalam et in titulum erexit et aram.*

“ *A dextro vere latere* (locus), ubi angelus apparuit Zachariae (where the angel appeared to Zacharia). *Ibi subtus est confixio* (below this is the confixio = confessio),” etc.

The anonymous writer does not perhaps show the same accuracy as John of Würzburg in his reproduction of the inscriptions, but on the other hand he explains the position of the places better. This time there is no room for doubt: the place of the *Presentation* was shown at the period of the Crusades on the *left hand side of the choir*.

It follows from this that the entrance to the cave must have been on the right hand side of the choir; now this entrance, as it exists at this day, enables us to reconstruct the general arrangements of the interior of the *Templum Domini*.

The needs of their ritual compelled the Crusaders to fit a sort of choir into this octagonal nave, a choir extending east and west. This rule of orientation was strictly observed at this period by the Westerns. I have not met with a single Crusaders' church in all Palestine which departed from it.

Probably this choir included the circular range of piers and columns F F F F, which stands within the octagonal range, and immediately encircles the Holy Rock. These piers and columns are connected at this day by an iron grille of an unmistakably mediæval character. This grille, the work of the Crusaders,* must mark the limits of the choir. The head of the choir must have been turned towards the east, and thus have supplied for purposes of ritual the want of an apse.

The Holy Rock, enclosed in this choir, which was disposed as an after-

* De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 94: “The only memorial of the Crusaders is the iron grille which completely surrounds the Sakhra, and is fixed between the columns of the inner range. It is a complete specimen of Frankish ironwork of the twelfth century.” See fig. 44 (p. 96), which gives a drawing of a part of this “ancient choir-screen of the Crusading period.”

thought, must have carried the high altar; the spaces on the north and south sides must have formed the collateral aisles, as it were, of this octagonal nave.

“The Franks,” says Mujîr ed Din, repeating the words of earlier historians, “had built a *church* and an *altar* on the Sakhra, whereon they had placed figures and images. The Sultan (Saladin) cleared the Rock, ordered the buildings which had been added to it to be cast down, and restored it to its former state.”*

It is evident that by this “church” and “altar,” *Kenîsch* and *Mazbah*, we must understand the choir and the high altar whose existence we have assumed in the time of the Crusaders; the word *Kenîsch* used by Mujîr ed Din applies exactly to this choir, which formed as it were an artificial church within the Mohammedan building.

The mutilation which the Rock has undergone on its west side is probably due to its having been thus made use of. This mutilation caused lively indignation among the Mohammedans when they reoccupied their sanctuary. We can indeed trace on this side of the Rock a cutting which was meant to bring the shapeless mass into a regular form, and facilitate the laying of the pavement† over it which it underwent: the traces of this pavement are still visible.‡

The most circumstantial account of the Sakhra and the conversions which it had undergone is that given us by an eye witness, Saladin's secretary and paneygrist, ‘Imâd ed Din el Isfahâni, from whom Mujîr ed Din and the other writers of his time borrowed the greater part of their information on the subject. ‘Imad ed Din's work tells us that the Franks, not content with having built, upon the Sacred Rock, the *Kenîsch* and *Mazbah* aforesaid, had ornamented it with *images* and figures (*sûr û tamâthîl*).

He adds that they *had set up apart, at the place of the Foot, a little gilded cupola resting on marble columns, saying that this was the place of*

* Mujîr ed Din, *op. c.*, p. 301.

† Mujîr ed Din, *op. c.*, *ibid.*: “The Franks had made a cut in the Sakhra; they had carried the fragments to Constantinople and Sicily, and sold them, it is said, for their weight in gold.” Ibn el Athîr says that the Franks had covered the Sakhra with a marble pavement to prevent the priests breaking off pieces and selling them to pilgrims for great sums. (M. de Vogüé, *le Temple*, p. 79.)

‡ See, on the plan, the line which goes due north from the point *m*, and the rectangular return to the east of that point.

Christ's Foot-print; he says that it is a revered sanctuary, decorated with images sculptured in marble, among which he saw figures of pigs.*

I need not point out the light which the passage throws upon our subject. We find in the first place a distinct mention of one of those little separate chapels whose existence we have just established conjecturally; it consisted of a little building with a cupola resting on small *columns of marble*: these columns must have had capitals, and these capitals may very well have been ornamented with sculptures connected with the dedication of the chapel.

Let us bear in mind that 'Imâd ed Din must have seen these things while they were still standing in their places.

But one of the most essential points is the mention of a special Christian sanctuary, and of the Mohammedan one to which it succeeded; *Jesus's Foot-print* and *Mohammed's Footprint*.

The position of this latter sanctuary, which is held in veneration even to this day, is perfectly well known to us. This is what Mujîr ed Din says about it:—

“On the Sakhra, on the south side, is the print of *the Prophet's Foot* (“Kadam en Neby”), on whom be salvation; when he mounted Borâk, the rock bowed over on this side out of respect, and on the other side are the marks of the *angel's fingers* who caught the rock as it leaned over.” †

Mohammed's Footprint is shown at M in the plan, at the southern angle of the cutting of the Holy Rock.

But this *Footprint of Mohammed*, became *the Footprint of Jesus* of the Crusaders, ‡ and gives us the exact position of this latter sanctuary, which John

* *El fath el Kossy fil fath el Kodsy*, Arabic MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, anc. fonds, No. 717, fol. 36, verso. We may compare this passage with several other MSS. which we possess of this precious but difficult work, which is written in rhymed prose, more especially with No. 741 of the same class, fol. 51, verso and recto. 'Imâd ed Din's *pigs* or *khanâzir* must not be taken literally; we have here probably some creature borrowed from the symbolical Bestiaries of the Middle Ages, which took a decorative place in the sculptures: the religious and patriotic fanaticism of the Mohammedan writer makes him naturally see in them brutes whose presence inspired him with a twofold horror, because the sculptured creature doubly broke the religious law, first as being the representation of a living thing, and secondly as the foulest of unclean animals.

† Mujîr ed Din, p. 371, of the Arabic text of Cairo. These *angel's fingers* must correspond to the place, due north of the Holy Footprint, which is shown at the present day under the name of *the mark of Gabriel's Hand* (z on the plan).

‡ Compare the passage of Soyûty which I quote below, when speaking of Borâk's saddle. This passage expressly confirms the conjecture which I made before I knew of it.

of Würzburg has pointed out as being, together with that of the Presentation, on the right hand side of the Temple, whereas from his point of view the cave is on the left ; these two fixed points are, therefore, M and H in the plan.

Here a new difficulty arises : can these two points, M and H, be reasonably regarded as being on the *right and left sides* of the Temple? What is the German pilgrim's exact meaning when he says that the *stone of Jesus's Footprint* was *adjunctus* to the stone of the *Altar of the Presentation*? Does he mean that it was adjacent, or merely that there was another stone which might be some way off the former, or near to it? What increases our uncertainty is, that there may be some confusion in John of Würzburg's notes or recollections ; it would not be the first time that he has made mistakes.

It is certain that Anonymus VII distinctly tells us that the place of the *Presentation* was on the left hand of the choir, and that the cave was on the right of it ; and this description, which agrees literally with that of Phocas, must be preferred by us to any other. The Footprint of Mohammed or Jesus (M) cannot be considered to be on the right of the choir relatively to the cave, taking the latter to be on the left (H).

It seems more natural to look for the two chapels of the Presentation and of Jacob's Dream on the north side of the opening into the cave, along the side of the choir. We should come thus pretty near the kind of redan known among Mohammedans at the present day as the *Praying Place of the Prophets* (at I), not far from the mark of the foot of Idris (at J).*

Anyhow, however they may correspond to one another, it is more than probable that the various points of the Sakhra which, under divers titles, are the objects of especial veneration to the Mohammedans, are the same, which, under other titles, were venerated by the Crusaders.

This so persistent legend of a *sacred footprint*, whether the foot be Christ's or Mohammed's, must be derived from the ancient tradition which, with every appearance of truth, regards the Sakhra as the actual site of the Temple, and consequently as the place where the "destroying angel" halted and stood. This tradition was not unknown to the Crusaders, and so existed with the legends of Jesus's footprint, Jacob's dream, and other glories of the Holy Rock :

"In quo loco angelus populum caedens, David orante et exclamante :

* Idris is the Mohammedan name of Enoch.

*Ego sum qui peccavi, ego inique egi, restitisse perhibetur. Ubi etiam lapis ille super quem angelus restitit, adhuc impolitus, in medio templo eminent.**

In the time of the Crusaders the cave of the Sakhra was thought to be the *Holy of Holies*, as we are distinctly told by Anon. VII apud Tobler: *olim sancta sanctorum*. John of Würzburg does not think proper to repeat this tradition, which perhaps appeared to him as improbable as that of Jacob's dream. The *confessio* (cf. μαρτύριον) formed in this crypt seems to have consisted of a real chapel corresponding to the two other chapels of the Presentation and the Dream. Indeed, the *confessio* was adorned with paintings and inscriptions (like the two other chapels) which were intended to remind the worshipper of the two-fold story of the appearance of the angel to Zacharias and of the woman taken in adultery who was brought before Jesus. The first scene was merely accompanied by the words *Ne timeas, Zacharia, exaudita est oratio tua*, etc. (Fear not, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard).† The second scene was recalled by the image of Christ represented above the entrance (in superliminari) with the verse *Absolve gentes sua crimina corde fatentes*, which the anonymous writer corrupts into *Absolve gentes cordis crimen facientes* (= fatentes).

The anonymous writer also tells us that in the *confessio* there was a column which was revered by the Saracens, who said that it stood on the site of the altar whereon Abraham would have sacrificed his son. It is interesting to see that the Crusaders were familiar with the Mussulman legends also, and that they were able to distinguish them from their own. This Place of the Sacrifice of Abraham is indeed the *Makâm* of Ibrâhim, which is revered in this cave at the present day.

This special sanctuary of the Presentation played an important part during the reign of the Crusaders.

On the day of the celebration of the Feast of the Purification, that is to say, of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, a solemn procession went from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the *Templum Domini*, that is to say, to the Kubbet es Sakhra.‡

* *Gesta Dei per Francos*, XXIV, 573. Cf. Fulcher Carn., 18 (397): "Spelunca supra quam angelus sedisse dicitur;" Gul. Tyr.: "Supra rupem . . . dicitur stesisse . . . angelus." J. de Vitry, c. 26, apud Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 541.

† St. Luke, i, 13.

‡ "It (the church of the *Templum Domini*) was the place to which the procession went from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the day of the Purification;" E. G. Rey, *Les Familles d'outre-mer*, par Du Cañge, p. 833.

In the ceremonial appointed for the coronation of the Frankish kings at Jerusalem, the king, after being crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had to proceed to the *Templum Domini* and offer his crown on the *altar of the Presentation*: "Et quant il est coroné en Jerusalem, si est coroné au mostier du sepulcre, et vait au Temple Domini; et la euffre sa corone sur l'autier où fut offert nostre Seignor par saint Symeon, et puis s'en entre au temple Solomon,* qui est la maison des Templiers."†

We have already seen that the two principal gates of the *Templum Domini* were those on the north and the west sides: it should be noted that most of the churches built by the Crusaders in Palestine have their doors arranged in this same fashion. The anonymous French author of the twelfth century to whom we owe the description known as *La Cité de Jherusalem* says distinctly:

"El mostier del temple avoit iiij portes en croix. La première est devers soleil couchant. Par la entroient cil de la cité el temple."‡

The west door, then, was the principal door; it was by it that people entered when they came from the city to the *Templum Domini*. This is the way by which Phocas must have come, as he went from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the Temple. Entering by the west door, he must have had the choir in front of him, on the right of the choir the entrance to the cave, on the left the chapel of the Presentation and the chapel of Jacob's Dream. If John of Würzburg has his points differently arranged, it is, perhaps, because he came in by another door.

It is not too bold a conjecture to imagine that our three little capitals of so clearly defined a character, belonged to the first of these chapels which stood along the choir, perhaps in the intercolumniations.§ Possibly they supported the spring of the vaults, *καμάρες*, mentioned by Phocas; if he means a groined vault (compare the *dome* spoken of by 'Imad ed

* Solomon's Temple, that is, the mosque El Aksa.

† *Les Assises de Jerusalem*, published by Beugnot, I.

‡ T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, p. 210.

§ The two other capitals are so perished that it is quite possible that one of them at least represents not the Presentation of Jesus, but Jacob's Dream. In any case we may now look forward to the possible discovery at Jerusalem of one or two similar capitals representing Jacob's Dream. This subject is seldom represented in Art, but it has been sometimes, as is proved by the mention made of it in the *Painters' Guide Book*, p. 89: "*Jacob's Ladder*: The Patriarch Jacob asleep. Above him, a ladder resting on heaven. The angels of the Lord ascending and descending the ladder."

Din) their use as angle capitals, which is shown by their form, would be quite naturally explained; in this case there must have been a fourth, with similar carvings, which has been lost.

The subject carved upon these capitals was quite in harmony with the paintings in fresco or mosaic, accompanied by inscriptions which decorated these little side chapels, and which so vividly impressed the imaginations of the pilgrims quoted above.

The conclusions which we have drawn from the style of the capital itself, the subject of this essay, agree fully with these considerations, and justify us in seeing in it a work of the Crusaders.

One of the first cares of the Mussulmans on recovering possession of their sanctuary was, as we have seen, to remove from it all the Christian additions which had been made to it.† The sculptured figures were of course the first to be destroyed. This must be the period at which the mutilation and removal of these little capitals took place. They must have been subsequently picked up by some Christian mason, and built into the minaret where we found them.

* * * * *

Of all the descriptions of the *Templum Domini* in the time of the Crusaders, the most interesting one which we can consult is certainly that of Theoderich (A.D. 1172).

This work gives us invaluable information upon the subject which we have been discussing.

In the first place we see the four doors of the Sakhra clearly pointed out, with their positions as regards the points of the compass:—

“Per quatuor januas intratur et exitur, unaquæque janua suam de quatuor plagis mundi respicientem.”

The central choir was indeed arranged as I have inferred from other less distinct sources, it was bounded by the inner circle, the range of four piers F F F F, and the columns which carry the arches and the tambour of the dome.

† Mujir ed Din, *loc. cit.* Cf. what is said by Ibn el Athir: “They swept away all the paintings and figures which were found in these buildings.” (De Vogüé, *Le Temple*, p. 79.) Shehâb ed Dîn ap. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, I, 338: “They had covered the stones with paintings uglier than the bare stones themselves, and had set up divers statues. It was surrounded with *marbles* and sculptures.”

“Ambitus vero chori quatuor habet fornices sive pilaria et octo* columnas, quæ interiores murum, cum ipsius testudine in altum porrecta, gestant.”

The choir contained various sanctuaries, surrounded by *iron grilles*; first, an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas; next, *on the east side*, beside the choir, there was, also surrounded by an iron grille with doors, the place worthy of all veneration, *where our Lord Jesus Christ was brought to the Temple, with His offering, on the fortieth day after His birth.*

“Verum versus orientem ad latus chori locus ferreo pariete januas habente circumseptus omni veneratione dignus habetur, in quo Dominus noster Jesus Christus, ad Templum cum oblatione sua XL^o nativitatis suæ die delatus, a parentibus oblatus est, quem ad templi ipsius introitum† senex Simeon in ulnas suscepit et ad locum oblationis detulit, in cujus loci fronte hi versus sunt descripti.”

The Chapel of the Presentation, then, was beside the choir, and *towards the east*. This brings us directly towards the points I and J, Mussulman sanctuaries which I have marked as possibly corresponding to the Christian sanctuary.

The stone upon which Jacob laid his head when he dreamed his dream was close by, a cubit distant at the furthest (*vix uno remotus cubito*).‡ This nearness of the two entirely justifies Phocas when he groups these two little chapels together as one.

THE UNKNOWN POOL MENTIONED BY THEODERICH.

In the detailed description which he has given of the Haram during the period of the Crusaders' occupation of Jerusalem, Theoderich § speaks of a great bathing pool situated at the very foot of the principal staircase leading

* At this day there are *twelve* and not *eight* columns, divided between the four piers in sets of three: that is to say, that Theoderich counted one less of them in each interval ($1 \times 4 = 4$). This is evidently a mistake, perhaps due to some copyist, for John of Würzburg has the proper number, *twelve*.

† The expression *ad templi ipsius introitum* would seem to imply that we ought to seek, in the scene carved upon our capital, for some compendious indication of a building, which I think I have found there.

‡ Theoderichus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed Tobler, p. 41; the preceding passages belong to pages 38, 39, and 40.

§ Theoderichus, *Libellus*, p. 36.

up to the platform on which stood the *Templum Domini*, or Kubbet es Sakhra. One went down into this pool by twenty-five steps or more, and it was there, he says, that in the days of old they used to wash the victims intended to be sacrificed in the Temple. He adds that he was told (*ut fertur*) that this pool communicated by an underground passage with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that it was through this channel that on Easter Eve the holy fire was carried from the Sepulchre to the Temple.

Tobler has naturally tried, but in vain, to find the site of this pool, and since his time no one else has succeeded in discovering it, or, perhaps, no one has taken the trouble to look for it.

I have asked myself whether this may not be the underground passage once described by Sir Charles Wilson, which appears at No. 30 of the plan facing page 116 of the *Jerusalem* volume of the *Memoirs* (*cf.* page 224). This passage, which runs through the west wall of the Haram enclosure, forms a regular underground pool, 84 feet long from east to west, 18 feet wide and $34\frac{1}{2}$ deep. It is covered with a waggon vault of well hewn stone, and one descends into it by a stair which has been thought to be modern, but which may very well date back at least as far as the time of the Crusades, if the identification which I suggest be admitted. It is worth notice that the east end of this pool does indeed stand exactly in front of the main staircase leading on to the *Sakhra* at a distance of about 60 feet. Its position thus agrees remarkably well with that spoken of by Theoderich.

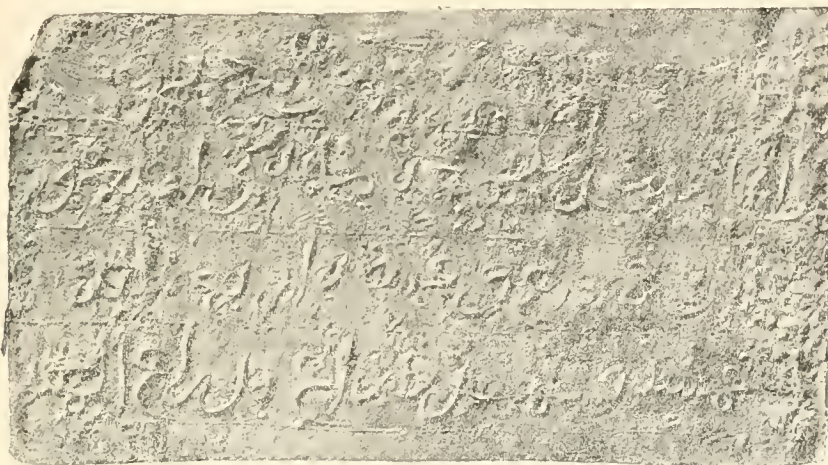
Perhaps it is here that we ought to place the hitherto undiscoverable pool of 'Iâd, with the bath connected with it. Mujir ed Dîn,* who preserved the tradition of the existence of this pool, knew nothing of its position. Or it might be Solomon's pool, whose position is also unknown.†

* Mujir ed Dîn, *op. c.*, pp. 231 and 409. This 'Iâd, who died in the year 20 A.H., was one of the brothers in arms of the Caliph Omar. He caused the bath which bears his name to be built at Jerusalem.

† Unless, indeed, we prefer to identify one or the other of these pools of Arab tradition, both of which were connected with baths, with St. Anne's pool, the ancient Probatika. It seems less probable that we should see in these merely other titles of the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath. With regard to this subject, see what I say hereafter about the pool and bath of 'Alâ ed Dîn, the existence of which still further complicates the question.

ANCIENT ARABIC INSCRIPTION GIVING THE DIMENSIONS OF THE HARAM.

While exploring the inner northern face of the enclosing wall of the Haram, I discovered an Arabic inscription of great interest, a real piece of archæological evidence upon the question of the dimensions of the Haram. It is built into the façade of one of the Medresehs, the buildings with arches on the edge of the Haram, which one finds on the right hand—that is, to the east—immediately on passing out of the gate now known as Bâb el ‘Atm (pronounce ‘Atēm) or Bâb el ‘Atmeh, in which I have suggested* that we should recognise the *Bâb ed Darwâdâriyeh* or *Bâb*



ARABIC INSCRIPTION GIVING THE DIMENSIONS OF THE HARAM.

Shâraf el Anbiâ of the ancient Arab writers. This latter point will now be established beyond the possibility of doubt by the very existence of this inscription at this place, and by other facts connected with it which I shall prove.

In order to see the inscription one must mount a dozen steps of a small staircase which leads to the upper story of the Medreseh. The stone is hard *mizzeh*. The writing is in *neskhy*, carelessly enough worked. At first I merely copied it as I stood, but afterwards M. Max von Berchem,

* *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 261. This identification has subsequently been adopted by Messrs. Sauvaire, Wilson, and Le Strange.

to whom I pointed it out, has kindly taken a squeeze of it, from which the facsimile which follows has been executed.*

The stone in its present state measures 0^m·53 in length and 0^m·28 in height. The inscription consists of five lines, cut in stone, and separated by four ruled lines. The first line, which has almost entirely disappeared, must have contained the customary invocation of God, judging from the last letters, which one can still make out.

The other lines, in spite of some damages which make it hard to identify several of the letters, can be made out fairly well.

[بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 ط(اول) المسجد سبعة مائة و اربع و
 (?) ثمانين ذراع وعرضه اربع مائة
 وخمسة وخمسين ذراع بذراع الملك (?)

[“In the name of God, the compassionate], the merciful.—The length of the Mesjed is seven hundred and eighty (?) -four cubits, and its width is four hundred and fifty-five cubits—royal cubits(?).”

The word ثمانين “eighty” is not absolutely certain, the first letter having been injured by a break in the stone: still, I think I can make out the three characteristic dots of the first letter ث,† and this restoration seems to be confirmed by the historical evidence with which I am about to compare it. The last word is also doubtful: the article and the two first letters of this word are certain: it seems as though there were a stroke too many for the reading الملك; one sometimes thinks that it may have been written المليك, a form which is rare but of which there are examples.

* Subsequently to the transcription and brief explanation which I gave of it in the *Quarterly Statement* (1874, p. 262), the inscription has been published, incorrectly, I may add, by M. Schefer, in his edition of the *Sefer-nâmeh* of Nâsir i Khusrau (p. 72), and in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin* (I, 602), from a squeeze which he says that he had taken at Jerusalem. I avail myself of this opportunity of stating that it was I who pointed out to M. Schefer the existence of this inscription, and that I even lent him my copy of it and my comments upon it, a fact which he has omitted to mention. Indeed, he acted in the same manner with regard to the explanation of many difficult or corrupt passages connected with Palestine in the *Sefer-nâmeh*. I gave him these explanations, and he has simply adopted them without a word acknowledging to whom he owes them (for instance, the long note on pages 62, 63, about *Kafar-Sallâm*, the restoration and identification of the name of Nât'rûn on page 65, the notes on pages 99, 103, and elsewhere).

† In any case the word is certainly not خمسين, “fifty,” as M. Schefer reads it.

But in this latter not very probable conjecture one sees no traces of the two dots which ought to mark this problematical *ya*. On the other hand, among the names of the various cubits mentioned by the Arab writers, I do not find any one which agrees so well with the appearance of those letters which have been preserved as the word الملك; the "royal cubit" is a well-known measure. This reading seems to me to be decidedly the most likely.

I once compared with this inscription the following passage of *Muthâr el Ghorâm*, quoted by Mujir ed Dîn:*

"I saw long ago in the north wall,† above the gate near the Dawidâriyeh, on the inner face of the wall, a slab on which was (written) the length and the width of the Mesjed, and these measurements did not agree with those which I have just given.‡ The kind of cubit is specified upon the stone, but owing to the entanglement§ of the writing I have not been able to ascertain whether it is the cubit in question|| or some other different one."

There can be no doubt that the inscription which I discovered is really the one mentioned by the *Muthâr*.

All the conditions of the problem, indeed, agree together remarkably well. The figures which the Arab writer saw are those now before us, and his reading confirms that of the word ثمانين = 80, which the present condition of the stone had rendered a little uncertain. Nay, more; the trouble which he said he had found in deciphering the last word of the inscription, proves abundantly that he must have had this same inscription engraved on this very stone before his eyes; this difficulty which he experienced explains and justifies that which we find at the present day. The Arab author was foiled just as we have been by the confused appearance of the two last letters. Lastly, the position of the stone gives a final proof of its identity; it is, indeed, built into the inner face of the enclosing wall of the Haram beside a gate, which at the present day is called Bâb el 'Atm, but

* Arabic edition of Çairo, p. 251.

† M. Sauvaire, either through carelessness or a wrong reading in the MS. which he followed, has translated this "the east wall," which is obviously a mistake.

‡ The author has just said that according to the *hâfêz* Ibn 'Asâker, the length of the Mesjed was 755 royal cubits, and its width 465. I suppose that these numbers have been altered by the copyists, and that originally they agreed with what we read on the stone.

§ تشعث.

|| Probably the "royal" cubit, of which he has just been speaking.

was formerly called Bâb ed Dawidâriyeh, or Dawadâriyeh, and at an earlier period still, Bâb Sharaf el Anbiâ (the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets).*

Jemâl ed Din Ahmed, the author of the *Muthîr*, wrote about the year 1350 A.D. Our inscription therefore cannot be of later date than this. Can we trace it further back? Here is another piece of evidence to compare: it is that to which I have already referred, the testimony of the Persian pilgrim Nâsir i Khusrau,† who visited Jerusalem in the year 1047, and who writes as follows:—

“I wished to measure the *mesjed* . . . Now on the north side, toward the Kubbeh of Jacob, upon whom be peace, I saw written upon a stone above an arch‡ that the length of the *mesjed* was seven hundred and four cubits and its breadth four hundred and fifty-five cubits of the royal cubit (*gezé melek*), which is the same as that which is known in Khorassân as the royal cubit (*gezé shâiegân*), and is equivalent to a fraction less than one and a half of the common cubits.”§

At the first glance it seems as if here also it was our inscription that was meant. The position assigned to it is practically the same, Jacob's Kubbeh being unquestionably the Kubbet Suleimân|| of our own time, at the entrance to the Bâb el 'Atm. It appears indeed that in the time of our Persian pilgrim the inscription must have been placed immediately over the arch of

* According to a tradition mentioned by Mujîr ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 382), this was the Gate through which Omar must have entered the Haram. It borrowed its new name—now forgotten—from the Medreseh el Dawidâriyeh, built in 1297 by the *Emîr Kebîr* Sanjar, the Dawidâr or Inkstand-bearer (*ib.*, p. 391), which stood near this gate. The identity of the gate Bâb el Dawidâriyeh with Bâb el 'Atm is clearly proved by another series of passages in Mujîr ed Din's book (more especially pp. 111, 250, 355, 374, 375, 376, 390, 391, 393).

† My quotation in the *Quarterly Statement* was borrowed from the extract given by Major Fuller; it corresponds to page 22 (of the Persian text, p. 72 of the translation) of the complete edition subsequently published by M. Schefer (= *Palestine Pigrim's Text Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 27, 28).

‡ *Tûki*, an arched door or window.

§ Cf. Mr. G. Le Strange's translation (see note 1).

|| Mujîr ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 374) refers the date of this building to the period of the Ommiâd dynasty. M. Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1897, p. 103), following a somewhat vague hint given by Tobler, wrongly attributes the name of *Kubbet Suleimân* to that very interesting little building, very well described by him from an architectural point of view, of the *Kubbet* known as *Shekfee Sakhra*, or “Little Sakhra,” which stands further west. It seems to me to result from various passages in Arabic writers quoted by Mr. Le Strange (*op. c.*, pp. 160, 169, and 177), that the latter building is none other than the *Mihrib* or *Kubbet Zakariya*, of which Mr. Le Strange mistakenly states that no traces now exist, and that its site is unknown.

the gate. The whole tenor of the text also agrees pretty well with our inscription; the discrepancy in the first number, 704 instead of 784, can easily be explained by the omission of the words هشتاد (80) between هفتاد (700) and چهار (4). This omission was perhaps due to the carelessness of some copyist, who was misled by the repetition of two words which show a certain likeness to one another when written.

But a serious objection now occurs to me, when I have before my eyes the squeeze of the inscription which I copied hastily in 1874. My objection is a palæographic one. Is it conceivable that an inscription which was in existence in 1074, if not earlier, can have been written in the careless *neskhy* characters shown in our inscription? This objection gathers even more force if we consider that the inscription, when it was seen by the pilgrim, must even then have been of a certain age; for I should not be surprised if it was already in existence in 913, when the learned Arab of Cordova, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih,* was writing. He tells us that the length of the Mesjed was 784 cubits, and the width 455 cubits, cubits of the *imâm*. The perfect agreement of these numbers with ours is very remarkable, especially considering the many discrepancies which exist on this matter between various Arab writers.† It makes us inclined to believe that Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's estimate must have been obtained directly or indirectly from the same source, namely, from this stone, although Ibn 'Abd Rabbih calls its peculiar cubit ‡ by another name. Now, in this case, the palæographical objection becomes absolutely fatal; no inscription cut at the beginning of the tenth century could have consisted of such letters as those shown upon our

* See Gildemeister's translation, *Zeitschr. d. Pal.-Vereins*, Vol. IV (1881), p. 89; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), pp. 162, 194.

† See the useful comparative statement on this subject which has been made by M. Le Strange (*op. cit.*, p. 196). Only, I do not quite agree with him as to the conclusion which he draws from it. To the authorities whose evidence he has collected I should like to add that of Khalil edh Dhâhery (*Kashf el Memâlek*, Arabic text, ed. Ravaisse, p. 20), which, by the way, is merely a reproduction of that of Ibn 'Asâker: it contains, however, an interesting variant as to the width of the Mesjed: 455 cubits instead of 465. This agrees well with the traditional figures, and permits one to conjecture that the measure of length, 755 cubits in Ibn 'Asâker's work, is itself, perhaps, the result of some alteration of the original figures, 784.

‡ We must not lose sight of the fact that the author of the *Muthîr* felt some doubt about how this name should be read, a doubt which we share at this day. Gildemeister (*loc. cit.*) points out that this *imâm* who gave his name to the cubit may have been the Caliph Ali, and that perhaps we ought to recognise this same cubit in that whose name Mujir ed Din corrupts into cubit of *amân* (literally "of good faith").

stone. It is useless to give further proofs of this evident fact. Let my readers only recall to their minds the palæographic forms of the fine inscription recently discovered in the wall adjoining Constantine's basilica,* which certainly dates from the tenth century.

Here, therefore, we have an important difficulty which we must clear away. But before attempting to do this, I must make a note of an intermediary eye-witness whose testimony was not known at the time when I discovered the inscription. This is the description written by a Mohammedan pilgrim, 'Ali el Herewy,† about the year 1178, that is to say, a few years before the expulsion of the Crusaders. He, too, notes the existence of an inscription built into the north enclosing wall, and giving the dimensions of the Haram, "700 royal cubits in length, by 455 in width." In spite of the disappearance of the units figure in the measurement of the length (700 instead of 704),‡ the account of 'Ali el Herewy is singularly like that of Nâsir i Khusrau; so much so that, although he declares he saw the inscription with his own eyes, one may ask whether he may not have been more or less influenced in the composition of his account from his notes of his journey by having read the description given by his all but compatriot the Persian, whose work he was certainly able to consult in the original language. Be this as it may, all that we can gather from him is that the inscription noted in 1047 was still visible, if not altogether legible, in 1178.

From a strictly palæological point of view, without taking any historical considerations into account, our inscription would be classed among those of the Ayûbite period, in the thirteenth century. This is the view of M. van Berchem, and it is my own also: M. van Berchem, who is so complete an expert in Arabic palæography, is disposed to discriminate further, and thinks that the inscription reminds him of several inscriptions on stone of Sultan El Mu'addham 'Isâ.§ I shall make use of this last hint to propose a historical solution which, perhaps, will reconcile all these difficulties.

* For an account of this inscription, so important for the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 302-362, and *Quarterly Statement*, 1897, p. 302, 1898, p. 86.

† *Archives de l'Orient Latin* (1881), Vol. I, p. 602; cf. Le Strange, *op. c.*, p. 194.

‡ A number which itself, in Nasir i Khusrau's text, seems, as I have explained above, to be a mistake for 784, through the omission of the "tens" figure.

§ Saladin's nephew, died 1227.

Mujir ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 376) tells us that amongst other important* works undertaken at Jerusalem by the orders of this Sultan, in A.H. 610 (A.D. 1213), they rebuilt that part of the portico (*rewâk*) which runs along the north wall of the Haram, between the gate of the Dawidâriyeh and the north-west angle. It is very probable that in the course of this work of restoration they may have had to take down and perhaps destroy the old inscription, which stood in that very place, and which 'Ali el Herewy saw still in position, either because the stone was much decayed, or because it had suffered some accident. They then had a new copy of it made, which would be the very one that now appears on the slab which has lasted down to our own time. I give this conjecture for what it is worth; but it must be agreed that it affords a satisfactory way out of all the various difficulties which I have pointed out.

M. van Berchem is greatly disposed to accept this solution, and furnishes me with a local piece of evidence to support it. On the other side of the gate Bâb el 'Atm, that is to say, on the west side, he found an Arabic inscription built into the south face of the first of the buttresses which separate the arches of the portico that runs along the wall of the Haram; this inscription refers to the rebuilding of this northern portico itself by Sultan Mu'addham 'Isa in the year 610 A.H., a rebuilding of which I have just spoken, quoting from Mujir ed Dîn.

Here is a copy of the inscription, kindly communicated to me by M. van Berchem:—

جَدِّدَ هَذِهِ الرُّوَّاقَ فِي أَيَّامِ دَوْلَةِ سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا
السُّلْطَانَ الْعَالِمِ الْمَلِكِ الْمُعْظَمِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ عَيْسَى
ابْنِ السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ أَبُو (sic) بَكْرٍ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ
مُلْكَهُمَا فِي سَنَةِ عَشْرٍ وَسِتْمِائَةِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ
وَحُدِّدَ فِي وِلَايَةِ الْأَمِيرِ الْأَجَلِّ عَزَّ الدِّينَ عَمْرُ بْنُ يَغْمُورَ

* It was this same Sultan who, according to Mujir ed Dîn (*op. c.*, pp. 357 and 393), in the year 1209, built for the Hanefites the medreseh which is called after his name the *Mu'addhamiyeh*, opposite the gate of the Dawidâriyeh, otherwise called Bâb el 'Atm. This medreseh is that very one which now stands opposite this gate, on the north, on the other side of the Via Dolorosa, in whose basement I discovered in 1871 the famous stele of Herod's Temple, forbidding Gentiles access to the Sanctuary on pain of death. We may gather from this that it was at about this period, probably, that we must place the use of this precious monument as mere building material, and it is quite possible that it was during the course of

“This portico was rebuilt in the reign of our lord and master the learned Sultan El Melik El Mu’addham Abu’l Fath ‘Isa, the son of the Sultan Abu Bekr, who was the son of Ayûb, may God perpetuate their sovereignty, in the year 610. Glory be to one God. The illustrious Emir ‘Izz ed Din ‘Omar, the son of Yaghmûr, acting as Waly.”

The writing of this inscription, which is also cut into the same, shows the greatest possible likeness to our inscription, which is its near neighbour, being only separated from it by the Bâb el ‘Atm. According to M. van Berchem’s recollections and notes, the inscription, recording the dimensions of the Haram, is built into one of the faces of the second buttresses on the east side of the Bâb el ‘Atm, at a height of about five mètres above the level of the ground within the Haram, that is to say, at a height very nearly the same as that of the inscription which records the work executed by the orders of El Mu’addham. It will be seen from this that these two contemporary inscriptions formed, so to speak, symmetrical pendants to one another, and this material fact is another piece of evidence in favour of my theory.

THE REBUILDING OF THE SOUTH ENCLOSING WALL OF THE HARAM BY THE SULTANS KELÂÛN AND MOHAMMED BEN KELÂÛN.

The works undertaken in 1874 in the Haram resulted in the discovery of a fine circular base containing a long and interesting Arabic inscription. When I saw it, it was placed near the old warehouse, which adjoins the Mosque El Aksa on the east side. We must assume that it was found not far from that place, but this I have not been able to ascertain. I now deeply regret not having then and there taken its exact measurements, and noted the

these works executed inside the Haram, on the north side, by El Mu’addham’s masons, that it was unearthed. Be this as it may, the stone had already undergone similar treatment at the hands of the Crusaders, and had been re-tooled by them at one end, as is proved by the diagonal strokes which I found there.

The medreseh in question is no longer known by its true name of El Mu’addhamiyeh, but simply by that of *El Hanefiyeh*, “The Hanefite medreseh.” The origin of this relatively modern title seems to me to find its explanation in an interesting detail given by Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 355) on the subject of the foundation of the Mu’addhamiyeh by the Sultan El Mu’addham ‘Isa: “This prince,” he tells us, “was greatly attached to the *Hanefite* sect, whose doctrines he professed, contrary to the rest of his family, who were all *Shafeite*. It was he who built at Jerusalem a *medreseh for the Hanefites* near the Gate of the Mesjed El Aksa, which in our time we called the Gate of the Dawidariyeh (of the Secretary).”

nature of the stone, for, on thinking the matter over, I ask myself whether this enormous disc of stone may not have been cut by the Arabs, as it were a slice off one of the gigantic columns of Herod's Temple, of which I shall speak in Chapter X. When I tried to make these measurements, a long time afterwards, I was too late: the stone had disappeared.*

Be this as it may, my attention was attracted by the size of this huge disc of stone, which lay there derelict. I had it turned over, and found that the other side bore a long Arabic inscription in relief, the greater part of which I deciphered on the spot, to the great astonishment of the crowd of Mohammedans who surrounded me. It related to the building or rebuilding (عمر) of an enclosing wall (هذا الصور المبارك "this blessed wall") in the reign (في أيام) of Sultan Mohammed the son of Kelâûn.† After this came the names of the person‡ under whose direction the work had been carried out, and the date. ||

Sultan Mohammed reigned, with two intervals, from 693 to 741 A.H. Mujîr ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 438) distinctly informs us that under the reign of this prince (في أيامه) they rebuilt the south wall of El Aksa, towards David's Mihrâb (عمر السور القبلى الذى عند محراب داود)

This information agrees entirely and even literally with the tenor of our inscription, with this difference, that our chronicler spells the word سور in the usual way. David's Mihrâb, of which he makes mention, was in the south wall of the enclosure, on the east side of the Mosque El Aksa, towards the Cradle of Jesus, that is, at the south-east angle of the enclosing wall.¶

* I had pointed out to M. van Berchem how desirable it was to ascertain what had become of the stone. It seems from what he could subsequently learn on the spot, that it had been sent to Constantinople. H. Exc. Handy Bey, to whom I then addressed myself, told me that he had sought in vain for this ancient monument in the Imperial Museum of which he is the Director.

† The spelling صور instead of سور is found in many examples of Arab epigraphy. M. van Berchem has collected a number of instances. It is also found in Arab literature.

‡ Not the reign of Kelâûn himself, as I wrote through carelessness in my Report No. VIII (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 137).

§ Perhaps 'Alam ed Din Senjar el Jâûly (*cf.* Mujîr ed Din; *op. c.*, p. 607)?

|| I have unfortunately mislaid the copy which I must have made of this inscription.

¶ *Cf.* Mujîr ed Din (*op. c.*, pp. 302, 366, 367, 369). We must be careful not to confound this Mihrâb of David with that which is likewise shown in quite a different part of the city, in the castle near the Jaffa Gate. It was apparently in the course of these works that the two windows mentioned by Mujîr ed Din were made in the south wall of the Haram, on either side of the mihrâb (*op. c.*, p. 438, in the year 731). This second piece of work was

It should be noticed that it was in this very region that the stone was found, and this large heavy mass could not easily have been moved far from its original position. Probably this great disc, bearing the inscription commemorative of the work done, had been, after the Arab fashion, built into the wall itself, which was rebuilt by the orders of Sultan Mohammed. We learn from the information afforded us by Mujir ed Din, that the restored portion of the wall must extend from El Aksa in the direction of the south-east angle of the Haram.

This passage of Mujir ed Din, with the light now thrown upon it by our inscription, should be compared with another passage of the same author, which also receives thereby a certain amount of light. It is that wherein he mentions, among the various works carried out in Jerusalem in 678, by the orders of Sultan Kelâûn (the father of our Sultan Mohammed), the restoration of the ceiling (*sic*) or roof of the Mesjed el Aksa, on the south-west side of it, near the Women's Mosque.* This, at all events, is the way in which M. Sauvaire† has understood and translated this passage, which stands thus in the Arabic text, printed at Cairo:—

عمر سقف المسجد الأقصى من جهة القبلة مما يلي الغرب عند جامع الانبياء

I imagine that the word سقف "ceiling, roof," must here be a copyist's error for سور, "wall of enclosure," which is correctly written in the preceding passage. One sees, indeed, how very strange the expression "ceiling" or "roof" of the *mesjid* would be, considering that in Mujir ed Din's language *mesjid* always means the entire Haram enclosure, and never means the Mosque El Aksa. When he wishes to speak of the latter building, he always very properly uses the correct word *jâme'*, "mosque." If the matter

carried out under the direction of the Inspector of the two Harams, Nâsir ed Din (*ib.*, p. 607); in the last passage the mihrâb is perhaps that belonging to the Mosque El Aksa itself. This is certainly the work referred to by the inscription of Sultan Mohammed the son of Kelâûn, which is twice repeated on the jambs of the windows which are opened in the wall at the end of El Aksa, beginning with the words, "This window and this casing of blessed marble were restored, etc. . . ." (*Cf.* M. de Vogüé, *Temple*, p. 102.) Mujir ed Din indeed tells us distinctly that at the same time that he made the windows, the Sultan had the end of the Aksa cased with marble.

* The Cairo text reads "Prophets' Mosque" instead of "Women's Mosque." It seems that انبياء is a wrong reading for النساء, a reading given by M. Sauvaire's MS., and which appears to be confirmed by two other passages in Mujir ed Din (pp. 367 and 368.)

† Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, p. 281.

was not even the restoration of the entire ceiling, but of a very small portion of the ceiling of the Mosque El Aksa, we never could explain the importance which the chronicler seems to attach to this detail. It is explained very well, on the other hand, if, as I imagine, it really refers to the rebuilding of a part of the enclosing wall of the Haram. Probably Sultan Mohammed merely carried on the work which his father had begun: he repaired the eastern part of the south wall, even as his father had repaired the western part thereof. We may even guess that in this latter piece of the south wall there must be, and there will be found, some day, an inscription commemorating the work of Kelâûn, similar to this one which commemorated the work of his son Mohammed. It seems, indeed, as though at this period the whole of this south wall had undergone a systematic course of repairs, extending over many years and through several reigns. In fact, between Kelâûn and Mohammed, we find* Sultan El Mansûr Lâjin, who rebuilt David's Mihrâb in this same wall.

The conclusion to be drawn from this collection of facts is that the whole of the south enclosing wall of the Haram was rebuilt by the Arabs, of course only for a certain distance down from the top, at the end of the thirteenth century. Other points in the enclosing wall were repaired at the same period; for instance, in 1295, the usurper, Sultan Ketboghâ, rebuilt the eastern enclosing wall, near the Golden Gate.† It would be interesting, with the aid of these express data, to trace upon the eastern and southern walls the dividing lines between the various layers of stonework piled one above the other since the times of the Mameluke sultans.

REMARKS ON VARIOUS MATTERS.

A Cufic inscription.—In one of the little Mussulman oratories which stand round the platform of the Sakhra, the Mihrâb of the *Dâr Abû s Soûd*, I noticed a Cufic inscription of the third century A.H., which seemed to me to be of considerable interest. I intended to go back to copy it and take a squeeze of it, but I have never had the leisure to do so.

The double gate of El Aksa.—During the work of restoration which was carried on among the buildings adjoining the double gate in the south

* Mujir ed Din, *op. c.*, p. 347.

† *Id.*, *ib.*

wall of the Haram, the voussoirs of the arch and the cornice which surmounts them were cleared. I was able to follow them into one of the chambers abutting on the wall of the Haram.

On one of the stones of the adjacent buildings (upper part, staircase bay) I have found a mason's mark (No 7-5).

From hearsay.—A mason named Râched, who was employed on the restoration works at El Aksa in 1871, told me that in one of the chambers at the back (?) there was a long inscription which they made him cover up with plaster. This eagerness of the Mussulmans to hide the inscription seems to argue that this unknown text was not an Arabic one. The key of the chamber is in the hands of a man named Abu Dâhûd,* a Khaddâm† of El Aksa.

— I have been assured that on the inner, that is, the western face of the east wall of the Haram, there are two Greek inscriptions, built into the wall, at about twice the height of a man from the ground, and almost opposite the Kubbet es Sakhra. I have sought for them in vain. Nevertheless, the information which an Arab gave me about them appeared to me to be serious, and it would be worth while to ascertain whether they really exist.‡

— The sheikh of the mosque El Aksa declares that "ancient books" are buried at a particular spot in the Haram which he knows (beside Solomon's throne).

The same sheikh, whose name is Mahmûd edh Dhanaf, recurred to this subject later on. He told me that he had heard from his father, who had received the tradition from his ancestors, that beneath the *sabër* (cactus) in front of the Golden Gate (on the inside, *sic*), at a depth of some twenty *kâma* (height of a man), there were buried ancient books of the time of Bokhtnassar (!) enclosed in metal cases. *Credat qui vult.*

* This is how the name of *Dâûd* is pronounced at Jerusalem.

† Servant of the mosque.

‡ Father P. Germer Durand, whom I told of this clue, and begged to follow it up, writes to me on the subject on December, 1898: "As for the inscription in the Haram, it certainly did once exist, but it was destroyed in 1890 or 1891, in consequence of the repairs of the Golden Gate. They have made it into the threshold of one of the two gates. When I saw it, only one single line of it remained visible, the rest had already been cut away. I read in fine letters of about 0^m·08 high, the one word ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΥ." ("Birthday, anniversary of birth." It is in the genitive case.—C. C.-G.) "This word was afterwards effaced. I suspect that this stone was originally the lintel of a side door of the small building at the Golden Gate. However this may be, the inscription is now lost."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KUBBET ES SAKHRA.

DISCOVERY OF ARCADES OF ROUND ARCHES ABOVE THE BOUNDARY WALL OF THE KUBBET ES SAKHRA, AND OF MOSAICS DECORATING ITS OUTER FAÇADES.

The restorations carried out on the Kubbet es Sakhra in 1873 and 1874 resulted in laying bare a great part of the west and south-west outer faces of the wall of the octagonal part of the building. As all the casing of earthenware tiles which formerly covered the enclosing wall from the sills of the windows to the top had suffered considerably from the weather, especially upon the two fronts which are more exposed than the others to wind and rain, they adopted the root and branch treatment of completely removing it, and replacing it by new tiles specially manufactured for the purpose at Constantinople.

We know that this decoration of porcelain tiles does not date further back than the sixteenth century. It did not exist in the time of the pilgrim Fabri and of the chronicler Mujir ed Din. Up to that date the outer surfaces of the eight sides of the enclosing wall were adorned with mosaics, as I shall explain hereafter. These mosaics, which had even less power of resisting the weather than the porcelain tiles, having fallen into ruin, were replaced by the more economical and more expeditious proceeding of covering the wall with earthenware tiles. The idea was perhaps suggested by the existence, in several parts of the Haram, of some little buildings already decorated in this manner. Indeed, Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 376) mentions on the *Sahñ* of the Kubbet es Sakhra (on the south side of that building) a place called *Hakûrat el Kâshâny*, "the garden of the *Kâshâny*," because in it there stood a little cell ornamented with tiles of the earthenware called *kâshâny*. This name is that which the Arabs use at this day for earthenware tiles; they pronounce it *kêshâny* (with the *imâlekh*). It is derived, we know, from the name of the Persian town *Kâshân*, from which this essentially Persian manufacture

must have been brought to Damascus, whence it has spread over the whole of Syria. Damascus has long retained the monopoly of this work, and whenever workmen were needed for the repair of the tiles upon buildings at Jerusalem, they were probably sent for to Damascus. They came and did their work on the spot. Certain places in the Haram enclosure are still pointed out where their furnaces stood for the baking of tiles and glazed bricks. I once picked up in the Haram, and have still in my collection, one of these tiles which gives us the date of the last repairs of the earthenware tiles of the Sakhra. It is a very small square tile, measuring 0^m·18 in diameter, and bears the following inscription burnt into the glaze itself:

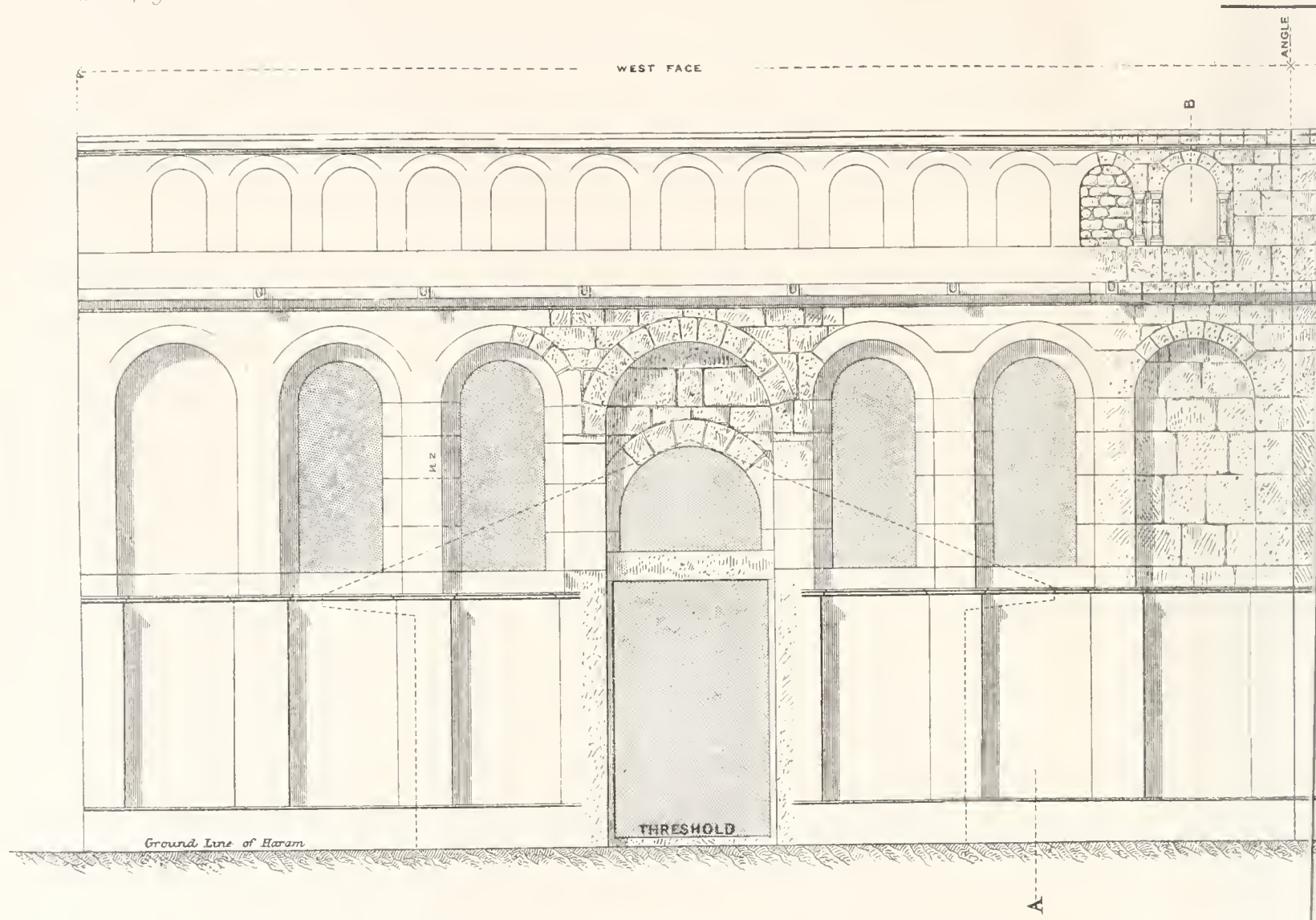
عمل الحاج محمد القطرى الشنجرى الدمشقى (سنة) ١٢٣٣

“Made by the Hajy Mohammed el Katary esh Shanjy (?) of Damascus, in the year 1233 (1817-1818 A.D.)” This relic has therefore a double interest, for it not only gives the date of one of the last repairs of the earthenware tiles of the Haram, but also proves that the industry was still in existence in Damascus at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The two first ethnics which follow the name of the Damascus master-workman, which I am unable to identify, may prove that he was of Persian origin.

From an artistic point of view we may perhaps regret the work which was done in 1874, for these modern tiles are, alas, far from being as good as the old ones; but archæologically they have brought about results of great importance. They showed the original arrangement of the building, which never could have been guessed at when it was hidden by this subsequent casing of tiles. This arrangement raises questions of the greatest possible interest. We watched the work of restoration with the closest possible attention, noting carefully as they were laid bare all the various details of which I am about to speak. These details, after being revealed for a moment, were again immediately hidden from view for many years to come. In addition to the drawing from which the accompanying illustrations have been made, we took a photograph of one of the sides of the building when thus uncovered, which, in spite of the presence of the scaffold by which it was encumbered, enables one to form an accurate idea of its general appearance. Thanks to the civility of the Me'mûr and of the architect in charge of the work, we obtained all the necessary facilities for ascertaining certain details connected with the building.

KUBBET ES EXTERIOR

To face page 180.



ANGLE

B

WEST FACE

M 2

THRESHOLD

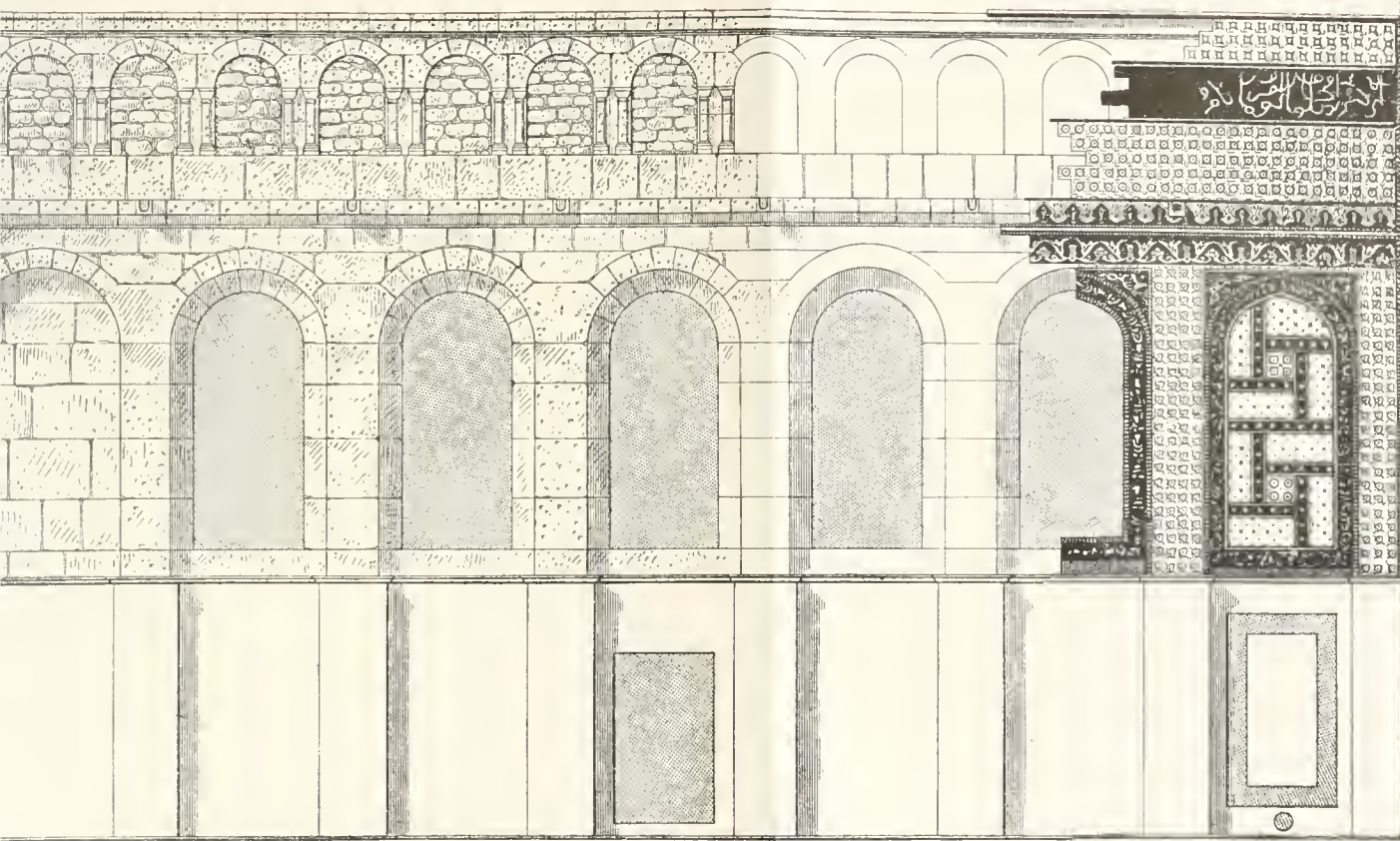
Ground Line of Haram

A

10

AKHRA.
ALL

SOUTH WEST FACE



SECTION
THROUGH A B



Ground Line of Haram

Ground

SCALE OF METRES



I shall begin by describing the appearance of the two sides of the edifice when thus stripped of the casing of tiles which for centuries have hidden, and so to speak, disfigured it; I shall then endeavour to state the archæological and historical conclusions which may be drawn from these unexpected revelations as to the original form and arrangement of the mosque.

The illustration shows the elevation of the west and south-west sides. On the right hand of the south-west side the remains of the old casing of tiles may be seen, showing in what manner and to what extent it concealed the original wall before it was stripped off. It must be borne in mind that this casing extended uniformly at the same height over all the rest of the south-west side, and likewise over the west side, as well as over all the six other sides of the octagonal enclosing wall.

The transverse section of the wall given along the broken line A—B will help the reader to understand the explanations which I must now begin.

Starting from the bottom in our examination of these two pieces of wall, we see first of all that each of them is pierced by five tall narrow arches, whose piers reach to the ground. These arches are semi-circular, the round head of the arch has been made into a pointed one, narrower, and surbased,* in the Arab fashion, by the casing of earthenware tiles with which they have been covered. This fact, which was already known, owing to the fall of some of the tiles and bricks, was distinctly manifested during these present works. The upper part of these arches is open, and forms the windows which light the interior. These windows are filled with slabs of plaster pierced with holes containing stained glass of various colours. The lower part of the arches is built up, and cased with slabs of marble. The two arches at each end of each piece of wall are blind arches, and always have been so; they have not been closed by an afterthought, as might be imagined. This is proved by the absence of any break in the stonework, which consists of large blocks of stone whose courses answer exactly to the courses of the stonework of the wall.

The casing of tiles begins at the height of the window-sills, covers

* A surbased arch is one in which the height of its crown above the level of its impost is less than half its span.

the piers between the windows, incrusts the windows themselves, altering, as I have said, their true shape, and rises to the top of the wall. It is in this upper part, above the arches, that the removal of the casing revealed to us a real surprise.

Immediately above the course which runs over the crown of the arches, the wall, when stripped of the tiles, showed us a salient string course which overhangs the arches and gives room to the leaden gargoyles which carry off the rain water accumulated on the roof. These gargoyles, set at regular intervals, and placed over the piers between the windows, number six on each face of the building. This string course is surmounted by a tall course of ashlar (0^m·520 high) which in turn carries a small arcade of round-headed arches resting on small columns. The arches are so close together that the small columns appear at first sight to be arranged in pairs, but in reality, although many of them are indeed hewn in pairs out of the same piece of stone, they are not twin columns—each arch has its own pair of independent columns. This is plainly shown by the manner in which the corner arches are arranged; here the first arch of each arcade is carried at its outer end by one column only.

This upper arcade, which originally crowned the wall of the building, is composed of thirteen arches on each face. Immediately above the arcade, touching the crown of the arches, runs a terminal cornice, which unfortunately has been so greatly damaged that its profile is hard to make out.

This upper arcade was found to have been closed up at an early period, underneath the casing of tiles which hid it; but this closing of the arches, whatever its date may be, is a later modification of the original plan of the building, and cannot have existed at the outset. These were not built as blind arches, like the two larger arches at each end of the lower story; they have been made into blind arches by an afterthought, and in the original state of the building they must have formed a kind of *open* upper gallery, of extremely graceful appearance. This is proved by the following facts:—

1. The face of the party-wall closing the arches is in the same vertical plane as the face of the rest of the wall and of the abacus of the capitals of the small columns; 2, the small columns themselves are partly buried in the party walls; 3, the masonry of these party walls is a mere screen of small stones, quite different in character to the ashlar of the wall itself. This masonry has been built in at a later date in the roughest possible way;

in the joints we found projecting pieces of iron, and in some holes plates of copper, the remains of the fastenings of the earthenware casing; 4, one of these arches (the one on the extreme right, on the west side at B), having been opened out in the course of the work, we had an opportunity of proving by examination of the lateral surfaces, that this arch, according to the original design, was doubtlessly meant to be open.

The west and south-west faces of the wall, when stripped, seem much the same in their arrangements. There is, however, an interesting difference between them, the western side being pierced by a central* door, whereas the south-west face shows an unbroken† line of wall. This door is made out of the middle one of the row of seven great arches which form the lower story of each face of the octagon. It follows from this that the south-west face contains seven windows, five real and two blind ones;‡ the west face contains six windows, four of them real, and a door. This door has two superposed arches above it, both of them semi-circular. The superior of these is at the same height as the side arches, while the inferior, which acts as a discharging arch, rests upon a lintel. The arch, which serves for a door, is larger than those which form windows. This increased size of the central arch has been gained on the west side at the expense of these latter, the width of the piers between them remaining much the same. The size of the little arches in the upper arcade, on the contrary, remains always the same. Hence arises a difference in the general arrangement between the west and the south-west side—in the latter, the upper arcade has been disposed so as to make the axes of its arches correspond with those of the larger arches and piers below alternately. But on the west side of the building this correspondence between the two stories, which certainly was intentionally designed on the south-west side, does not exist.

As I have said, the little arch B of the upper story on the west side, towards the south-west angle of the building, was opened, and we were

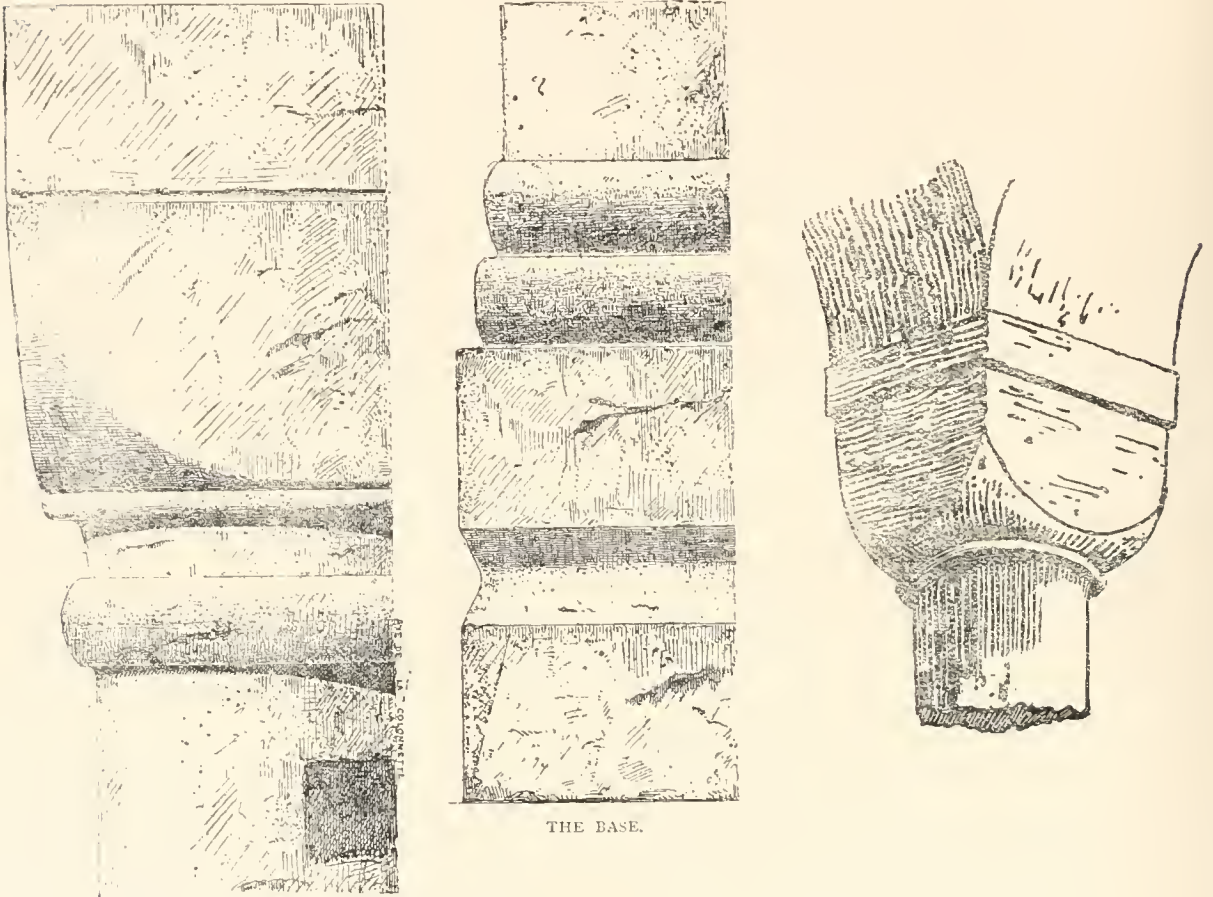
* This door has outside it a projecting porch, a later addition to the original design. Its extent is shown by a dotted line in the elevation given above (see Plate, p. 177).

† The octagonal enclosing wall is, we know, traversed by four doors, one upon each of the four sides which face the four cardinal points of the compass.

‡ It is the two windows at the ends of each face of the octagon which are, if I may use the expression, blind from their birth.

consequently enabled to study it in detail, and to make a plan of it on a large scale, as is shown in the following illustrations.

As may be seen from the section A—B of the general elevation, and still better from the detailed section of one of these arches, the upper part of the wall in which these arches stand, above the cornice, is much



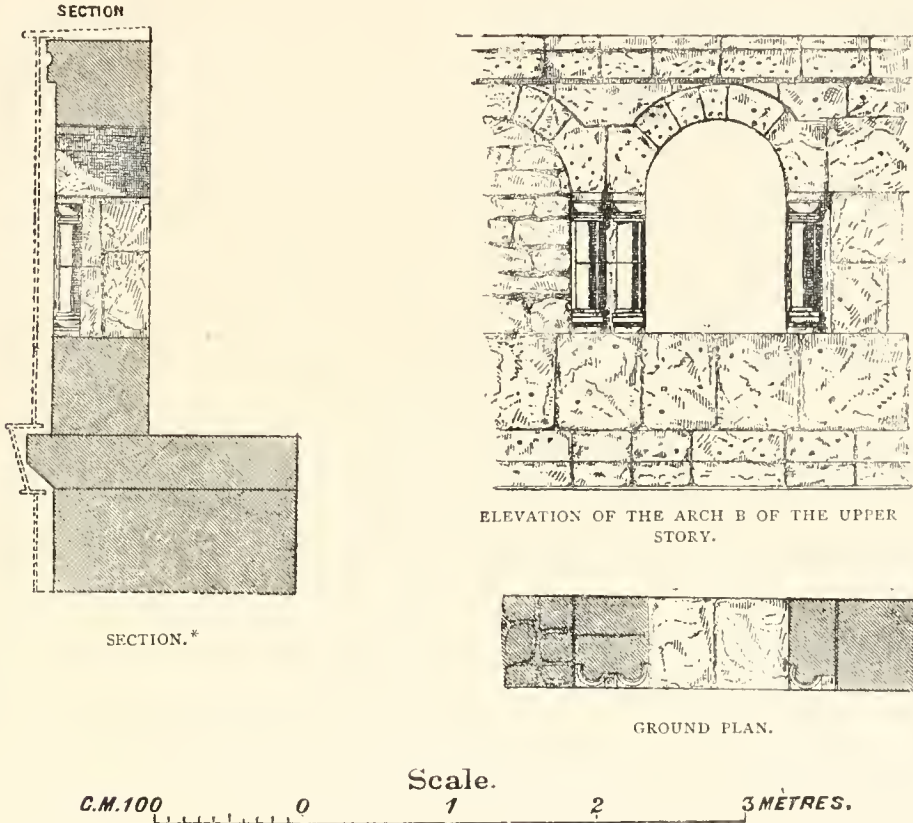
Details of one of the small columns taken from a drawing of the size of the original.

THE CAPITAL.

thinner than the lower part, below the cornice, the latter being 1^m·60 thick, and the former only 0^m·60.

In spite of this difference of thickness, one cannot believe that this upper and lighter part of the building is a subsequent addition; it is closely connected with the thicker wall below it. One may be quite sure

that from the upper arcade, and including that arcade, down to about half-way down the piers of the large arches, that is to say, for the whole of the surface exposed by the removal of the tiles, the entire wall was built according to one plan, and that all its stonework belongs to one and the same period. Below the sills of the windows, in the lower story, one



cannot speak with the same certainty about it, for there the marble casing, which has been left untouched, conceals the true nature of the stonework. Nevertheless, in all probability, it is the same kind of work down to the base of the wall. Indeed, we were able to examine the stonework of the buttresses of the doorway down to the level of the ground, and our

* The dotted line shows the thickness of the porcelain casing, and the interval between this line and the surface of the stone shows the thickness of the bed of mortar against which this casing rests.

examination tends to confirm materially our belief that the wall is entirely homogeneous from top to bottom.

All parts of the wall, then, belong to the same period. Now, what was that period? The use of the round arch in both upper and lower stories naturally implies a tolerably early date; but we must not rely too much upon this evidence, and try to draw from it, for example, arguments in favour of the Byzantine origin which some have wished to establish for the mosque, in which they have tried to see an ancient church (Fergusson's Holy Sepulchre, Sepp's St. Sophia) transformed into a mosque. We know that in all the earliest specimens of Arab architecture, which, by the way, were executed by Byzantine* workmen, the round-headed arch was still used. The shape of the capitals of our little columns, being hemispheres with a slice cut off each side, is altogether unimportant. Moreover, it is always risky, especially in Syria, to try to discover dates from architectural style. In many cases nothing is more misleading. The style of the stonework and the tooling of the stones would have given us more trustworthy evidence, but unfortunately the surface of the ashlar from the top of the building to the bottom has been much maltreated; moreover, it is riddled with holes meant to receive the metal fastenings to hold the tiles of the porcelain casing, not to speak of the mosaic† casing which was there before it, of which I shall speak presently.

The result has been that the true original tooling has almost everywhere disappeared from the surface. Yet it seems to have been preserved on some very few and very confined spots, and I am in a position to state that, be it what it may, it is not the mediaeval tooling of the Crusaders. Though I minutely examined the stonework, I was only

* With regard to the building of the Sakhra by Abd el Melik, Ibn Khaldûn distinctly states (Prolegom., II, p. 268) that it was built by Greek workmen. In this connection I may mention a very curious legend quoted a few pages before (p. 263) by the same author, as to the origin of the Sakhra: "the mosque of Ek Aksa," he tells us, "was, in the time of the Sabæans, a temple of Venus; they used to anoint the Sakhra rock in her honour; later, the Israelites gained possession of it." Who knows whether under this tradition there may not be hidden some stratum of truth? whether the *cultus* of the Holy Rock may not be connected with some ancient sanctuary dedicated to the Semitic Venus, to some *Kadesh*, who under the popular form *Kudôs*, bequeathed her very name to the Jerusalem known to history, at the time when she yielded up the place to Jehovah, or at all events shared it with Him?

† This first casing may have necessitated a re-tooling of the ashlar in order to ensure the adherence of the layer of mortar in which the cubes of the mosaic were embedded.

able to discover one solitary mason's mark (see special Table, 24—12). It is cut on one of the stones of the third course above the window sill of the first window in the main arcade on the left hand side of the west door, and may be seen in the elevation given on plate, p. 181. It is too vague in form for us to ascribe it to any particular period. The important point is that we found it repeated in quite a different part of the building on one of the exterior buttresses of the tambour which carries the dome.* We have not, therefore, to deal with one solitary mark, which might be due to the fancy of some mason.

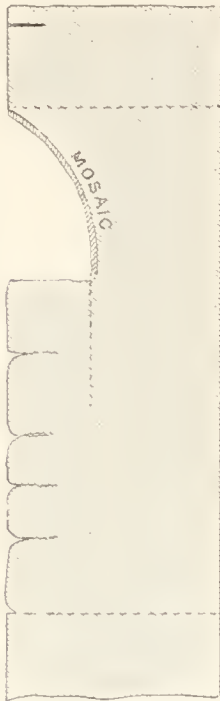
Besides the little square holes which pit not only the whole surface of the wall but even the small columns of the upper arcades, it will be remarked that the capitals and bases of these small columns are cut in two by a deep horizontal groove, which is larger on the base than on the capital. This detail can be seen very plainly on the elevation (p. 184) given above, and more especially on p. 185. I cannot discover any satisfactory explanation of the origin and purpose of these grooves, unless it be that they were intended in some way to ensure the adherence of an ancient casing which followed the shape of the columns.

I have already stated that there can be no doubt that these little arcades were originally open, and that it was only subsequently that they were built up. In any case, they must have been closed at a very ancient date, far earlier than that of the first casing of earthenware tiles. This is distinctly proved by an important discovery which we made while minutely examining the arches which still remain closed up, and cautiously opening out one of them. Behind the first wall of coarsely-shaped stones which filled up the arch we found, to our great surprise, at the back of the archway a second screen of stones, forming a sort of apsidal niche, 0^m·25 deep, whose sides were covered with fine *mosaic work* in coloured and gilded cubes of glass. We were able to ascertain that this existed in several of the other arches also. Here (p. 188) is the section and elevation of one of them half opened, which will clearly explain the arrangement of the mosaics in reference to the whole building.

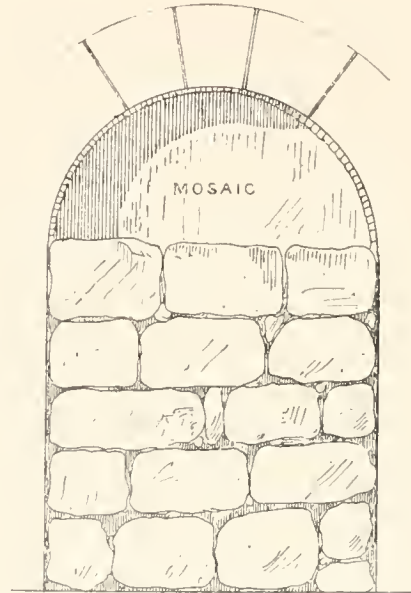
As we see, these arches must have passed through at least three successive stages of existence, corresponding to as many different periods: (1) at the outset they were completely open and one could see through them; (2) they were filled up and converted into regular little apsidal niches, having

* See hereafter, page 205.

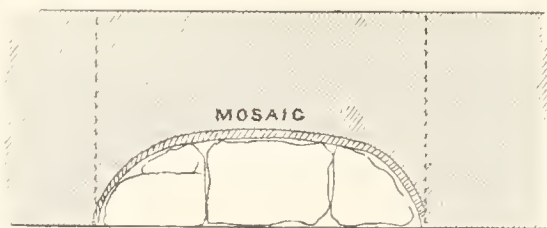
their sides cased with mosaics; (3) these niches themselves were completely filled up by a screen of stonework intended to receive a new casing, which may have been a second casing of mosaics of some intermediate* epoch, or



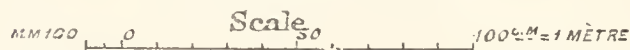
SECTION THROUGH THE AXIS
OF ONE OF THE SMALL
ARCHES.



ELEVATION OF ONE OF THE SMALL
ARCHES.



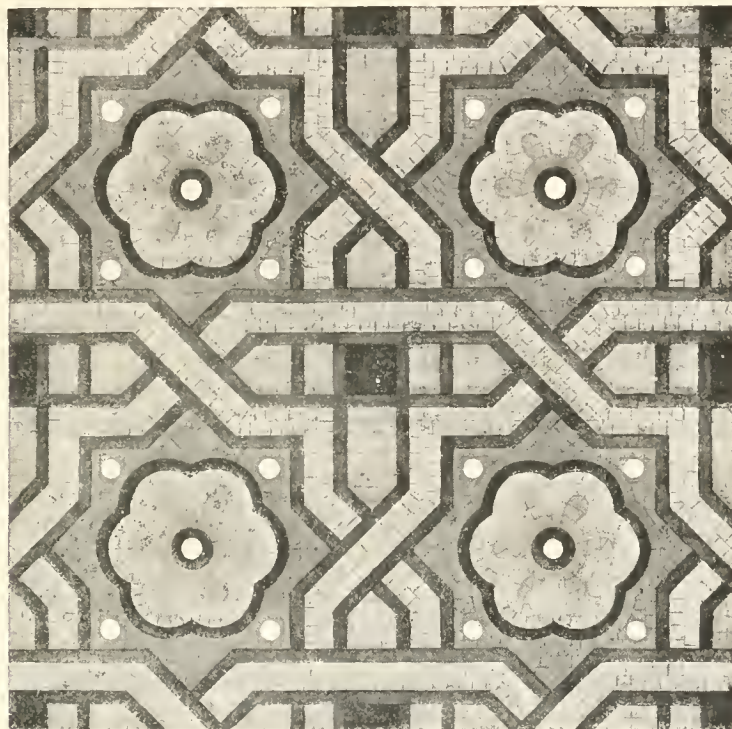
PLAN OF ONE OF THE SMALL ARCHES.



else the last casing of all, that of earthenware tiles with which in the end the entire wall was covered, and beneath which the arcades, for a while transformed into niches, finally disappeared.

* See what will be said hereafter, page 191, upon this subject.

Of course, this casing of mosaics has been much damaged, and only traces of it remain. Nevertheless, by putting together all the scattered pieces which we could find in various arches, it was possible to reconstruct the general pattern of the decoration, both as to design and arrangement of colours. M. Lecomte was able to make a careful water colour sketch of the pattern, which I here reproduce.



SPECIMEN OF MOSAIC IN THE SMALL ARCHES. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

The scale of colours is a fairly rich one : deep and pale yellow, red and brown, dark blue and light blue, dark green and light green. The interweaving of the pattern forms crosses, but it does not seem probable to me that they have any symbolical significance or are more than mere geometrical figures. It is worthy of remark that this form of pattern is to be found on many systems of earthenware tiles executed at a much later period. One would imagine that the designer of the tiles must have drawn his inspiration from those very ancient mosaics which the tiles were intended to replace, and that the tiles only carried on the tradition of the mosaics in a new form.*

* Compare, for instance, as regards outline of pattern, some of the specimens of earthenware tiles reproduced in M. de Vogüé's *Temple* (Pl. XXVII).

So little of these mosaics is left, that we are unable to say whether there were other patterns besides this one among the pieces which have been destroyed. But be this as it may, it seems probable that we have here one of the leading patterns in the decorative system applied to the niches in the arches.

It may be asked whether all the arches had been uniformly made into niches lined with mosaics, whether, for instance, they may not have been alternately opened and closed. Thanks to the very great courtesy of the Me'mûr, I was able to decide this question by having another arch opened, the next one to that on which the mosaic lining was most visible. All the mosaics had disappeared from the niche which formed the back of this second arch, but they had left unmistakable traces of their having once existed there by the marks of the little cubes in the cement in which they had once been imbedded.

We may therefore take it for certain that all the arches were once decorated in the same way. This is an important piece of evidence bearing upon the history, still so obscure, of the successive transformations of the building in the course of ages. For one thing, it distinctly proves, what has often been doubted, in spite of the formal and repeated assertions of Arab chroniclers and ancient western pilgrims; I mean, that the Kubbet es Sakhra was once decorated with mosaics *outside** as well as inside. The outside casing of porcelain tiles has followed a casing of mosaic, which was still in existence in the sixteenth century, and covered the entire wall, as far down as the sills of the windows, where the marble covering begins. The care with which these mosaics have been removed before putting on the earthenware tiles, inclines me to think that they purposely collected the cubes, perhaps with the intention of using them again elsewhere in restoring mosaic work, either in the interior of the Sakhra itself, or in some other buildings. The fact is that no traces remain of those which once tapestried the bare wall, not counting the upper arcade.

Nevertheless, we can still gain some idea of them from the description, so singularly true for all its brevity, which has been left us by the pilgrim

* Mosaic decoration of the outside of churches was common in Byzantine art. For example, I have proved that it was so with the façade of the Basilica at Bethlehem before the Arab conquest. (See my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 139 and 140.)

Fabri, about A.D. 1480.* He tells us that between the large glazed† windows (that is, upon the piers which separate them) one saw, upon a gold ground, a magnificent mosaic decoration, representing "the forms of trees, palms, and olives, and figures of cherubim; ‡ for," he adds, "the Saracens will not suffer any other pictures or carvings in their temples." It seems to me to be evident from this description that this part of the exterior mosaic was exactly in the style of the interior mosaic which decorates the inside of the drum§ carrying the dome. Here we have the gold ground, the foliage (issuing from great vases), the figures of cherubim; in fact, everything is repeated. The last of these details, a characteristic one, seems to me to correspond to the pairs of wings which we see in the mosaics of the drum, the faces themselves, out of deference for Mussulman religious scruples, having been represented by the artist in an altogether conventional fashion. Now we know from a fragment of an Arabic inscription, which is an integral part of the mosaics of the drum, that they were finished in the year 418 of the Hegira (A.D. 1027). From this, we may be permitted to

* Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, Vol. II, p. 219. I have explained already how this German pilgrim found himself in an exceptionally favourable position for examining the outside of the building from a pretty close point of view, at a period when the Haram was absolutely inaccessible to Christians. See *supra*, page 132.

† "In muro exteriori per circuitum sunt fenestree magnae oblongae vitree, sicut in ecclesiis, et spatium inter fenestram et fenestram est tantum quanta est fenestra." This last detail is absolutely true if we measure the width of the windows without including the casing of porcelain, which narrows them at the present day. This proves generally the accuracy of Fabri's eyesight, and encourages us all the more to believe in the truth of his other statements. We may remark, by the way, that the glass windows of which Fabri speaks, and which he compares to those of our churches, were older than those which we admire in the Sakhra at this day; the latter were executed by the orders of Sultan Soliman in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1528), as is shown by the inscriptions which they bear.

‡ "Quod spatium est de opere mosaico ab extra pretiosissime depictum, ita quod campus picturae rutilat auro, ipsa autem pictura sunt formae arborum, palmarum et olivarum, et figurae Cherubinatorum."

§ See the specimen reproduced on pl. XXIII of M. de Vogüé's *Temple*. I have found these characteristic *pairs of wings* in the mosaic decoration of the drum which carries the dome of El Aksa (see M. de Vogüé's specimens, *op. c.*, pl. XXXIII), a form of decoration which, taken as a whole, may very well be earlier than the time of Saladin, in spite of the current opinion to the contrary. Perhaps the great inscription seen by Aly el Herewy, as late as 1173, inside El Aksa, should be understood as referring to this decoration. The inscription stated that the Kubbeh and its gilding were restored by the Fatimite Caliph Dhâher li-'Izâz ed Dîn (the son of the celebrated Hâkem), in the year 426 of the Hegira. It will be noticed that the fragment of the inscription preserved in the mosaics of the tambour of the Sakhra bears the date of 418 A.H., which is near enough to this.

infer either that the mosaics on the outside, which were visible in the sixteenth century, dated from the same period as these inner ones, or at all events, that they were made after the same pattern, and must anyhow have been very like those which the Crusaders had before their eyes when they looked at the various façades of the *Templum Domini*. This does not, however, imply that in the course of ages they did not undergo sundry restorations by which their appearance may have been more or less altered, for these mosaics were so directly exposed to the action of the weather, that they must soon have felt its effects. We know the exact date of at least one of these restorations, which took place about 1270, by the order of Sultan Beibars.*

These are the material facts which I have been able to collect bearing upon the outside face of the enclosing wall of the Kubbet es Sakhra. This new evidence raises some important questions, about which I cannot help saying a few words, without presuming to offer a complete solution.

The series of arcades which crown the eight sides of the wall of the octagon must originally have given the building a very different general aspect to that which it offers at the present day, and a much more æsthetic appearance. Indeed, these eight sides, in their present condition, look heavy and ungraceful, in spite of their rich casing of porcelain tiles ; they look like eight pieces of cardboard. Moreover, the way in which this octagonal wall rises at the present day above and in front of the steeply sloping roof of the building is difficult to account for upon good architectural principles. The eye is displeased by this arrangement. It was not so when the top of each of the eight sides of this wall was pierced by those elegant arcades, which opened down as far as the level of the present roof. For, though we were unable to ascertain the fact by actual examination, there can be no doubt that all the eight sides were alike, and that all that we have noted and said about the west and south-west sides is equally applicable to the six other sides which have not been stripped.

Some have thought that the octagonal boundary-wall which encloses the Sakhra is no part of the original plan, but may have been added in the ninth

* Mujir ed Din, *op. c.*, pp. 433, 434: "And he renewed the mosaics (*fusûs*) of the holy Sakhra, which are above the (casing of) marble, on the outside." Further on (p. 435) he again tells us how, a little later, in the reign of Sultan Ketboghâ, they renewed the mosaic-work of the Sakhra ; but in this instance perhaps he is speaking of the interior decoration of the building.

century as an afterthought.* According to this hypothesis, Abd el Melik must have contented himself with covering the Holy Rock with a dome resting on a drum, which itself was carried by a circular arrangement of piers and columns, the whole being surrounded by an octagonal colonnade, that, namely, which we see at this day between the central circle and the octagonal boundary wall, forming the double and concentric series of aisles. This colonnade must then originally have been open to the air, without being enclosed by a boundary wall, and the entire building would then have resembled, on a great scale, the little Kubbet es Selseleh which stands in front of the east door of the Kubbet es Sakhra. This last comparison might indeed form a specious argument in favour of the theory which I am discussing, for Arab writers tell us that the Kubbet es Selseleh served as a model for the Kubbet es Sakhra. I do not know to what extent this last tradition is accurate; in any case there is nothing to prove that by this we ought to understand the general arrangement of the building, and not merely *the shape of its dome*—its outline, as one may say—which, as we know, would be very different. Against this argument, whose bearing is contestable, we may, moreover, urge another one, borrowed from the same traditional sources. The most ancient Arab historians recount that Abd el Melik, when building the sanctuary of the Sakhra, had especially before his eyes† the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and wished to build a rival edifice which should eclipse the glory of the other.‡ Indeed, in the general plan of the Sakhra one can trace a striking similarity to the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the essential difference is that the one is circular and the other octagonal. Now the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is to-day and was certainly in the seventh century a building completely enclosed within walls, and not a sanctuary open to all the winds of heaven. It is not likely, therefore, that Abd el Melik would have made a building which in this respect would have been singularly inferior to the Christian Sanctuary, and whose internal splendours would have been ill protected against the

* “Memoirs”—*Jerusalem Volume*, p. 248; cf. *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 155.

† Not to mention the political reasons which he had for diverting the pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead of to Mecca.

‡ See, amongst other authorities on this point, the very serious testimony of Mukaddesy (*op. Le Strange, op. c.*, p. 117): “And in like manner is it not evident how the Khalif ‘Abd Al Melik noting the greatness of the Dome of the (Holy Sepulchre called) Al Kumâmah and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected above the Rock the Dome which now is seen there?”

weather. Furthermore, in the circular letter addressed to his Mussulman subjects, the Caliph Abd el Melik distinctly says that he wishes to build the Kubbet es Sakhra to shelter the faithful from heat and cold.* This last condition would never have been fulfilled in the climate of Jerusalem in the case of a building open on all sides, a sort of kiosk on a large scale, sheltered by a mere roof resting on a colonnade, a roof which, according to the theory now being discussed, would be little more than half as large as the present one. Finally, in all the passages of the Arab historians which describe the mosque at the time of Abd el Melik, formal mention is made of the *doors* of the building,† and doors necessarily imply the existence of a wall. Ibn el Fakih, in 903, describes the mosque in detail,‡ and his description, while it agrees exactly with the plan of the present building, can only be explained by admitting the existence of the octagonal boundary wall. Now he ascribes the erection of the entire building to Abd el Melik. If, within this comparatively brief period, the mosque, which up to that time had been open, had been enclosed by a boundary wall, it is very extraordinary that the writer should never have uttered a word about so important an alteration.

Lastly, I shall quote a passage from Eutychius,§ which seems sufficiently explicit as to the point in dispute, notwithstanding that, probably by mistake, he attributes the building of the mosque not to Abd el Melik, but to his

* Mujir ed Din, *op. c.*, p. 241.

† Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 243), quoting from earlier documents, says: "The doors were closed, and eight guards were appointed to each. The Sakhra was only open to the public on Mondays and Thursdays." Before him, Ya'kûby (Le Strange, *op. c.*, p. 116), who wrote about the year 260 A.H., speaks of the "door-keepers" of the Mosque of Abd el Melik.

‡ For a translation of the passage, see Le Strange, *op. c.*, p. 120; cf. Gildmeister, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*, XIII, p. 1 sqq.

§ Eutychius, ed. Selden, II, pp. 372-375. The author adds a detail which, if authentic, is very curious. The Caliph took a gilt copper cupola from a church at Baalbec to cover the Sakhra. Although Eutychius uses the word *Kubbeh* to specify this cupola, it does not follow that he means the dome of the building itself. We cannot believe that so large a mass could have been carried so far. I am more inclined to think that he must mean a great *ciborium*, a hemispherical baldacchino over some Christian altar, which may have been similarly placed over the Holy Rock, or some part of it. This hemispherical shape was characteristic of the primitive *ciborium*; and, for my own part, I have no doubt whatever that it is a ciborium that is meant by the enigmatical *ἡμισφαίριον* mentioned by Eusebius in his description of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. Some have wished, quite mistakenly, to see in this an integral part of Constantine's building, and to make it out to have been an apse; on the contrary, it was a separate cupola standing *within* the building, and supported by twelve columns with silver capitals.

son, El Walid.* “He placed the Sakhra,” he says, “in the midst of the Mesjed, and he surrounded it by a building (بنا حولها) encased with marble.” If we are to take Eutychius literally, the wall of the building would have been built in A.H. 86–96, instead of A.H. 72. El Walid therefore really would have done no more than finish the work which his father began. We have not here to do, therefore, in any case, with a later addition to the building made in the ninth century of our era, and this would practically make no change in the chronological data of the archæological problem.

I think then that considering all the various historical and archæological arguments which have been set forth, it is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that the entire octagonal enclosing wall, from the top to the bottom, including the upper arcades uncovered in 1873, are part of the original design of the building, and the work of the first builder, Abd el Melik.

But it remains for us to decide what the real function and architectural purpose of these arcades could have been, arcades which, we may remark by the way, were quite in accordance with the taste of the period.†

This question is a very difficult one. I did for a moment hope to have found a solution of it by the aid of a passage in John of Würzburg, in which he describes the *Templum Domini* during the Crusading period; but after reflection I doubt whether one can make out of it what I fancied I had found by way of explanation. Nevertheless, it is worth our while to look closely into this passage, for at all events it contains interesting pieces of information as to the appearance presented by the octagonal enclosure wall about the year 1165.

“The outer sides of each of the eight walls of the octagon,” he tells us,‡ “were adorned, for half their height, with mosaic work of the finest kind; the other part (the lower half of the wall) was covered with a continuous casing of marble, the only break in which was made by the four doors

* This confusion may have arisen from El Walid's having caused important repairs to be done to the east side of the Haram which had become ruinous (Mujir ed Din, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

† We may—*mutatis mutandis*—compare, upon this point, the little round headed arcades which surmount the wide window arches of the lower range of windows in the Mosque at Damascus, which itself was built or rebuilt by the first Ommiad Caliphs.

‡ John of Würzburg, ed. Tobler, pp. 123–126. “Habens parietem de optimo musivo opere exterius adornatum usque ad medietatem ejus, nam reliqua pars est de marmoreis lapidibus. Idem paries inferior est continuus . . . sed in superiore parte ejusdem parietis, scilicet ubi musivum opus optimum appositum est, fenestrae sunt insertae sic quod in quolibet de octo lateribus sunt quinque, praeterquam ubi sunt ostia templi, in quibus quatuor tantum continentur fenestrae, et est summa earum triginta sex.”

which stood at the four cardinal points. The upper part, that which is covered with mosaics, is pierced by windows, five on each face, except upon those faces where the doors are, for these faces have only four windows, which makes the entire total of windows thirty-six."

Thus far this remarkably precise description is very distinct; it describes an arrangement exceedingly like that which exists at the present day, with the one difference that the casing of porcelain tiles has since then taken the place of the mosaic.

The way in which the writer counts the windows is perfectly accurate, if we bear in mind that on each side the two outermost arches of the lower range are blind ones, and as I have already shown, *have always been so*. Although there are really seven arches on each side, yet there are but five *open* windows on the four sides without doors, and four open windows upon the four sides with doors.* Moreover, the lower part of the wall, which is cased with marble, is indeed continuous, as the author says, and is only interrupted by the four doors.

We have now to ascertain whether the author is to be taken literally when he says that the marble casing covered the lower *half* of the wall (*ad medietatem ejus*). If this was so, this casing having necessarily stopped, as it does at the present day, at the level of the sills of the windows, it would therefore seem as if the writer did not take into consideration the upper part of the wall, crowned with their little arcades, and that, according to his reckoning, the wall properly so called stops at the cornice which runs beneath these little arcades, pretty much at the level of the gargoyles and of the lower edge of the roof.

Does this imply that this upper part was not yet in existence in the time of John of Würzburg? This cannot be admitted after the facts which we have established and which have been set forth above. Besides, a valuable piece of evidence of which I have elsewhere made use proves to us that the general height of the wall *before* the capture of Jerusalem

* It is curious to compare, upon this point, John of Würzburg's reckoning with that of Ibn el Fakih (*Le Strange, op. c.*, p. 120). The Mussulman author counts fifty-six glazed windows in the whole building: if we subtract from this total the sixteen windows in the drum, we have forty left as the number of windows in the octagonal wall, that is to say, four more than John of Würzburg counts there. How is this difference to be explained? Perhaps in the time of Ibn el Fakih (A.D. 903) the great impost above the four doors, the space between the lintel and the lower arch, was glazed, and consequently the Arab author included it in his reckoning of the windows.

by the Crusaders, was much the same as it is at this day; it is that of the Persian pilgrim Nâsir i Khusrau,* who, describing the mosque of the Sakhra in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1047), gives thirty-three *gez* as the length and twenty *gez* as the height of each side of the octagonal boundary wall. Whatever the exact length of the measure employed by the Persian pilgrim may be, the ratio between the length and height of the several parts of the wall is practically that which exists at this day. Now as the length cannot have altered, it follows that the height at the present day is the same that it was before the coming of the Crusaders.

Must we then conclude from this, that John of Würzburg left the upper part of the wall out of his reckoning, because it consisted of a distinct architectural element, above the wall which alone could be strictly called "paries"? This would lead one to suppose that the arcades were still visible in his time. But if they were visible, how comes it that the writer, who is generally so precise and circumstantial in his descriptions, does not spare at least a word or two for the description of an architectural arrangement which nevertheless was well placed to attract attention. Here is a considerable difficulty, which will presently confront us in another form.

We must compare John of Würzburg's description of the octagonal boundary-wall with that of Theoderich, a writer practically of the same period, whose description renders some parts of John of Würzburg's account more complete, and throws light upon others. "This wall," he tells us,† "is ornamented in its lower part with magnificent marble, for *half* its height; from this point up to the *limbus* above, upon which the roof rests, it is encrusted with a beautiful decoration of mosaic."

As we see, Theoderich, like John of Würzburg, regards the marble casing as covering the lower *half* of the entire height of the wall. But with regard to what he considers to be the upper limit of this wall, that is to say, of that part of the wall which was covered with mosaics, he gives us a hint which, it would seem, ought to enable us to solve our difficulty, for he tells us that the mosaic stopped at the *limbus* which carried the roof. If the lower edge of the roof at that time occupied the same position that it does at this

* Schefer, *Sefer-Nameh*, p. 28 of the Persian text. The translator has, by a slip of the pen, written, *thirty-nine* instead of *thirty-three*, as the text has it.

† Theodericus, *Libellus*, ed. Tobler, p. 38 . . . "inferius usque ad medium spatium nobilissimo marmore ornatum, et a medio usque ad superiorem, cui tectum incumbit, limbum musivo opere decentissime decoratum."

day, and was not at a higher level—a question which we shall shortly have to consider—then we must admit that what Theoderich calls a *limbus*, or string-course, corresponds to the cornice which extends above the larger arches, on the same level with the gargoyles, and to the space comprised between this cornice and the tops of these arches. Here, indeed, we find the place where the lower edge of the roof rests on the top of the thick part of the wall, and butts against the foot of the slender wall pierced by the small arched openings which surmounts the thick wall. If for a moment we disregard this slender arcaded wall, and measure the height from the top of the larger arches to the ground, we shall see that the part encased with marble does indeed reach half way up the wall, if we take it in this sense.

But if so, then we must admit that Theoderich must have left the slender arcaded wall completely out of his calculations; yet this thin wall is an integral part of the thick wall, and was certainly in existence at this period, with its round-headed arches, whether they were open or blind. This conclusion seems an improbable one, and this leads us to consider more carefully what it exactly was that Theoderich meant by a *limbus*. Here is a passage which may help us in this inquiry. This *limbus*, he adds, went all round the temple, and contained a long Latin inscription, which began on the west side and continued round all the other seven sides.* John of Würzburg (*op. c.*, p. 127) likewise mentions and copies† this great inscription: “In circuitu templi, quasi sub tecto, extra, continetur hæc littera, in ascensu, versus occidentem: *Pax æterna*,” etc. etc.‡

The position of the inscription, pointed out by John of Würzburg, “as it were just under the roof,” agrees well with that assigned to it by Theoderich: “on the *limbus* upon which the roof rests.” But if in the twelfth century the roof was in the same position that it now occupies, what then becomes in these descriptions of the slender arcaded wall which now as then crowns the façade? If we admit that the ancient arrangement of the wall was the same as the present one, we must suppose—disregarding this superstructure, essential though it be—that the *limbus* bearing the inscription occupied

* “Ipse vero *limbus*, circulariter per totum templi ambitum circumductus, hanc continet scripturam, quæ a fronte, vel ab occidentali introitu, inchoans, secundum solis circuitum sic est legenda; in fronte: *Pax æterna ab æterno patre sit huic domui*; in secundo latere: *Templum Domini sanctum est*,” etc., etc.

† John of Würzburg’s copy seems to be less accurate and less complete than Theoderich’s.

‡ I have altered Tobler’s punctuation, which does not seem to me to be a very rational one.

pretty nearly the same position that the upper string-course of porcelain tiles, between the tops of the arches of the lower windows, and the cornice with the gargoyles now occupies. The space occupied by this course seems a very narrow one to have held this Latin inscription, which, to correspond to the size of the building, must have consisted of huge letters. *A priori* it appears much more logical to suppose that the inscription was higher up, where now runs the wide band of tiles whose lower edge crosses the little upper arcade at about its middle, and which bears, in magnificent white letters on a blue ground, several verses of the Coran (*Surat Yâsîn*). Here is the natural place for a decorative inscription, which would not then be cramped for room. We may even ask whether the Mussulman decorators of the sixteenth century may not have followed an earlier tradition, and have placed an inscription in porcelain tiles on the very spot where they knew that there had once been one, or where perhaps there still was one at the time of their repair of the building. Similarly, we may ask ourselves whether the Crusaders may not themselves have placed a Christian inscription upon the very spot where the infidels had already placed one of their own.

This hypothesis might lead us to important consequences, some of which, I am well aware, involve serious objections. We must in this case admit (1) that the *limbus* consisted of the slender arcaded walls; (2) that these arcades were stopped up in the time of the Crusaders, either because the latter stopped them up themselves, or else because they found them already stopped up; (3) that this *limbus*, being comprised between the two cornices, formed a large frieze as wide as the slender wall is high, that is 2^m·60 high; (4) that the visible surface of this frieze was not then covered with mosaics, and that the Latin inscription which it bore was not composed of mosaic work;* (5) that in consequence of the alterations made by the Crusaders, the mosaic which ornamented the upper half of the wall stopped short, in appearance at least, at the level of the cornice which runs at the height of one course of ashlar above the tops of the base arches of the lower story. This cornice may have formed the base of the *limbus*.

* It may have been painted, carved, or encrusted, and was probably gilded. John of Würzburg and Theoderich nowhere state that this inscription was wrought in mosaics. The first tells us that one of the inscriptions added by the Crusaders to the interior of the building was in gilded letters (*aureis litteris*). It is natural enough that the Crusaders should have had recourse to a more expeditious process than mosaic work.

Finally—and this is above all the delicate point—we must suppose that the roof occupied an altogether different position to what it does at this day, and that its lower edge, instead of butting against the inner part of the base of the arcaded wall, must on the contrary have rested upon the top of this wall, the whole of which constituted the *limbus*. This last inference is necessitated by the distinct statements “*limbus cui tectum incumbit*” and “*quasi sub tecto.*”

This theory would agree well enough with the various hints which we have collected from the descriptions given by John of Würzburg and Theoderich. But, on the other hand, it raises difficulties of a technical as well as of an architectural character. Assuredly this raising of the lower part of the roof (the starting-point of its upper part remaining always fixed at the same level upon the central drum) would give the building a very different appearance to that which it presents at this day; its general outline would be altogether changed, and this change would suit the requirements of good design much better. It would, moreover, have the advantage of allowing the openings of the upper arcade to perform their natural functions, that of little windows lighting the upper part of the outer octagonal* aisle. Indeed, these arches are too high to be regarded as mere openings in a balustrade surmounting the lower edge of a roof, and serving as the parapet of a gallery walk. It remains for us to consider whether this slender wall, only 0^m·60 in thickness, could have been of sufficient strength to support the base of the roof.† Experts alone can decide this point. I may, however, remark that the weight of the roof is really divided into two unequal parts, as the middle of it is borne by the intermediate encircling wall which runs between the octagonal boundary wall and the circular wall which carries the central drum: the shorter and consequently the lighter part of the roof is just that which extends

* We could thus explain why the thickness of the wall has been so considerably decreased in this upper part; it would thus avoid having to make the windows which pierced it of too great a depth in proportion to the size of the openings. But we may conjecture that perhaps the thickness of the upper part of the wall was subsequently diminished by removing the stonework at the back of it, though this seems hardly likely.

† This defect may perhaps have been remedied by some device of carpentry, by which the whole or a part of the weight of the roof could have been transferred to the top of the thicker wall. I have not sufficient technical knowledge to venture upon a more detailed theory on the subject.

between the intermediate wall and the boundary wall. Of course, according to this theory, we must suppose that originally the intermediate wall was somewhat higher than it now is, and that it was afterwards lowered proportionately to the increased slope of the roof.

This essential alteration of the slope of the roof may have taken place in the course of the numerous restorations which the Kubbet es Sakhra, often shaken by earthquakes, has undergone. Our theory would be more satisfactory if we could establish the fact that the alteration had taken place before the period of the Crusades; but what we have seen tends rather to the supposition that it was later.* Here we are confronted by a great difficulty. Many of the rafters of the existing woodwork of the roof bear a Cufic inscription, repeated several times,† which states that it was made in the reign of the Caliph Muktader Billah, in A.H. 301 (A.D. 913), and consequently a good many years before the coming of the Crusaders.‡ The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this seems to be that the roof of the *Templum Domini* was the roof which we see at the present day, and consequently all the theory that I have advanced above at once falls to the ground, or, at all events, we must confine it to the period comprised between A.D. 691, the date of the construction by Abd el Melik, and A.D. 913, the date of the restoration of the roof on other bases. We may, nevertheless, endeavour to find out whether the ancient rafters may not have been used over again during some restoration of the roof subsequent to the time of the Crusaders, a restoration which had the effect of bringing its lower end down to its present level. Wood has always been a rare and costly building material at Jerusalem, and we may be sure that if any such restoration really took place, such of the rafters as were in good preservation would certainly have been used over again. But, it will be argued that, in that case, the angle of the roof having increased, while the horizontal distances between its three places of support remained the same, the old rafters would have been found too short, and consequently could not have been used over again

* I may here remind my readers that a considerable extent of this roof was destroyed by a fire in A.H. 851 (A.D. 1447), and that it was rebuilt, more beautifully than it was before according to Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 443).

† *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, pp. 155, 156.

‡ We already know, from an inscription upon the woodwork of the cupola itself, that this cupola was entirely rebuilt in the year 413 of the Hegira (A.D. 1022).

to carry the new roof. To this we may answer that the longer rafters, those which originally connected the drum with the intermediate wall, might perfectly well have been used over again, by employing them in that part of the wood work which lies between this intermediate wall and the octagonal boundary wall, where the space to be covered is considerably narrower. We may indeed remark that the rafters which bear the inscriptions are all to be found in this very part of the roof, that which covers the outer one of the two spaces.* Dr. Chaplin, who was the first to make known the existence of these inscribed rafters, has at the same time made a remark which tends to furnish a very important argument in support of my theory. This is the existence of a "very old carved wooden cornice still running round the building in the space between the ceiling and the roof of the outer corridor, on the inner wall of the latter, just above the ceiling." He infers from this that "either there was no roof there before, or it was not at the same level as at present." He adopts the former of these conjectures, and rejects the second. I think that I have already proved that the former theory, which has been agreed to by other archæologists, is completely at variance with what we learn from documentary evidence and with all apparent probability; the *Kubbet es Sakhra* has been closed and roofed in ever since it was built, and its original boundary wall was the same as that of the present day.

It is the second hypothesis, the one which he rejects without discussing it, that I shall maintain: the level of the roof has been altered, and altered by bringing it lower. It is surely a striking coincidence that this is just the conclusion to which I have been brought by altogether different considerations. It appears to me to be more and more probable. Even if any one should succeed in proving that it is not applicable to the period of the Crusades, or in other words, that the roof of the *Templum Domini* is the same as the present roof, it seems to me that it may still hold good for the period before A.D. 913, the date at which, in that case, the alteration of the roof must have taken place.

I once thought that I could find an explanation of our upper arcades and their connection with the roof in another sufficiently obscure passage of

* *Quarterly Statement, &c.*, "of the roof of the outer corridor." By "corridor" we must evidently understand the triangular space comprised between the roof, the flat ceiling, and the outer face of the intermediate wall.

John of Würzburg (*op. c.*, p. 126), in which, after having accurately enough described the octagonal boundary wall and the central drum which carries the dome, he remarks that between the two there was a ring of sixteen columns and eight piers, supporting the roof which extends from the drum to the boundary wall, "cum pulcherrimis laqueariis supra se etiam juxta tectum locum deambulatorium circumquaque exhibentibus et habentibus canales plumbeos, aquam pluvialem exportantes." I thought that perhaps the writer meant by this a walk made upon the roof, a sort of gallery, connected with the little arcades on the top of the boundary wall. But, after more careful examination of the passage, I think that he merely meant to speak of the inside of the frame of the roof, that is, the space between the sloping roof and the horizontal ceiling, which is large enough for people to walk in.

I also noticed, as likely to throw some light upon the question as to whether the upper arcades belonged to the Crusading period, a seal of Amalric I, bearing the legend, "civitas regis regum omnium," with a representation of three buildings which have been thought to stand for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, and the *Templum Domini*. This latter seems to show two stories of arches, one above the other, in which one might be tempted to see the double arrangement of the façade of the Sakhra which we have just discovered. But this representation is too vague for one to base any argument upon it. We may even ask whether it may not be meant for the *Templum Salomonis* or El Aksa. Moreover, upon another seal which bears the official legend "Sigillum tubae* Templi" the building there shown, which evidently is the *Templum Domini*, has only one row of arches—the existing lower windows—surmounted by a large frieze which must be the *limbus* bearing the inscription of which Theoderich speaks.

To sum up. As far back as we can get we cannot find, either before or after the period of the Crusades, any mention of our little upper arcades. It is remarkable, for example, to find Ibn el Fakih, who describes in such minute detail the condition of the building in A.H. 290 (A.D. 903), and pushes his conscientiousness so far as to reckon up the total number of windows in the building, not breathing a word about these arcades. Yet there is the

* For a reproduction of this seal and this peculiar meaning of *tuba*, "Dome," see De Vogüé's *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 290.

actual fact : there the arcades are, and there they have always been, and have played an important part in the original structure of the building. Originally they could have been nothing else but windows lighting the upper part of the outer aisle, and these windows necessarily demand a roof which rests above them, and not, as at this day, behind them, at their feet. This silence of writers can only be explained in one way, that is, that from the year A.D. 903, at least, these archways were stopped up and made into a plain wall covered with mosaic decoration like that part of the wall which was below them. Again, we must not lose sight of one essential fact, namely, that between the time when these open archways served, as they were meant, for windows, and the time when they were finally closed, and thereby effaced, or at all events put out of sight, they passed through an intermediate stage which has been revealed to us by our discovery and has already been set forth. It was only the back of them that was closed up, so as to make of them so many little niches whose walls were lined with mosaics. In this intermediate stage the arches, although closed, must, nevertheless, have displayed their shape and shown the little columns upon which they rest. It is risky, not to say impossible, to assign dates to the various stages through which these arcades have passed in succession, but nevertheless these various stages cannot admit of doubt.

If we set aside all the historical evidence, both inadequate and often difficult to reconcile, which we have discussed without being able to arrive at any definite result, and if we put ourselves without any preconceived ideas before this building itself, and ask of it alone the explanation of the important alterations which it has undoubtedly undergone in its superstructure, we shall arrive at the following conclusion : the closing of the arcades of the upper story and the lowering of the level of the roof must be two actual facts connected with one another, the one having brought about the other. In fact, the moment that the roof was lowered below the level of the arcade, which must originally have been a range of windows, these windows had no further justification for their existence, since they no longer opened into the building but on to the roof above it, and consequently were useless. From the other point of view, if the windows were closed up, the roof might be lowered without inconvenience to a level below these windows, seeing that they no longer supplied any light to the interior of the building. When the windows had ceased to serve their original purpose, one understands that the decorators, wishing to gain as much surface as possible for the free display of their art, had the idea of getting this additional space at the expense of the

arcades, which they first turned into niches, and subsequently completely filled up, so that the wall wherein they once opened became nothing more than a mere upward continuation of the wall below.

VARIOUS REMARKS.

Roof and Drum of the Kubbet es Sakhra.—As a preliminary to the repair of the sloping pent house roof which covers the encircling aisles of the Kubbet es Sakhra, they were obliged to remove a great part of the sheets of lead with which it is covered. Thanks to this circumstance, we were enabled to make our way into the interior of the woodwork of the roof, and to see the whole of the central drum laid bare, between the flat ceiling and the level from which the sloping roof starts. We were thus enabled to examine at our ease the whole of the outside of the drum between these levels. We noticed that the mediæval tooling was entirely absent from the stonework thus brought to light. I only found one stone which bore any trace of it, and this stone did not belong to the body of the drum itself, but to one of the buttresses by which it is flanked. The materials of these buttresses, moreover, are, as a rule, different from those of the drum itself; the stones are larger and show marks of the point of the pick, which, perhaps, are earlier than the Arab conquest. The same tooling is to be found on many large blocks of stone which may be seen in certain quarters of the Haram. These stones have, I think, been used over again by the Arabs, and also by the Crusaders.

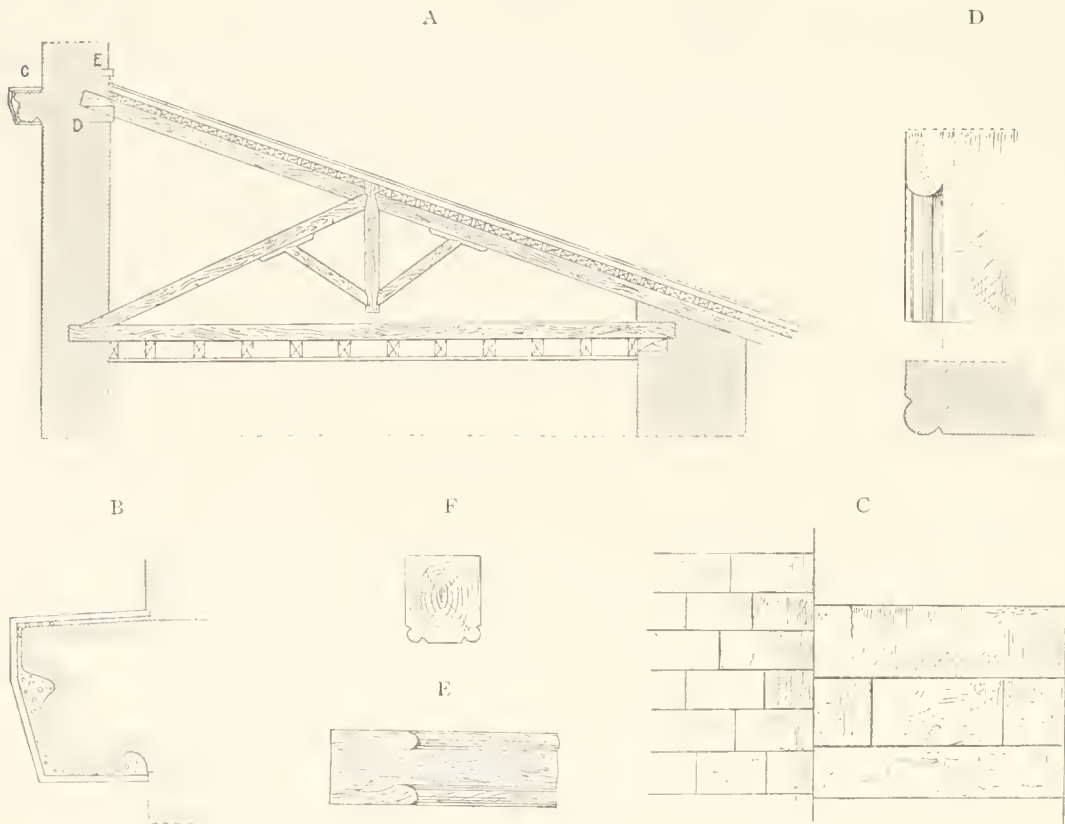
Although I have examined them most attentively, I have not been able to find more than one single mason's mark upon all the stones in the part of the drum which was thus laid bare. This mark is practically the same as that which I found (see page 187) on a stone of the outer octagonal wall which is covered with porcelain tiles (Special plate, Nos. 24-12).

This exploration of hitherto inaccessible parts of the building enabled us, at the same time, to obtain a thorough knowledge of the structure of the roof,* and of the interesting system of woodwork of which it consists.

* As for the age of the roof and the various alterations which it may have undergone, see what has been said in the preceding pages.

Here are some of the details which we have noted.

One important fact is the existence, under the casing of porcelain tiles which has disfigured it and turned it into a commonplace moulding, of a stone cornice running all round the *inside* of the drum. This cornice, which



A. Elevation of a part of the roof covering the inner aisle round the Kublet es Sakhra, showing one of the wooden frames, which stand at a distance of 0^m.85 apart. (The wall of the drum, which carries the dome, is shown at D.) Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

B. Details of the cornice c, which runs round the inner side of the drum, and was formerly concealed by a casing of porcelain tiles. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

C. Elevation of one of the buttresses which flank the outer side of the drum, showing the part visible inside the roof. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

D. Moulded fragment forming the angle of one of the buttresses, with section. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

E. Fragment of moulded wooden beam in the roof. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

F. Section of the aforesaid beam. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

may be seen at c, in the elevation A, is situated at the same level as that from which the sloping roof starts on the outside, and it divides the drum into two almost equal parts. Its profile, shown on a larger scale in fig. B, is singularly like that of a mediæval moulding of the twelfth century. This is

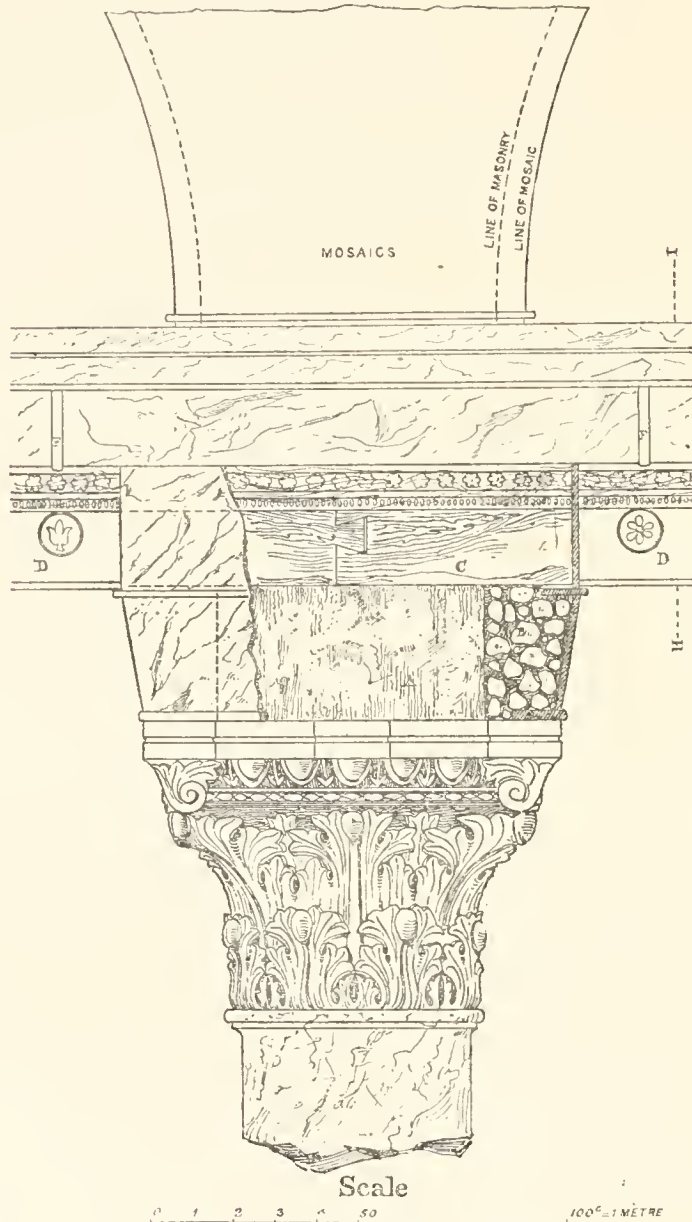
a new element which comes in to complicate the question, already so obscure, of the origin and alterations of the existing building. Are we, then, to admit that the Crusaders meddled with the inside of the drum and reworked the existing cornice in their own fashion, giving its mouldings an entirely new profile? I cannot pronounce definitely on this point, as, unfortunately, I was not able to examine the cornice close enough to make sure whether it bore the marks of mediæval tooling or not.

The Crusaders may have been led into making this alteration by the following reason. Theoderich (*Libellus*, p. 39 and 40) tells us that on the lower part of the drum, in the inside, of course, they had put up (probably in large gilt letters) a long inscription, beginning with the words, "Domus mea domus orationis," etc., which ran all round the drum above the arches which carry it. This inscribed frieze must clearly have followed the level of the lower cornice which runs over the tops of the arches. Above it (*in superiori vero circulo*) another circular frieze bore a long inscription, beginning with the words "Audi, Domine, hymnum," etc. This second inscription must have been on the level of the cornice higher up, the cornice which displays the mediæval profile in question. We now can understand why it was that the Crusaders thought proper to give this cornice a new profile, in order to bring it into harmony with the general style of this portion of the drum, which they had thus altered. If this be so, we must wait for the time when we can examine the lower cornice under the same conditions, for this lower cornice, at the present day, is hidden, just as the upper one was, and see whether we shall find that this lower cornice also has been reworked in the style of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps this theory may be extended to the third cornice at the very top of the drum, at the springing of the dome. But this is more doubtful, seeing that it does not appear that the Crusaders put up any decorative inscription there.

One reaches the roof by a little wooden staircase built against the inner side of one of the sides of the octagonal boundary wall. In the case which encloses this stair the stone work of the inner side of the boundary wall is visible for a certain space. I have ascertained that the tooling of the ashlar is not mediæval. On the other hand, I have observed a strange enough circumstance: the stones are pierced by numerous holes, and in these holes small fragments of flint are embedded. The visible part of them is cut smooth and polished. I am not able to explain the meaning of this strange treatment. Can it have had a superstitious origin?

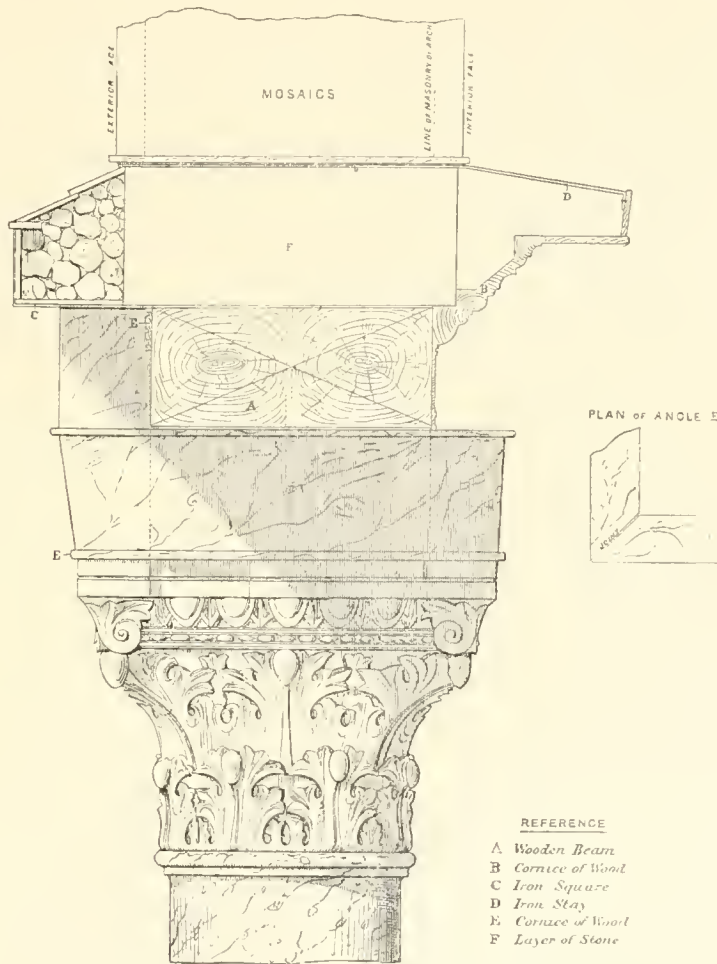
The Entablature of the arches of the inner circle of columns.—We were able to make a close examination of the entablature between the



ELEVATION OF THE OUTER (NORTH) FACE.

springer blocks of the arches and the capitals of the columns of the inner circle of the Kubbet es Sakhra, which has hitherto been hidden by a marble

casing. The point which we studied is the easternmost column on the north side (see p. 154, plan of the inner circle, No. 11). We obtained leave to set up a long ladder against the shaft of the column, which enabled us to mount as far as the capital. I show here two detailed drawings which will give an idea of this architectural arrangement, the exact knowledge of which is a matter to which archæologists will very rightly attach great importance.



SECTION FROM H TO I (OF THE ELEVATION) LOOKING EAST.

The capital of the column is, as we see, surmounted by a cubical abacus, composed of a plain block of stone, above which lies the wooden beam or tie which runs round the whole building. This beam consists of two pieces of wood, dovetailed together; the join comes in the middle of the abacus. Above the tie-beam rest the springer blocks of the arches.

Evidently this part of the beam, which hitherto has been hidden by the marble casing, was originally intended to be visible, for we have found that the ornamentation of the beam is continuous under the slabs of marble. As for the abacus, on the other hand, it seems to have always been meant to be covered by some decorative casing or other, for its bare rough sides would have contrasted unpleasantly with the richness of the general ornamentation.

With regard to the existence of this tie-beam above the capitals of the columns, we cannot fail to be reminded of the classical arrangement, alluded to by M. de Vogüé,* as follows:—"The existence of the wooden tie-beam is characteristic: it appears to be an invention of the Arabs, for it is met with in the greater part of the primitive mosques, such as the Mosque of Anuru at Cairo, and the Mosque of El Aksa, and has not hitherto been found, as far as I know, in any church of the sixth or seventh centuries."

As for the marble slabs with which these abaci are cased, I have been told by the Kalfa, or clerk of the works, an amusing explanation of their presence, which may have some interest for us from its very simplicity. He gravely declared that this casing was made to prevent the pigeons, of which, as every one knows, there are hundreds in the Haram,† from perching upon them and defiling the interior of the sanctuary by their droppings. This is word for word the explanation given by Josephus to account for the existence of certain gilded spikes which he says were placed upon the terrace of Herod's Temple (*Bell. Jud.*, v, 5: 6). I need scarcely say that it is only because of this curious coincidence that I have thought it worth while to record this singular opinion: it may make an archæologist smile, but we may perhaps see in it a vague echo of the words of Jewish history.

I was promised by the Me'mûr an opportunity of examining, under the same conditions, all that is hidden under the marble casing of the parts above the columns of the inner circle, that which most nearly surrounds the Holy Rock and carries the drum and dome. But as the

* De Vogüé, *Temple*, p. 83.

† Compare the account given by Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 443) of the fire which destroyed part of the roof on the west side of the Sakhra in A.H. 851 (A.D. 1447), which some say was caused by lightning, and others by a boy who got inside the roof with a lighted candle to look for pigeons' nests.

work dragged slowly on, I left Jerusalem before it could possibly be done. I regret this, for it was an opportunity which may not perhaps recur for a very long time. I had the same hopes and was equally disappointed with regard to the bases of the columns and piers of the inner circle.

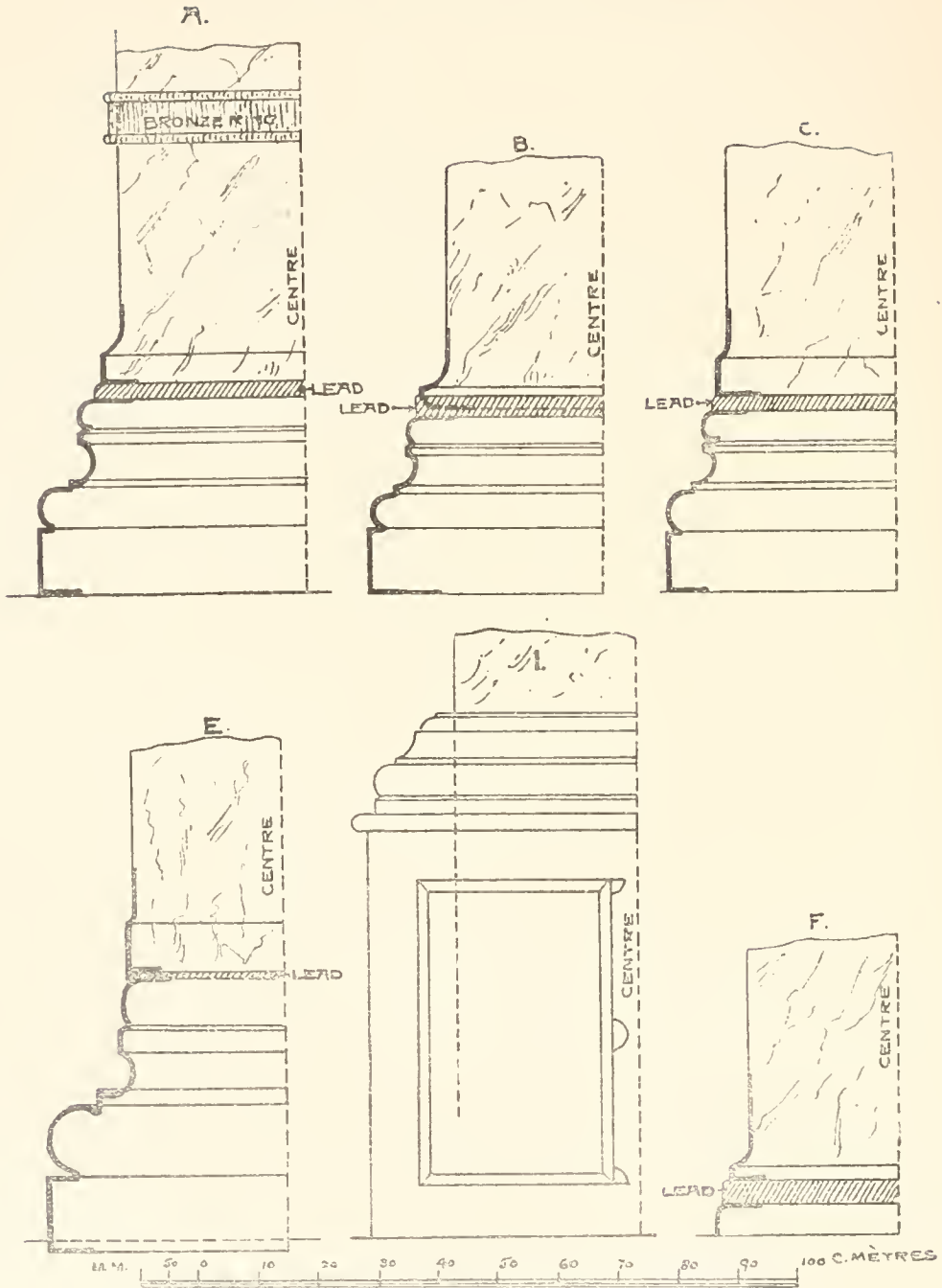
The Bases of the columns and piers within the building.—I was more fortunate with regard to the bases of the columns and piers of the outer octagonal ring, that which divides the aisles of the building into two concentric circles. It will be remembered that this series of arches rests upon eight great piers, between each of which are two columns, making sixteen in all. In the course of the works several of these bases were stripped of the marble casing which previously altogether hid them, and we made an exact drawing of them, which may furnish some evidence concerning the much debated question of the origin of this ancient building, since we are here dealing with essential and fundamental parts of its construction which hitherto have been hidden from our sight.

Here follow drawings of the bases of the columns which we were able to examine. Their exact position will be found on the little rough plan which I have made,* following that of the Ordnance Survey (Plate II).

These bases are of white marble. The feet of the columns are adjusted to their bases by thick plates of lead, which form a bedding intended to make them rest securely. Moreover, the shaft of the column A has a large bronze ring encircling it 0^m.40 above the leaden plate, as though to remedy, or perhaps to prevent some accident.

A glance at the drawings of these bases will explain their form better than any amount of description; nothing more is needed to display immediately one positive and essential fact concerning them, namely, *their heterogeneous character*. Doubtless we cannot deny that there is a considerable resemblance between, for example, the sections of A, B, and C (which, however, have been reworked), if we consider nothing but the outline; but the proportions of these three bases are so remarkably different in each case that they cannot be classed as belonging to one single type. Moreover in any case they are completely different to the base E, both in dimensions and outline of mouldings. Lastly, the marble from which these bases have been hewn is not the same in all of them.

* See page 154.



See plan of Kubbet-es-Sakhra, page 154.

- A. (No. 1) South column of the south-east side. B. (No. 2) North column of the same side.
 C. (No. 3) South column of the east side. E. (No. 5) North column of the same side.
 F. (No. 6) North column of the north-east side.

I. (No. 9) East column of the south side, showing a column and base which have undergone the restoration which since that time has again hidden the original arrangement, revealed for a moment, of the bases A B C E F.

* The dotted lines show the axis of the columns and of the bases upon which they rest.

The appearance of these bases therefore fully confirms what we had already learned from the varied size and different stone of the columns which rest upon them, that is, that even when the *original* building was constructed, its builders made use of ancient material from various sources. That ancient stonework should have been used over again in this fashion seems very improbable in a building earlier than the Arab conquest, even in the lowest period of Byzantine decadence; on the contrary, it is quite in accordance with Arab habits. If these bases and columns, whatever their actual age may be, had originally been specially made for the Kubbet es Sakhra, they clearly would have resembled one another, and would not have exhibited these various points of disagreement. It was, indeed, quite against the builders' interest to create of their own accord this absence of symmetry, which betrays itself not only by variations in the outlines of the bases, but by differences in both the diameter and the height of the shafts. No idiosyncrasy, no fancies of the architect, can account for this last and most important peculiarity, whose existence is proved by our drawings. It is so flagrant that it entirely justifies the arrangement of these sham bases, which at all events are regular, being artificially made of slabs of marble. Probably *from the very first* these uniform envelopes have been used to cover the deformities of these lame supports, and thus the remedy is as old as the disease. In the course of ages, the bases may several times have changed their envelope, just as in 1874, but I imagine that they always have had one. The whole importance of the fact which we have thus established will appear if we reflect that these odd bases and columns support a wall with arches, whose tympana are ornamented with mosaic work which distinctly bear the date A.H. 72 (A.D. 691), that is, the very year in which the original Arab edifice was built.

I think it prudent, in the present state of our knowledge, to refrain from attempting to fix the original date of these bases, which are clearly earlier than the Arab conquest, for the rules of architectural style, which perhaps may be usefully applied in other countries, but often fail in the East, are very liable to mislead those who try to make use of them in Palestine, of which even now so little is known. M. Lecomte is of opinion that these profiles can be traced as far back as the sixth century in the East, and as far down as the tenth century in the West (in Lombardy, for instance). In this particular case the earliest possible date seems on the whole the most likely, as we have here a lower limit fixed at the year 691 of our era.

The massive piers which stand at the eight angles of the octagonal

range belong without doubt to the original structure. Their shape is an irregular pentagon, which necessarily results from the octagonal plan on which they are arranged. One* of these piers was also completely stripped of its marble casing, and we set ourselves to examine its construction also, before it was re-covered. We were able to ascertain that it was built of rough blocks of stone, hewn by an instrument without teeth. Everything argues that this pier was never intended to be seen uncased. The courses of stone measure 0^m·90 in height—the joints are coarse—above the first course, 0^m·30 above the level of the floor, there is a rough mass of rubble work. Probably these remarks would equally apply to the seven other piers, which we were not able to see under the same conditions.

Bases of Columns on the outside of the building.—To complete the group of bases, we have planned three others, which stand not inside but outside of the building, and flank the east and north porches (Gate of the Prophet David and Gate of Paradise).

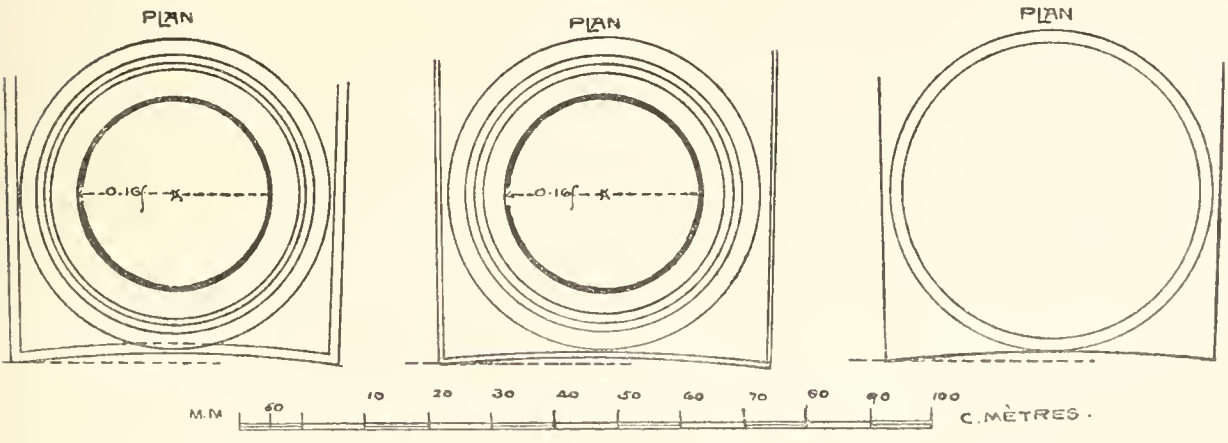
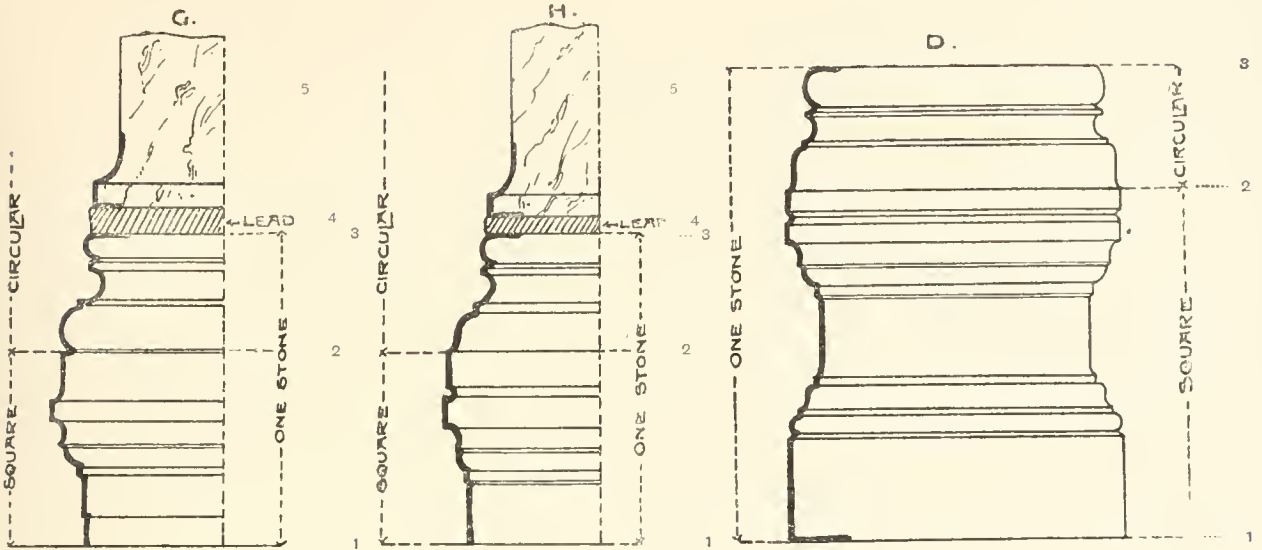
It is well known that these porches have been stuck on to the original building as an afterthought, and that they form no integral part of its organic plan. We cannot therefore draw any practical conclusions from the appearance of these bases, as we did from that of the preceding ones. Nevertheless, their peculiarities are such as make them worth showing to professional architects.

Here (next page) are the drawings of these bases, and a note as to the place where they are to be found (see plan, page 154).

The feet of the columns are connected with the bases G and H by a thick layer of lead, as is the case with the bases inside the building already given. The radius of the shaft of these columns, measured at the level of point 5, is 0^m·165. The three bases G, H, and D are each composed of a single block of stone, but they have this arrangement common to all three, that they are divided into two quite distinct parts: from 1 to 2 the bases are square, from 2 to 3 they are circular. They show a profile of a very degraded type, formed by a complicated mass of mouldings belonging to no clearly-defined style. The square part is remarkable for a curious detail, which M. Lecomte has done well to bring out in his drawings, for it may put us in the

* I think, but owing to the disorder of my notes I cannot be certain, that this was the pier at the south-west angle (No. 10 on the plan).

way of finding out at any rate what part they played in the architectural composition to which they belonged before they were re-employed by the



G. On the north side (No. 7) } of the east door (C).
 H. On the south side (No. 8) }
 D. On the west side (No. 4) of the north door (B). } See plan, page 154.

Arabs, even if it does not show us from whence they came. This detail consists in the square part of the base being distinctly concave on one of its faces, as may be seen in the three drawings showing each base ; it will

also be noticed, in base G, that the torus *swells* out slightly, and overhangs the vertical face of the plinth. Although these bases differ in detail, yet they have a striking resemblance to one another, and the existence of the characteristic concavity which I have just pointed out seems to argue that they all came from one and the same building, or part of a building earlier than the Arab conquest, and perhaps arranged in a circular form.

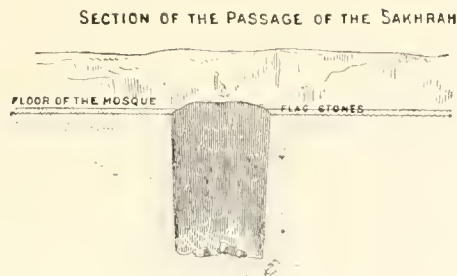
An excavation within the Kubbet es Sakhra.—During one of my numerous visits to the Haram, I observed that they had in two places taken up some of the pavement which covers the ground inside the Kubbet es Sakhra. The first place was just in front of the mouth of the cave itself; the other was behind the east door, called Bâb en Neby Dâûd. This partial removal of the pavement, which some repairs rendered necessary, had naturally attracted my attention considerably, because it laid bare for the first time the earth underneath, which hitherto had been hidden by the marble pavement.

When I heard from the Armenian architect and the Me'mûr who were entrusted with the management and execution of the repairs, that they would have to make a small excavation at the point 2, I hastened to the mosque. Unfortunately, I came too late; the excavation, a very trifling one (0^m·30 deep), was already finished, and the hole filled up again. In despair at the vexatious mischance which had caused me to miss a perhaps unique opportunity of examining the subsoil of the mosque, I managed, thanks to the good terms on which I had been careful to keep with the Me'mûr and the architect, to get leave to have the excavation resumed in my presence. As they allowed me some freedom, I chose a spot different to the first, trying to get as near as possible to the Holy Rock. We began to dig at about 0^m·50 south-south-east from the south-east angle of the more northerly of the two bases of columns standing between the east door and the inner ring of the columns and piers which encircle the Sakhra proper (Plan No. 5). We dug to a depth of 0^m·90 in all, not counting the thickness of the pavement which had been previously removed. After passing through a first stratum, about 0^m·50 thick, of grey earth mixed with stones and pieces of marble, we came upon a very solid bed of cement, perhaps 0^m·07 thick. This stuff was very hard, and sometimes the pickaxe struck fire from the fragments of stone which were mixed with it. I have preserved a specimen of this cement, which is of a greyish colour, and seems, like all Arab cements, to be mixed with ashes and charcoal.

I made the workmen dig through the bed of cement, and immediately below it appeared *red earth*, such as one sees in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood in places which have been little or not at all inhabited. We went down, just to satisfy our consciences, 0^m·33 into this virgin soil. It would not have been possible to go any further without making a regular excavation, and thereby exciting the prejudices of the Moslems, who viewed our proceedings in no very friendly spirit. I therefore thought it prudent, especially with a view to the future, not to go too far, and contented myself with what I had learned in so unexpected a manner.

To sum up, the following are the conclusions to be drawn from our little exploration:—(1) There was no rock at a depth of 0^m·90 at the place investigated, which was quite to be expected, for, to judge from the general outline of the Sakhra, the rock in this part must slope from west to east. (2) There is a stratum of almost virgin soil. (3) Immediately above this soil there is a bed of cement forming the general sub-stratum of the edifice, and apparently of Arab make. (4) There is a layer of made earth between this solid sub-stratum and the pavement itself.

Passage in the Rock under the Sakhra (north side).—In the north part of the solid rock of the Sakhra there is a small passage, partly built and partly hewn under the rock, which already has appeared in the plan given in Sir Charles Wilson's *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, Pl. II, and more thoroughly in Pl. XXXIX of Sir Charles Warren's *Jerusalem Excavations*. We availed ourselves of the unusual opportunities afforded us by the work of restoration to examine it in our turn, and to make a detailed plan and section of it, which differs in certain points from those of our predecessors.



This passage, which begins under the stone flooring between two of the columns (12 and 13 on the plan, see page 154) of the group of three which stand between the two great north piers,* is stopped up at each of its ends. It extends under the Sakhra, in a south-south-west direction. At B it is

* I cannot absolutely vouch for the accuracy of this detail, because in order to fix the position of our drawings we had to use a far from correct general plan of the Sakhra, the only one which was at that time at our disposal.

covered by a flagstone, beyond this its upper part is open, and its channel is visible in the Sakhra at c. Here it forms an elbow, and at A near c its side is composed of masonry, of large blocks of stone.



Curious arrangement of mosaics and glass windows in the interior of the Kubbet es Sakhra.—Although it has no particular interest from a strictly archæological standpoint, I think that it is worth while to record here a technical observation which I had an opportunity of making, thanks to the restoration work which was going on at the time; a point of which I have nowhere seen any notice. The scaffold which was then set up within the building enabled me to closely examine the mosaics which adorn its walls. I ascertained that on the upright walls the little cubes of coloured and gilded glass, whose assemblage produces so marvellous an effect when seen from below, are not set in the plaster which carries them in such a way as to bring their outer surfaces into a vertical position: on the contrary, they are inserted into it *obliquely*, and jut out beyond one another like tiles on a roof, so that their faces lean forward and overhang, making a considerable angle with the upright wall. This ingenious artifice is evidently intended to present these many-coloured facets to the eye of the spectator below at the most advantageous angle of incidence, so that they may reflect as much light as possible: the effect produced is a most brilliant one. This is the secret, a very simple one, which by means of this decoration produces the impression of weird dazzling splendour that we experience on entering this marvellous sanctuary of Islam.

Singularly enough, the same device has been used in the arrangement of the splendid stained glass with which the windows of the building are

filled. Every one knows that these windows consist of a simple slab of plaster, rather thick, cut into holes in various pretty patterns; at the end of these holes are fixed little pieces of transparent coloured glass, combined with exquisite taste. When seen close at hand this work looks simple, and even rough; but when seen from a distance, and as a whole, the general effect is incomparable. I have handled one of these pieces of glass, and noticed that here too the builder sought and obtained a similar optical effect to that of the mosaics. The fact is, that the axes of the holes through which the light is admitted are not at right angles to the surface of the slab of plaster through which they are cut, but form a considerable angle with it, so that these thousands of little cubes, grouped together in harmonious designs, offer themselves to the eye of the visitor in the best possible position, that is to say, they present an image which is both chromatic and modelled in its thickness, so as to combine, in a way which the stained glass in our cathedral windows does not succeed in doing, the witchery of colour with the appearance of solidity.

The so-called "Buckler of Hamzeh."—On the south-west side of the Holy Rock, in a sort of little tabernacle built on to the north-west side of the pier (at κ in the plan), there is shown, or at all events there was shown in 1874, what the Mussulmans call the "Buckler of Hamzeh," Mahomet's uncle.* It is a large disk of some unascertained metal, broken into sundry pieces, now held together by rough bars of wood, which unfortunately hide a great part of it, and render any examination of it very difficult. On one of its sides one can make out, between these bars, a rich decoration in relief, most artistically wrought, and representing fanciful birds and beasts. The work, as far as I could judge of it under such unfavourable conditions, seems to be either Byzantine or Sassanid in style. On this same side a sort of boss stands out in the midst of the ornamental surface, a kind of projecting *umbo*, with a hole bored across it, like that which holds the clapper of a bell. This last detail, which is of great importance, proves that the disk in question must have been hung up, perhaps by a ring passing through this hole. A rope or a chain may have been attached to this ring.

* As early as 1355, Ibn Batûta (see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 134), mentions a great "Iron Buckler" hung up in the Sakhra, which was said to be the "Buckler of Hamzeh, the son of 'Abd el Muttaleb." This is indeed the same, and at that period it was perhaps still perfect.

The other side is quite flat and smooth, without any trace of ornament : it seems, indeed, to have been originally kept carefully polished. Sufficient attention has not hitherto been paid to this second side, probably because of its apparently unmeaning character—I say apparently, because I think, on the contrary, that it is this side which can tell us the true purpose for which this puzzling object was intended, a purpose which has hitherto been sought for in vain. Of course we must not take seriously the name of “buckler,” which Arab legend has bestowed upon it. This heavy disk of metal, massive and thick, and apparently lens-shaped, may have been anything you please, except a buckler. The few archæologists who have had an opportunity of superficially examining, it have talked vaguely about a “lid.” In my opinion, it is neither a buckler nor a lid, nor anything of the kind : it is something much more interesting—a great metal mirror,* of exceptional size. I do not know of what metal it is composed, but I suspect that it must be some alloy which when polished affords a very brilliant surface. We may assume that it is some alloy which is both very hard and very brittle, which would explain how in consequence of some accident, fall, fire, or the like, the disk came to be broken into several pieces. The disk presents exactly, in all its proportions, the shape of the ancient metal mirrors of the Arabs, some specimens of which we know : † these mirrors also consist of small lens-shaped disks, whose reflecting side is flat and polished ; the opposite side, like this one, bears an ornamentation in relief. This ornamentation often represents fanciful animals, whose nature, if not their shape and execution, reminds one of those on the “Buckler of Hamzeh ;” for instance, two sphinxes with women’s heads, standing up back to back, ‡ the whole design enclosed within an Arabic inscription, usually of a sufficiently commonplace character, by way of border ; lastly, they frequently present, in the centre of the ornamentation, the pierced boss which I have noticed in the so-called buckler. This last detail seems to me to confirm in every respect the new explanation of this ancient relic. Suppose one of these little round mirrors enlarged by seven or eight diameters, and you will have the exact equivalent of the “Buckler of Hamzeh.”

* See *The Academy*, March 23, 1895, p. 258.

† We may compare, for instance, the specimens given by Reinaud, *Description des Monuments musulmans du Duc de Blacas*, Vol. II, Pl. VIII, IX, and X : and de Longpérier, *Œuvres complètes*, Vol. I, Pl. VIII.

‡ The prototypes of the ‘Ankâ and Borâk in the fanciful Bestiary of the Mussulmans.

The little mirrors to which I have alluded, although they bear Arabic inscriptions, seem nevertheless from their ornamentation to be of Persian origin, and descend perhaps from a Sassanid prototype, of which, in this case, we should have, in the Buckler of Hamzeh, an authentic specimen of rare interest. It may, however, be possible that this great mirror is of Byzantine origin. Nothing but a study of the carved figures can enable one to decide between the two styles. At one moment I was in hopes that I might be allowed to photograph the disk without the wooden splints which hinder all systematic examination of it. But I was disappointed. I earnestly commend this task to my archæological successors. I may add that this fashion of decorating the backs of metal mirrors with various subjects must have come down from remote antiquity; it was known to the Greeks and Etruscans, with this one difference, that with them the decoration was deeply engraved. It should further be noted that these little round mirrors remind us, on the other hand, of the Roman *phalerae*, little disks of gold and silver used for *military decorations*. *Centuriones phalerati* have their breasts, shoulders, and sides studded with them, as we are taught by ancient monuments. Strange to say, this latter fashion lasted till comparatively modern times among certain Tartar peoples of Persian civilization. Among them the little metal mirrors in question were used as military decorations; the chief warriors bore two on their shoulders, one on their breasts, and one on their backs.* This is what was called *Châr Ainch* or *Chchâr Ainch*, "four mirrors," and he who bore them was what we call in joke a "brave à quatre poils."

The so-called "Saddle of El Borák."—Not far from this, they show two or three blocks of marble hewn saddleback fashion, whose odd shape has gained them their vulgar name of "El Borak's saddle;" the legend has it that this was the saddle of the Prophet's fabulous steed during his midnight journey. These stones seem to have formed part of some architectural member whose nature and intention it is difficult to ascertain. What I can testify is that their various faces show very distinctly the diagonal strokes of the mediæval tooling. They must, therefore, have formed part of some Crusaders' structure, perhaps of some of the alterations made by them when they set up their choir in the middle of the Kubbet es Sakhra. When these alterations were swept away by Saladin, the stones in question,

* Strahlenberg, *Description des parties septentrionales de l'Europe et de l'Asie*. Compare Richardson and Shakespeare's Persian and Hindustani dictionaries, *s.v.*

now useless, remained behind, and by degrees there grew up about them that strange legend which has at last become connected with them. This legend was all the more to the purpose, because close by (at M in the plan) is the print of Mahomet's foot made when he mounted Borâk for his journey to Heaven.*

The Stair leading down to the Cave under the Rock of the Sakhra.—I have ascertained the existence of mediæval tooling of a very distinct character on all the stones which form the left hand wall of the staircase. These stones do not seem to have been displaced and subsequently replaced. We must therefore conclude that here too the hand of the Crusaders has been, even as it has been also at the door leading into the staircase, a door with a pointed arch whose mediæval character cannot be doubted.

This however is not surprising, for we know that this crypt, which was called the *Confessio*, was a place of some importance in the *Templum Domini*. In it the Crusaders laid the scene of the woman taken in adultery. John of Würzburg, Fetellus, Theoderich, etc., mention it. The latter (*op. c.*, p. 43) expressly mentions the stairs by which one goes down into the crypt, "gradibus fere XLV" (*sic*), a wrong reading which undoubtedly should be corrected to XIV, a number which well agrees with the present number of stairs, and exactly with that given by Aly el Herewy† in 1173.

The Well of Souls.—It had been understood for several months that, thanks to the works of restoration undertaken in the mosque, I was to be allowed to raise the flagstone which closes the orifice of the famous well Bir el Arwâh, in the cave. I had a formal promise to this effect, and I was looking forward with an impatience which can easily be understood for a favourable moment for putting this project into execution. Unfortunately while matters were in this position the deplorable incident at Gezer took place, and as my position in relation to the authorities became impossible, I was obliged to renounce my long cherished hope.

Greek inscriptions found on the Pavement of the Kubbet es Sakhra.—When, in the course of the restoration, some of the flagstones which cover the floor of the building were raised, they found amongst them a great slab of

* Soyûty (Le Strange, *op. c.*, p. 136) says that this sacred footprint was on the south-west side of the Rock, and that during the Crusading period the Franks called it "Jesus's Footprint." On this question see what has been said on the subject of the "Presentation of Christ in the Temple" from a capital of a column of the Crusading period, Chapter VII. p. 160.

† *Arch. de l'Orient Latin*, I, pp. 600 and 603.

white marble, bearing a long inscription in Greek of the Byzantine period.* Unfortunatly it has been broken into several fragments, and some of these, containing the beginnings and the ends of the lines, have been lost. The greater part of them have been acquired by the Russian Archimandrite. However, I possess two squeezes taken from the imprint which the stone, lying face downwards, has left like a stamp upon the bed of mortar on which the pavement rests. These squeezes are very poor ones, but they have the advantage of giving us an approximate reproduction of the lost part of the text.

By putting together the squeeze of the piece of stone which has been saved, and that part of the squeeze taken from the mortar, I have obtained the following view of the whole, the unequal character of which is caused by the fact that the second squeeze was too bad a one to admit of being photographed directly, but had to be previously made clear by means of a drawing, guided by my copies taken on the spot, before a photograph could be taken.

The size of the squeeze here shown in photogravure measures 0^m.62 in length and 0^m.32 in width. The average height of the letters is 0^m.45. Thickness of the slab 0^m.15.



0^m.62

- ?
- ??
1. . . . λο . .] κωμερκιάριος, ἀνεψιὸς Ἀρεοβί[νδων?]
 2. τ]ῶν ὑπα[τικ]ῶν, ἐνθὰ κατάκε(ι)τ(α)ι· ὁ α[ναγιγ—]
 3. ν](ῶ)σκων εὔξεται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, α
 4. . . το(?) ὁ?† τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης· μ(ηνὶ) Δεκεμβ[ρίου] . .
 5. + ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α', ἔτους ρδ' +

* See my letter of October 15, 1874, published in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1875, p. 56. Since then, Father Germer-Durand has made a study of this text (*Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 581) without having any knowledge of my essay.

† Perhaps πῆ??

“So and so . . . a *commercarius*, cousin-german of the Arcobindoses the consulares, lies here. Whosoever may read (this) will pray for him . . . of venerable memory. In the month of December (the figure for the day is lost) of the indiction 1 of the year 104.”

This inscription seems to be incomplete at the beginning and end of the lines. The extent and arrangement of the original can be reckoned, thanks to the likely enough restoration of the word ἀ[ναγιγνώ]σκων, which is divided between lines 2 and 3.

In his lifetime the deceased was a *Commercarius*, a post of considerable importance in the Byzantine Empire, but one whose duties are not very clearly known, though the etymology* of the word is significant. His name has disappeared. He boasts his relationship to one or more Arcobindoses, who, by this title of *Consulares*, must have been important dignitaries. I read the name at first Ἀρεοβίδου, in the singular, which seems more natural, but τῶν ὑπατικῶν, which just fills up the empty space, implies the plural, without leaving room for another word, however short, between Ἀρεοβι . . . and ὧν ὑπατικῶν. There have been several personages of this name, who have played a more or less distinguished part in the history of the Byzantine Empire, from the fifth to the seventh century.† Who, or which of them have we to do with here? The inscription ought to enable us to answer this question, as it is very accurately dated by month, indiction, and year. But to what era does this year 104 belong? We cannot seriously think either of the era of the creation, written in an abridged form, or that of Diocletian. M. Papadopoulos Kerameus‡ is of opinion that there was a local era at Jerusalem, which began in A.D. 449, the date of the Empress Eudoxia's arrival at Jerusalem. Reckoning by this, our inscription would belong to the year A.D. 553, which agrees pretty well with the palæographical appearance of the letters. This being so, I should be inclined to recognise as one of the cousins of our *commercarius* that

* See Ducange's *Glossary*. I have noted, amongst others, the name of one Diomedes, a *Commercarius* of the *Apotheke* of Tyre (*Revue Archéologique*, Août, 1876, p. 90). He bore the title of ἐνδοξότατος = *illustrissimus*, which perhaps we ought to restore in our inscription also, at the beginning of line 1. Cf. *id.*, February, 1877, p. 86, where M. Sorlin d'Origny assures us that the word *commercarius* in Greek is never preceded by the article, an assertion which I am not in a position either to qualify or to confirm.

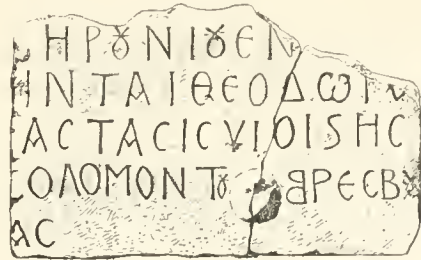
† See De Mural's *Essai sur la Chronographie Byzantine*, pp. 33, 59, 117, 125, 189, 203, 208, 563, 625. See also Schlumberger's *Sceaux byzantins*, p. 185.

‡ Βυζαντινά Χρονικά, published by the Académie des Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1894, p. 133 (cf. *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1894, p. 665).

Areobindos to whom Justinian, in A.D. 546, addressed his 129th Novella upon the Samaritans,* whom it has been proposed, though not without some hesitation, to identify with the Areobindos who was sent on a mission to Carthage, and assassinated there in this very year by Gonthar.† If, as may possibly be the case, we have here two distinct Areobindoses, both of consular rank, one in Palestine and the other in Africa, the plural form in our inscription would find itself satisfactorily explained.

— The fragment of a Byzantine inscription given below, from a photograph which we took at the moment of its discovery,‡ was also found in 1874 in the flooring of the Sakhra and passed, like the other one, into the collection of the Russian Archimandrite. It is a fragment of a large slab of white marble, measuring in its present condition 0^m.62 by 0^m.40, with a thickness of 0^m.06. On the other side, which is rough, there is carved a great K, all by itself, and very plain. The inscription is incomplete at the top, and likewise at the right and left sides.

.....
 1 . . ? ηρουνιου ἐν[θὰ κατά-
 2 κε[νται Θεόδω[ρος, καὶ
 3 ? Ἄν]αστάσις υἱοὶ ? ησ
 4 . . Σ]ολομόν τοῦ πρεσβ[υτέρου
 5 . . . as.



“ Here lie Theodoros and Anastasios, sons (?) of Solomon the elder . . . ? ? ”

I do not know what to make of the first nine letters, the first alone of which is doubtful.§ Ἄναστάσις is probably Ἄναστάσιος, according to the usual Syrian spelling and pronunciation. Σολομόν, “ Salomon,” is indeclinable, like the Σολωμών of the LXX. The round hole by which

* De Muralt, *op. c.*, p. 189.

† *Id.*, p. 190.

‡ The drawing has been checked by comparison with an excellent squeeze.

§ It may be a *lambda* or a *delta*. I dare not guess at some barbarous word derived from κληρος, “ inheritance,” or some form of the verb κληρώ, meaning “ family tomb.” Can it be some quotation from the Greek Testament, containing the word ἱπλήρουιν? But what, in that case, can we make of *ιου*? Possibly a contracted form for ἱ(ησ)οῦ? Yet how can we get this name into the phrase in the genitive case?

line 4 is interrupted is earlier in date than the inscription. Note the curious form of the *pi* represented here by a P turned the wrong way.

Fragments of ancient Arabic inscriptions in the interior of the Kubbet es Sakhra.—Many ancient Arabic inscriptions, unfortunately much injured, in Cufic and Neskhy characters were also daily discovered in the Kubbet es Sakhra during the restoration. The greater part of these texts were on marble slabs which had been used over again to cover the walls in the interior of the building, the bases of columns, the sides of piers, and so on. Several of them are interesting either in connection with Arabic epigraphy, or with the history of the Haram itself. It is much to be regretted that there was no one on the spot to copy them as they were uncovered, and before they were used over again or destroyed. I could only examine them very superficially, my attention being called off to other matters. Among these texts I noticed superb specimens of what is called Karmatic writing. I may mention, among others, a fragment of the Surat of the Koran called El Kursy, and a fragment relating to some work done in the year 500 + 12* by the order of an Emir Zein ed Din, the son of 'Ali, the son of 'Abdallah el Hekkâry. The conditions under which these remains were found shows us how many remodellings the Kubbet es Sakhra has undergone. Not only was ancient material used over again in its original construction, but also, as we see, much material from earlier Arab buildings has been re-employed in its subsequent restorations or alterations.

I have taken squeezes of some of these fragments, and have sent them to M. Max van Berchem, who will devote a special chapter to them in his valuable *Corpus* of Arabic inscriptions. In the meantime I give here a short note which I have received from him upon the subject.

— No. 1. Fragment of marble = 0^m.70 × 0^m.25. Large simple Cufic letters, all incomplete. Illegible. Third century, A.H.

— No. 2. Marble slab = 1^m.30 × 0^m.50 (squeeze in two parts). Three lines in simple Cufic character (Koran?) In the third line occurs the name of the Caliph El Muktafy billah,† without date. The inscription is imperfect.

— No. 3. Fragment of marble. Some letters in florid Cufic, with scrolls (Koran?) Sixth century, A.H.

* The number of tens has perished, but we may guess it to be 5[9]2 A.H. Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders in A.H. 492, and was not retaken by Saladin until the year A.H. 583.

† I think that this can only mean the Abasside Caliph Muktafy I, A.H. 289 (A.D. 902), for, during the reign of Muktafy II, the Crusaders were in possession of Jerusalem.

— No. 4. Fragment of marble 0^m.35 × 0^m.60; in the name of the Emir Shujâ' ed Din Khutlukh and of the Sultan El Mu'adham 'Isâ. No date. At the bottom of the fragment can still be read the name of the Emir Kaïmar El Mu'addhamy.* As is shown by the epithet المبارک, "blessed," it deals with the construction of some building whose nature is unknown, the word which defined it having disappeared.

— No. 5. Fragment bearing the name of the Emir Zein ed Din el Hekkâry.†
Marble: 0^m.40 × 0^m.70.

* I think this person must belong to the family of the Emirs El Kaimary, of whom Mujir ed Din speaks (*op. cit.*, p. 399), and whose funeral chapel (*el Kaïmariyeh*) may still be seen at the present day to the N.W. of Jerusalem and quite close to that city. As his surname *El Mu'addhamy* shows, this Emir must have been a freedman of the Sultan El Mu'adham 'Isa (died A.H. 624). Possibly he is identical with the Emir Hesâm ed Din Abû'l Hasan, son of Abû'l Fawâris el Kaimary, who died A.H. 648, according to Mujir ed Din, who mentions him among the first in the list of the Emirs interred in the Kaïmariyeh.

† I have already spoken of this. M. van Berchem compares the name Hikkâry or Hakkâry which was borne by one of Saladin's emirs.

CHAPTER IX.

VARIOUS ANTIQUITIES AND REMARKS.

A Greek inscription in the Muristân.—This fragment was dug up in my presence, in the year 1870, by native labourers who were making excavations in the Muristân. It is a slab of calcareous stone, measuring 0^m·30 × 0^m·20.

The lines are ruled ; the letters belong to a late period.

..... (C)ΕΜΝΟΙΑ . . .
 ΤΗΗΠΑΣΑ . . .
 ΕΥΝΟΙΑΠΑΡ . . .
 ? ΟΙ ΕΥΨΧΕΙ . . .



GREEK INSCRIPTION IN THE MURISTÂN.

. σεμνοὶ α τη ἡ πᾶσα εὐνοία
 παρ σοι, εὐψύχει!

The final formula, “Be of good cheer,” seems to show that the inscription was a funerary one. Possibly the other words contain some appropriate text of the Bible.

Antiquities found under the Mehkemeh.—Some years previous to 1874, works were undertaken in the foundations of the Mehkemeh for the repair of a sewer. These works resulted in the discovery of two objects which I bought from the Arab masons who had then picked them up.

One of them is a head carved in rough calcareous stone. It is of very elementary workmanship, and has a very quaint appearance. Sometimes one fancies that there is something Egyptian about it, but the execution of the fragment is so infantile that it seems to me very difficult to assign it to any particular period.



SCULPTURED HEAD.

The other is a tiny leaden statuette, about 0^m·08 high, representing a woman nude to the waist, the lower part of the body draped, the arms bent and raised toward the head. The attitude reminds one of that of the well known

statuettes of Venus. The statuette has been considerably damaged, but still shows an elegant outline, and its general style accords with the rules of classic taste. We know that according to ecclesiastical tradition there was once, at Jerusalem, on the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a temple dedicated to Venus, and that the mysteries of Adonis were celebrated in the grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Can it be that in this little figure we have a specimen of the Venus of Aelia Capitolina?



LEADEN STATUETTE.

A mediæval inscription with emblems of corporate guild of handicraft.—I have seen in the hands of a master mason at Jerusalem, a curious fragment of an inscription which it seems was also unearthed in the course of the works of restoration of the Mehkemeh. The stone upon which it is cut shows the mediæval tooling very plainly, which fixes its maximum limit, and probably gives the real date of the text, the period of the Crusades. There is only one line of letters, of a small capital form, very roughly formed and hard to decipher.

. . . UUS II d(?) . . . II . I . . .

But the interesting thing about it is that above this line there are



MEDIÆVAL INSCRIPTION FROM MEKHEMEL.

drawings of various instruments and tools. The first, on the left, seems to be a large strainer or skimmer; the second is a dipper or soup-ladle; the third is a hatchet or chopper; the fourth is a pair of tongs, and the last is a large knife in its sheath(?). All these seem very like the utensils of a cook. Is this the epitaph of some head-cook? We know that the representation of the tools of their trade

on the tombstones of several workmen was a common practice in the Middle Ages, as well as in ancient times. Perhaps we ought to read, in the first letters of the fragment, UUS, the end of the word [COQ]UUS? On the other hand, it may be a proper name, accompanied by a species of canting heraldry. The name *Coquus* was a very common one in the Middle Ages, and we often find it borne by persons of humble station who sign deeds in the Crusading period as witnesses: *Robertus Coquus*, *Bernardus Coquus*, *Bertrandus Coquus*, and

so forth.* It may be that this was at first a real professional title which afterwards came to be used as a proper name.

John of La Rochelle's Epitaph.—Some time after the discovery of the stele of the Temple in 1871, encouraged by the conditions under which I had hunted out this *rara avis*, I managed to obtain admission to several Mussulman houses in the same part of the city, that which is called the quarter of Bâb Hetta, the north side of the Haram, and near St. Stephen's Gate; while rummaging these houses, I discovered an ancient piece of stone which was serving as a step in a rickety staircase which connected the inner court with the upper rooms. I ascertained that it bore some greatly damaged Gothic letters, evidently belonging to a Latin inscription of the time of the Crusades, but at that time I was not able to make much out of it.

I had completely forgotten the piece of stone, when, in 1874, I had an opportunity of seeing, in the interior of a Christian house standing at the opposite end of the city, in the quarter of Bâb el 'Amûd, otherwise called the Damascus Gate, a second piece of stone bearing an inscription, and, like the first, serving as one step in a staircase. The piece was less perished; I was easily able to make out the beginning of an epitaph, and even to restore a great part of it. I took a squeeze of it that I might study it at my leisure. While doing this I remembered the piece which I had seen on another occasion, at Bâb Hetta, which, as far as I could trust my memory, seemed to be singularly like it. Unfortunately I had not been able to take a squeeze of it, for every one knows how hard it is to do as one likes in the houses of Mussulmans, into which you can only obtain admittance by endless subterfuges, and where, when you have at last made your way in, you become the object of a suspicious dislike which spies upon your slightest movements.

Eager to compare these two stones, I wished to have another look at the first, but it was in vain that I tried to find, in the nest of lanes round about St. Anne's Church, that particular house into which I had entered some years before; or if indeed I ever did find it, the stone of which I was in search was no longer to be seen in it.

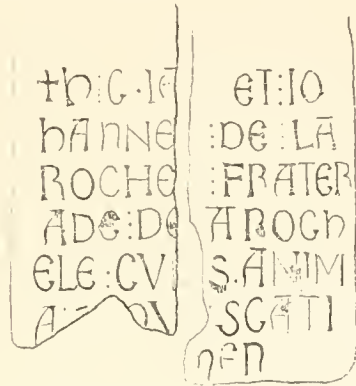
After several days of vain search for it I had given up all hope, when, some time afterwards, as I went to visit St. Anne's Church, I saw, not without a feeling of agreeable surprise, my lost piece of stone, which formed

* Sometimes it is spelt *Coccus*.

one of a collection of several relics of antiquity collected together in that place. It seems probable that the owners, having had their suspicions roused by the care with which I examined this stone, and perhaps excited by the stir which was being made in Jerusalem at that time by the story of the discovery of the stele of the Temple and of the Moabite Stone, had imagined that the stone must possess some value, and had tried to get some money for it after the date of my first departure from Jerusalem.

However this may have been, I was convinced at the first glance that I had there before my eyes one half of the inscription whose other half I had just discovered in the quarter of Báb el 'Amúd. I took a squeeze of it, and on my return home, I ascertained that the two pieces did, indeed, fit one another to perfection, as is shown by the following drawing, taken from the two separate squeezes put together.

It is evident that the two pieces which I discovered so unexpectedly, after an interval of three years, and at the two opposite ends of the city, belong to one and the same slab of stone, which has been cut in two by some native stonemason, who, having at the same time to make some repairs to two staircases, one in each of those houses, had the idea, a fortunate one after all for us, of killing two birds with one stone, that is to say, of making two steps out of one slab.



The original inscription consisted of seven EPITAPH OF JOHN DE LA ROCHELLE. lines, and must have contained seventy-seven letters. The line of breakage passes perpendicularly down, crossing the lines about the middle, and destroying on an average two letters in each line. Besides this, the hammer of the *mo'alleh*, accidental breakages and wear and tear, have in some places caused the disappearance of a good many letters.

Taking into consideration the size of the stone, the length of the lines, and the arrangement of the text, I think that we may, without much hesitation, read it as follows:—

✠ HIC JACET IOANNES DE LA ROCHELLE, FRATER ADE DE LA ROCHELE, CUJUS ANIMA REQUIESCANT IN PACE. AMEN.

“ Here lies John of La Rochelle, brother of Adam of La Rochelle, may his soul rest in peace. Amen.”

In the first line there is a considerable interval between the two first and the two last letters of the word JA[C]ET, an interval far too large to be filled merely by the missing C of the word *jacct*. Yet this interval is undoubtedly correct, and cannot be due to any mistake in putting together the two squeezes, because the agreement of the six other lines shows exactly how far apart they should be. This empty space can only be explained by the presence of some symbol which divided the word *jacct* into two. I conceive that it may have been the foot of a great cross rising out of the middle of and above the first line, and extending as far as the upper edge of the stone, which seems to have been a tall one, to judge by the length of the second fragment :

HICIA†CETIO

Ade (Adæ) is the regular genitive of the Christian name *Adam* as declined in the Middle Ages, at which time it was very common. There have been several families bearing the name of De La Rochelle,* but I have hitherto been unable to decide to which of them our two brothers belonged. As for the date, it is not necessarily earlier than the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, and may belong to the brief later period, 1229-1244, during which Jerusalem again fell into the hands of the Crusaders.†

An Ancient Sarcophagus.—During my first residence at Jerusalem I noticed at the little Arab fountain in the street Hâr't el Wâd, close to the bath called Hammâm es Shifa, a stone trough which seemed to me to be an ancient sarcophagus like those found at the K'bûr es Salâtin. The front of it, which we see, is ornamented with three discs carved in relief, set in a rectangular frame. This decoration reminds one exactly of that of the sarcophagus bearing a Hebrew and Aramaic inscription in the name of Queen Saddan, a name, which in my opinion, is merely the Semitic equivalent of the name of Queen Helena of Adiabene, who was buried at the K'bûr es Salâtin. Hoping that the back, which could not be seen, might have

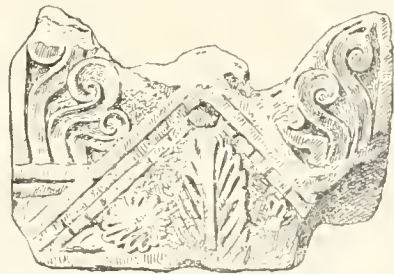
* See de Villevieuille's *Trésor Généalogique* in the *Cabinet des Titres* in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I have noted there, amongst other deeds, a receipt dated 1396, signed by Robert de la Rochelle, whose arms, which are rather indistinct, seem to contain seven scallop shells (the emblems of pilgrimage).

† For this question, see above, page 111, and hereafter, page 278, the remarks on the gravestones of Philippe d'Aubigné and Jean de Valenciennes.

had some inscription of the same kind carved upon it, I obtained permission to have the trough removed from its place that I might examine all its sides. The back of it did not bear any inscription; it is ornamented like the front with three discs in relief, which were perhaps intended to be subsequently carved into rosettes, but were left merely boasted out in the rough. If this sarcophagus ever bore any inscription, it must have been upon the lid, which of course has disappeared, and has perhaps been used by itself as a Mussulman tombstone. The two ends of the sarcophagus are also each of them ornamented with a disc in relief. One of these two discs is slightly concave, with a knob in relief in the middle.

The bottom of the inside of this sarcophagus shows at one end a raised place to receive the head, 0^m.25 in length, arranged on a slope. The disc with the knob is at this end. The sarcophagus measures 2^m.0 in length, 0^m.54 in height, 0^m.55 outside, and 0^m.36 in width inside. The stone is mizzeh, reddish, and hard; it is marked with veins and seams, and has been wrought with great care. I imagine that this sarcophagus must have come out of the same great find which supplied the other sarcophagi, similarly converted into water troughs, which I have already mentioned,* at the Gate Bâb es Selseleh and in the interior of the Haram.

A pediment of the classic pattern.—I picked up this sculptured block of calcareous stone out of a mass of miscellaneous rubbish dug up in the course of the works undertaken in 1870 to level the ground near the Damascus Gate, inside. It was lost, together with some other antiques which I left in store at Jerusalem, when I left Palestine in 1871. The drawing is executed from a photograph which I fortunately had taken. I cannot exactly say what its dimensions were; to the best of my recollection it was about 0^m.70 wide. This pediment with acroteria must have surmounted some great stele, perhaps a funerary one, with an inscription. Its period is Græco-Roman or Græco-Jewish.



SCULPTURED STONE FOUND INSIDE THE
DAMASCUS GATE.

Remains of an ancient Bath.—Some excavations, undertaken in 1870, in order to build a small synagogue, just where the street Hâr't el Wâd makes an elbow to rejoin the street of Bâb es Selseleh, unearthed walls with cupolas

* Chapter VII, pp. 130 and 138.

carried on pendentives, and covered with plaster or stucco coloured blue, and moulded, with scrolls, foliage, &c. These ruins appeared to me to belong to some ancient Arab bath; one could still make out the separate little closets. I thought at first that this might have been the bath of 'Alâ ed Dîn, which Arab descriptions speak of as existing in the street called the street of *Merzubân*; but this identification must be rejected; Mujîr ed Dîn's street of *Merzubân* seems to me to be that which at this day runs east and west from the *Sûk el Kattânin* up to the *Khatt el Kirami*. 'Alâ ed Dîn's bath, as we learn from several passages in Mujîr ed Dîn, must have stood at the west end of the street of *Merzubân*. It would be all the more interesting to discover this ancient bath, because, according to Mujîr ed Dîn, it must have been fed from an adjacent pool;* the existence of a pool in this part of Jerusalem would be an important fact in connection with the ancient topography of the city, and it is to be hoped that its true position will be made out. As for the bath in the street of *Bâb el Wâd*, whose leading features I have just mentioned, I do not see with which establishment it can be identified.


Khân es Sultân.—At *Khân es Sultân*, which opens on to the bazaar, I have noticed in the lower courses of ashlar some stonework which seems to be ancient. In a great vaulted stable which stands on the left hand side of the entrance passage leading into the central court, the three lowest courses of the wall which carries the vault consist of very fine hewn stones; on one of them I have ascertained the existence of the mediæval tooling with diagonal strokes, and of a mason's mark (see the special Plate and List).

An ancient Ossuary.—In the courtyard of the house inhabited by Mohammed Derwish Effendi I have seen an ancient ossuary, not made of soft stone, as the greater part of these little receptacles are, but in hard calcareous rock, richly sculptured in relief. It measured about 0^m·80 in length by 0^m·40 in width and 0^m·50 in height. On each of its sides stood out discs carved in relief, within a frame of foliage backed by a line of ovolo moulding. On the front there are two knocker rings, or perhaps two projecting crowns. The ossuary, which its owner has made into a water butt, was cemented against the wall on one of its sides. I had it moved in the hope of possibly discovering an inscription; but I had my trouble for nothing. Still, it deserves to be photographed or drawn, because of its archæological

* As to the question of the ancient pools in Jerusalem according to Arab tradition, see my remarks on page 166, Chapter VII, about the pool mentioned by Theoderich.

interest. I recommend this to future explorers. As far as I remember, Mohammed Derwish's house stands in one of the high streets in the quarter of Bâb Hetta or of the Mawlawiyeh.

A Byzantine lintel.—In the first street that you come to on the left hand as you go up the street where Mohammed Derwish lives, and in one of the houses on the left hand side of that street, I have noticed a great lintel, bearing in its centre a cross with branches of equal length, inscribed within a crown. Perhaps there is an inscription on the other side.

Wrecks of inscriptions.—On a stone built into the wall of a house adjoining the English Consulate, in the lane at the back, I copied a large carved mark, or letter, measuring 0^m·27 in height and 0^m·18 in width, of this shape .

In the wall of a house opposite the bakehouse of the street which leads up from the bazaar to the Austrian Consulate, there are four Greek letters cut on a little stone that juts out from the wall, **HCAN**.

A Cufic inscription of the fourth century A.H.—In the little Greek convent of St. Nicholas, which stands near the Latin convent, I have seen a small slab of marble which has since been removed to the Convent of St. Cross. It contained an inscription of five lines in Cufic characters, which are of some interest to the student of Arabic writing, because their precise date is given. There is no difficulty about reading it, in spite of the entire absence of diacritical points. At the end of the fifth line, after the word اثنيين, there has been carved, evidently by a later hand, a small Greek cross:

بسم الحي الذي لا يموت هذا قبر ابو منصور عبيد الله بن الحسن توفى رحمه الله و
رضى عنه يوم الاثنين ١٠ مستهل رجب من سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة كل نفس ذائقة
الموت .

“ In the name of the living (God), who dieth not! This is the tomb of Abû Mansûr ‘Obeid Allah ben el Hassan, who died—may God keep him in His compassion and mercy!—on Monday, the first (day of) the month Rejeb, in the year 375. Every soul must taste of death.”

The first of Rejeb, A.H. 375, corresponds to the 17th of November, A.D. 985, which fell on a Tuesday. The deceased must have died in the night between Monday and Tuesday. I have seen two similar and evidently contemporaneous epitaphs which were found, the one when digging up the foundations of a Greek shop at the Jaffa Gate, the other in the course of

some diggings in the Muristân. It is possible that these tombstones, thus used up again as building material, may have been taken away in ancient times from the old Mussulman cemeteries of Mâmilla, or of the Sâhera (above Jeremiah's cave).

There is, I once was informed, an ancient Georgian inscription in the garden of the Greek convent of Mâr Nikûlà. It is said to be the epitaph of a "queen of Georgia." I suspect that it is our Cufic inscription that is meant, which, being illegible for those who saw it, had received this imaginary interpretation.

The level of the rock and watercourse in one of the streets of Jerusalem.—In the course of some excavations for the purpose of building a house opposite to the old military hospital, they found, at a depth of 8^m·25 metres, that the rock had been hewn horizontally. Above it runs, parallel to the street, a watercourse which is 3^m·60 below the present level of the ground. A drawing of it, made by M. P. Decosse, in the month of September, while I was away on an excursion, was communicated to me by him on my return.

— At the entrance and lowest point of the street which runs from the cross-road of the Damascus Gate leading to the old Spanish Consulate, on the left hand as you go up, one can see the rock level with the ground.

A piece of an Ancient Frieze.—Behind one of the new shops erected in 1868 by the Greek convent near the Jaffa Gate (at the north-west angle of the city), I have noticed, built into the city wall, a large sculptured stone which seems to have been part of the capital of an angle pilaster or of a frieze, with great leaves of a water plant curling over at the top. It is in the same strange style as that which is drawn on p. 131, Vol. II, of M. de Saulcy's *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, and must have come from the same ancient building which stood somewhere in this quarter.

From Hearsay.

Ancient Arabic MSS.—There are collections of ancient Arabic MSS. in the following houses at Jerusalem :—

- Dâr esh Sheikh el Budeîry.
- Dâr esh Sheikh Abu's So'ûd.
- Dâr esh Sheikh As'ad Feshfesh.
- Dâr esh Sheikh el Khalily.
- Dâr Mohammed 'Ali Efendi el Hoseîny (two or three thousand volumes).
- Dâr El Khâl'dy.

I have had an opportunity of glancing at the library of Rabâh Effendi el Hoseiny, which is fairly rich in MSS., and have transcribed the titles of some of the works, which were written in a rough catalogue.

The Arabic Archives of Jerusalem.—The Mussulman Abu's So'ûd told me that the archives of the Mehkemeh of Jerusalem did not contain any documents which date more than three centuries back, all the documents of an earlier period than this having been removed into the *Kal'a* (the Citadel), where they are at this day. There would certainly be some interesting researches to be made there.

An Ancient Inscription.—Hanna Karlo* told me in 1869 that a man named Gargûr had found in one of the basement rooms of his house at Jerusalem a block of rock (*sic*) bearing a cross and an inscription which is neither Arabic nor Latin (? Greek).

A Silver Jewish Vase.—I was told that some twenty years ago† the father of Meshullam, of 'Urtâs, bought, at Jerusalem, a great vase of massive silver resting on a lion, which was found on Mount Sion. On the four sides of the vase there was a Hebrew inscription in "ancient characters." This vase was sent to Beyrout, and from thence to Alexandria, but disappeared on the way, and has never since been heard of. So far the story goes.

* At that time assistant dragoman at the French Consulate.

† Somewhere about 1850; the information was given me in 1869.

PART III.

THE OUTSIDE AND IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER X.

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CITY.

THE ROYAL CAVES.

IT has long ago been settled that the immense rock-hewn caves which extend under a part of the city of Jerusalem on the north side, must be the *σπηλαία βασιλικά*, or "Royal caves," spoken of by Josephus. It has also been established by means of the unmistakable marks which they show, that these caves were really ancient stone quarries, from which at some unknown period hewn stone must have been obtained for the buildings of the city. The city wall (the third wall on the north side) *crossed* these excavations; one can plainly see, even at the present day, that a large cutting, open to the sky, has been made there which serves as a ditch to the present wall. This wall obviously follows the direction of the ancient one, and the ditch leaves the hill the Edhemiyeh, the "Cave of Jeremiah," outside the fortifications, even as it did of old. This cave is evidently a remnant of the ancient stone quarries, and marks their northern limit beyond the open cutting which has destroyed a great part of them.

The origin of this strange name, "Royal caves," is unknown. I have thought that it may possibly be derived from the term *melekeh*, which, at the present day, is applied by the Arabs to this fine, hard, close-grained calcareous rock. This name, clearly connected with the word *melek*, "king," is peculiar to the dialect of Arabic spoken at Jerusalem, and may possibly be a survival

of some old local name for this rock. Curiously enough, it reminds one of the term "pierres de banc royal," which we apply in French to a certain kind of calcareous rock. What makes the coincidence more remarkable is, that these ancient quarries have been worked in a thick stratum of *melekeh*.

One would, on the other hand, be rather tempted to apply to this system of ditch and quarries what Strabo tells us* of the great ditch hewn in the rock (*τάφρον λατομήτην*) which defended the approach to Jerusalem (on the north side, as we gather from the remainder of the description), and which measured sixty feet in depth and two hundred and fifty in width. Out of it, he tells us, they hewed the stone of which the Temple enclosure was built. The description contained in the Chrestomathia of Strabo† is perhaps even more explicit. It informs us that the town ditch (*τάφρος*) was not dug out of the earth (*ὄρυκτῆ*), but deeply hewn in the rock (*λατομητή, πέτρα βαθεῖα*), and that they had hewn out of it the stone to build the city (*ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς κοπέις λίθος τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισεν*).

But there is a difficulty in that Strabo's description applies to the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, and consequently was written before the building of the third enclosing wall, which Josephus tells us was built by Herod Agrippa. Moreover, we seem to gather from the double narrative of the latter historian that Pompey's attack was made directly against the north side of the Temple, and consequently that the ditch of which he also speaks must have passed close along that side. Nevertheless, this objection is not, perhaps, a fatal one, and we shall do well to study these various texts critically, and see how far they apply to the cutting on the north side which passes through the Royal caves.

It is usually stated that the entrance to this immense cave, which lies just beneath the city wall to the north of the Damascus Gate, was discovered by accident so late as the year 1852.‡ I think that the date of the discovery may be put somewhat earlier, if we may trust a piece of evidence which has hitherto escaped notice, and which I quote, moreover, from a very rare work.§

"Outside the city, in the northern part of the enclosing wall, we find a cave which Hezekiah, King of Judah, caused to be dug. It was, they say,

* p. 649.

† Geogr. gr. min. II, 628.

‡ On this subject, see the mass of evidence which has been carefully collected by Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, pp. 255 et seq., and the accompanying notes.

§ *Cinq années de voyage en Orient* (1846-1851), par Israel Joseph Benjamin II, page 11.

through this cave that Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, fled to escape from the Chaldeans. The grotto is near the gate Bâb el 'Amûd. Some Israelites who have visited it declare that its interior is so lofty that a man could pass through it on horseback. They say that there is in it a chamber hewn out of the rock, and that this place was intended to be a synagogue. They add that a roll containing the Pentateuch is built into the wall of this chamber, but that no one is allowed to explore it. I was only able to look into this cavern through a chink which time had worn in the rock."

The legend of Hezekiah is evidently borrowed from the old description of Esthor Hap-parchi,* who wrote in the fourteenth century—

"Within the walls of Jerusalem, towards the north, is the entrance to the cave of Hiskia, mentioned in the Talmud."†

This cave is undoubtedly, as has long been agreed, the *Maghâret el Kattân*, or "Cave of flax,"‡ mentioned in Mujir ed Dîn (*op. c.*, p. 412), which, according to certain stories collected by him, reached as far as to beneath the Sakhra. The origin of this odd name of *Kattân* has hitherto remained in obscurity. Perhaps the texts of the MSS. are defective, and some entirely different word ought to be substituted for it, thanks to the alteration of the diacritical points, which lead to so many surprises in Arabic MSS.

There is another exceedingly interesting Mohammedan piece of evidence which students have hitherto neglected to apply to our cavern, although to my mind there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that it does so apply. It is all the more worth quoting, because it contains the most ancient allusion to it hitherto discovered. It is the passage in El Mukaddasy, a writer of the tenth century :§

"There is at *Ailia* (*Ælia*), without the city, a huge cavern. I have heard many learned men say, and I have read in certain books, that it reaches as far as the (place of the) 'people of Moses' (*Kaum Mûsâ*). But this has not been proved. It consists of "galleries hewn in the rock" (*makâti lil-hajâra*). "There are roads through them which one may go along by the light of *mash'al*."

* Zunz, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, II, p. 399.

† Baba Kamma, f. 16b.

‡ Not "of cotton," as it is generally mistranslated.

§ Arabic text, edited by de Goeje, p. 185. See also Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's publications, Vol. III, p. 82.

We may remark that at that remote period the true nature of this ancient excavation was already well known. If, as Mr. Guy Le Strange, with great probability, conjectures, we are to understand by the "people of Moses" that Korah of the Bible, who plays an important part in the Mohammedan legend, under the slightly altered name of Kârûn, the expression made use of by El Mukaddasy, alluding to the swallowing up of this personage, simply means "reaching into the bowels of the earth."

I have several times explored these vast caves, whose extent and form have not hitherto been very precisely determined,* and which, if more minutely examined than has hitherto been done, would doubtless afford interesting facts. During my visits, I made an archæological discovery, which I imagine to be of great consequence, since it is of such a nature as to enable us to make some approximation to the date of the period at which these caves were being quarried, if not that at which they were begun, a date which, at any rate, as we shall see, takes us back to the time of the Kings of Judah.

As you descend the heaps of earth at the entrance to the caves, following the trench which has been dug there, you will, or rather you would once, find a design roughly enough carved with a chisel upon the face of the pier of living rock which stands at the entrance and forms the angle of the first gallery on the left hand. The existence of this design was not very easily perceivable. It stood about one mètre above the present level of the floor. The bottom of the lines of this *graffito* were blackened by time, and presented the same dark brown colour as the rock upon which they had been cut. This *patine* clearly proves that the carving does not belong to a later date, but must be exactly contemporaneous with the date at which the quarrymen's picks uncovered and hewed the rock walls into shape. Valuing all the importance of this precious witness of the past, and wishing to put it beyond the reach of accidental injury, I had the piece of rock, upon which

* The best plan hitherto published will be found in Sir C. Warren's *Excavations at Jerusalem* (pl. II, and Section pl. XII): it has been inserted in the new edition of the *Map of Jerusalem*, scale $\frac{1}{25000}$. It has been borrowed, I suppose, from the plan and section on a very large scale by Dr. Schick, which is to be found in MS. in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and which is worth reproduction in detail. See also Dr. Schick's "Observations on the chisel marks in the Cotton Grotto" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1892), and also those of M. Cyrus Adler (*Kohul's Memory*, p. 73), which, however, do not give us very much new information.

it was carved, carefully cut out, and I brought it to London, where it may be seen at this day in the museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Here is, first, a direct photographic reproduction reduced to one-third of the original.



CARVED FIGURE ON THE ROCK IN THE ROYAL CAVES, NEAR THE ENTRANCE.

Dimensions of Stone, 0'35 cm. × 0'24 cm.

I have added a sketch made by hand, on a smaller scale, which will enable the reader to form a better idea of the subject represented, which is all the more difficult to make out because the stone is disfigured in several places by breakages.

It will be seen that the figure is that of a quadruped, represented in profile to the right, with two long narrow wings opened like a pair of scissors, and its tail curled up. It has a human head with a beard and hair, and wears a conical head-dress. It strikingly reminds one of the Assyrian winged monsters, the bulls and lions with human heads, which have, with good reason, been thought to have served as the prototype of the Israelitish *kerub*. The very style of the carving, notwithstanding its simplicity, points

to a great antiquity. Considering how its characteristic features are to be found repeated in certain well-known pieces of Assyrian sculpture, more especially the typical tail in a spiral case, I think that one need not hesitate about acknowledging it to be a freak of some one of the ancient stone cutters employed in the quarry. This casual artist was certainly no master of his craft, albeit this sketch, made by a few blows of his mallet and chisel, possesses a certain style; but he was sincere, and he has evidently attempted to reproduce, after a fashion, the figure of one of the symbolical monsters which he had before his eyes, and which had perhaps been carved with greater skill out of one of the very blocks which he had hewn out of this quarry. This rude figure shows us in a striking fashion the environment wherein the workman lived, and consequently the period to which he must have belonged. This period must clearly have been one during which Israelitish art was drawing its inspiration slavishly from that of Assyria. Whatever the exact date may have been, I do not think that one can make it out to have been later than the Captivity. We have thus a *terminus ad quem* for the period during which this part of the quarry was being worked. For support of this theory, I may remind the reader that we find little intaglios with legends in Phœnician characters accompanying monsters of the same kind, or of a similar kind, a fact which proves beyond doubt that the inhabitants of Syria must have been familiar with these popular notions of the legendary fauna of the East. Upon one of these we found the truly Jewish name of Hoshea,* together with a winged sphinx sejant. It is true that the beast, with its hawk's head wearing the pschent, has more connection with Egyptian than Assyrian art; but, upon another intaglio upon which I have commented elsewhere,† I have found a fantastic beast which corresponds almost exactly with the *graffito* of the Royal caves: a winged quadruped, passant to the left, with long narrow wings, half opened, tail spirally curled, and bearing a bearded human head surmounted by a conical tiara. Below it are four Phœnician letters, לֵאדָא, "of Iddo." Although the man's name is not very definite as to nationality, and may have belonged to some inhabitant of Syria, yet it may very well have been that of an Israelite. (Compare the Biblical

* לֹבֵר הוֹשֵׁעַ "in remembrance of Hoshea," on an intaglio in the British Museum. Compare De Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 137, No. 38.

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Sceaux et Cachets Israélites, Phéniciens et Syriens*, p. 21, No. 14. The original belongs to the Berlin Museum.

name ידד, *Iddo*.) In any case, the form of the letters takes us back to a very remote epoch, perhaps to the sixth or seventh century B.C. Considering the similarity of the two devices, this gives us an approximate clue to the date of our *graffito*, which remains to this day, in its rough simplicity, an unique but authentic specimen of Israelitish art at a certain period. And it is interesting from other points of view. It also throws an instructive light upon the religious ideas current at the time among the common people, the Israelites of Jerusalem. Finally, it enables us to fix, in a manner hitherto impossible, the minimum age of the Royal quarries.

I may add that we must not urge as an objection to the origin which I claim for our *graffito*, the pretended repugnance of the ancient Israelites to the representation of living creatures or to symbols connected with idolatry. Not to mention the Egyptian sphinx quoted above, we can show upon ancient seals which incontestably belonged to Israelites, representations of creatures which one would think must have been even more repugnant to the orthodox ideas which we are too much in the habit of attributing to them. I may quote, for instance, two more of these little relics,* engraved with the essentially Israelitish names of Abihu, the servant of Uzziah, and of Asayahu, the son of Yokim, which display the image of the Egyptian Harpocrates, the young god Horus, sitting on the lotus flower.

After having, as I have already explained, had this *graffito* cut out of the rock, I began an examination of the earth along this wall of the quarry, exactly beneath the carving, hoping that this place, thus marked, might contain something perhaps of greater importance. But for want of adequate means and tools I was not able at that time to push my researches deeper than the height of a man. I found nothing but earth mixed with broken pottery, and beneath this a layer of flakes of hewn stones from the working of the quarry. Among these flakes I picked up a broken piece of an iron tool which probably belonged to one of the workmen. It would, I think, be worth while to recommence this digging, and to continue it further down.

* * * * *

Just at the entrance to the caves, turning directly to the right, before descending over the mass of dug-out earth down which one generally gains access to the galleries, I discovered some time afterwards another hitherto unknown gallery. It is not a very long one, and ends abruptly in a sort of

* De Vogüé, *op. c.*, p. 138, No. 39, and Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, p. 54, No. 74 (pl. III).

chamber or square hall. On one of the rock-hewn walls I found a sort of rectangular frame, well cut, as though it had been intended to prepare an entrance to a further cutting. At the present time, as I read over these pages, I ask myself whether this square frame, countersunk in the rock, may not have been a *countersunk cartouche*, like those upon which are engraved the three inscriptions in Phœnician characters which I discovered at Selwân, or the inscription on the aqueduct of Siloam. May not this also have been a cartouche prepared to receive an inscription at the same period? Who knows even whether the inscription is not there? It may have completely escaped my notice, especially as I had at my disposal only a very defective light, and confined myself to a cursory and rapid glance round the places, hoping to renew my examination of them afterwards—a thing which I have not been able to do. I wish particularly to draw the attention of future explorers to the verification of this matter. There is perhaps a fine epigraphical discovery to be made.

Above this frame I made out an engraved mark of a round shape, a sort of volute, set somewhat obliquely, with two little straight parallel lines in the concavity. On the same side I noticed a fissure (?) in the rock, leading to a tall triangular recess, full of earth. Perhaps it was meant to set a lamp in (?).

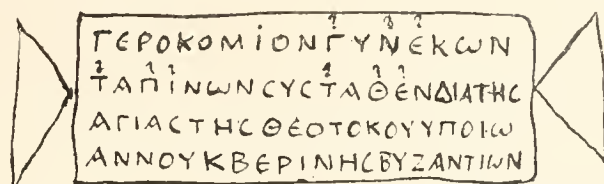
A GREEK INSCRIPTION BUILT IN TO THE NORTH PART OF THE CITY WALL.

In 1863 M. de Saulcy* noticed, on the north side of the great square tower which stands near the gate Bâb es Sâhera, an ancient inscription turned upside down and very difficult to read from below. He was not able to copy it, as he had intended to do.

In 1868 I undertook the re-discovery of this text, which he had pointed out, and I took several copies of it, using field-glasses to do so, for the inscription is set very high up in the rampart. Moreover, with the obliging assistance of some of Captain Warren's staff, I had myself let down by ropes from the battlements, and was thus able to make a close examination of the inscription, to measure it, and to take a squeeze of it. Its dimensions are four feet eleven inches by one foot six inches. The text consists of four lines of Greek letters of the Byzantine period, set in a frame with triangular tags

* De Saulcy. *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, II, p. 15.

at the ends. Unfortunately, I do not know what has become of my squeeze.* All that I can give here is a transcript of the text taken from my copies which were made both from the squeeze and from the original.†



Γεροκομ(ε)ῖον γυν(αι)κῶν ? ταπ(ε)νωῶν ? συσταθὲν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας ? τῆς Θεοτόκου, ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) Βερίνης Βυζαντιῶν.

“Asylum for poor old women (?) founded under the invocation of the most holy (?) Theotokos by John and Berine of Constantinople.”

The form *γεροκομῆιον*, instead of *γεροντοκομῆιον*, is common in Christian writers. Its meaning is strictly, “a retreat for old people.” Thus in the *Life of St. Euthymius*‡ mention is made of *gerokomeia*, of *ptôcheia*, and of *monasteria*, that is to say, of asylums for old people, hospices for the poor, and monasteries founded at Jerusalem by the Empress Eudoxia. I have shown§ that it is this same word, corrupted by the copyists, which we must recognise in the *gerocernio* of the *Life of John the Silent* by the Monk Cyril,|| and also in the puzzling *جرقوميدون الملك*, “the royal *Jer(o)kômîûn*,” of the Arabic history of the taking of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. The qualifying adjective “royal” applied to this latter establishment, leads one to think that it must have been one of those founded by either Eudoxia or Justinian. Our almshouse is not one of these, having been founded by two private persons, John and Berine, natives of Constantinople. It was placed under the invocation of the Virgin Mother of God; the construction, *διὰ τῆς ἁγίας τῆς*

* I suppose, but am not certain, that it must have remained in the possession of the Russian Archimandrite, to whom I lent it.

† Later, in 1881, Captain Conder made a very rough sketch of it, which only enabled him to make out a few words (*Memoirs, Jerusalem*, p. 424). The name of one of the authors of the dedication, *John*, was mistaken by him for that of *St. John*. In 1892 the inscription was examined afresh by Father Germer-Durand (*Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 583), who has given a reproduction and interpretation of it satisfactory for the most part.

‡ Ed. Cotelerius, p. 282.

§ *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 157.

|| *Acta Sanctorum*, May 13, III, p. 233.

Θεοτόκου, is somewhat curious,* but its general meaning does not seem to admit of any doubt.

Perhaps, however, we ought to understand the expression as implying that the asylum was a dependency of some sanctuary of the Virgin. We know that this was the case with the famous Church of the Theotokos erected at Jerusalem by Justinian, with which were connected almshouses for men and women, as well as a hospital for the sick.† May not John and Berine have added a gerokomion to these eleemosynary establishments which were grouped round the sanctuary of the Theotokos? It may be objected to this theory that the stone containing the inscription must in that case have been carried a long way from its original position, for the church which Justinian built stood on the south-east side of Mount Zion.‡

The epithet of ταπεινός, "humble," is perhaps taken in its ecclesiastical acceptation, "poor in spirit," "humble before God," which therefore was in this case applicable to women under monastic vows—can they have been a sisterhood of nuns in charge of the establishment?

The name of Βερίνη, which is usually spelt Βηρίνη, or still better Βηρίνα, a transcript of the Roman name *Verina*, was pretty common during the Byzantine period; it was borne by an empress, the wife of Leo I, who died in 484, and this may have helped to bring it into fashion.§

THE SEPULCHRES OF *KERM ESH SHEIKH*, AND THE GROUND TO THE NORTH-EAST OF JERUSALEM.

When examining the ground just outside the north wall of Jerusalem, I noticed on the east side a group of rock-hewn sepulchres which to my knowledge have never been hitherto attended to. They stand in a large field on the north-east side of the town, which extends from the town-ditch to the splendid pine tree near an oil press worked by the Moslems. This region is known by the general name of *Kerm esh Sheikh*.

* Both as regards the repetition of the article, and the use of the preposition ἐν, which leads one to expect a substantive after it, and perhaps has the meaning of, "by the intercession of."

† See passages from Procopius, Antoninus Martyr, etc., quoted in my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, *l.c.*

‡ For a discussion of the question of Justinian's Church of the Virgin, see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 150-154, and Vol. III, pp. 55-57.

§ Compare the name of city Βηρινοῦπολις.

These tombs are interesting from two points of view :—

1. Because of their form.* They belong to the horizontal system of rock-hewn sepulchres, access to which is obtained by means of a shaft; the entrance is a hole of a rectangular form, measuring about 1^m·60 by 0^m·45, and is more than a mètre in depth. At the bottom, a rebate in the rock seems to have been meant to receive and support a slab which covered the tomb itself, which consists of a cave below it. From what I could make out of the interior during my first visit, these caves are hewn in the shape of vaults; they seemed to me to be pretty extensive, and the Moslem owner of the land, a good fellow named *Abu'l Huda el Khalily*, assured me that many of them communicated with one another. I was not able to enter them at the time, because they were half-full of water, the result of the late rains. The proprietor told me that they had found in them many bones, broken pottery, *sanâdîk* cut in soft stone (ossuaries), etc., . . . and a gold earring, which I never saw, although he promised to show it me.

2. The situation of these tombs may have an important bearing upon a question still waiting solution, that of the third wall of the city. These sepulchres, in fact, extend along a line bearing about 125 degrees from the south-east angle of the building marked near the great pine tree on the large scale map of the Ordnance Survey to the road which skirts the city ditch on the north-east side. We counted at first sight a dozen entrances to tombs, and the last of them are barely 40 mètres distant from the city ditch. It is clear that the existence of a cemetery of determined date at this place may furnish a decisive answer, one way or the other, to the still open question as to the extension of the third city wall to the north of this point.

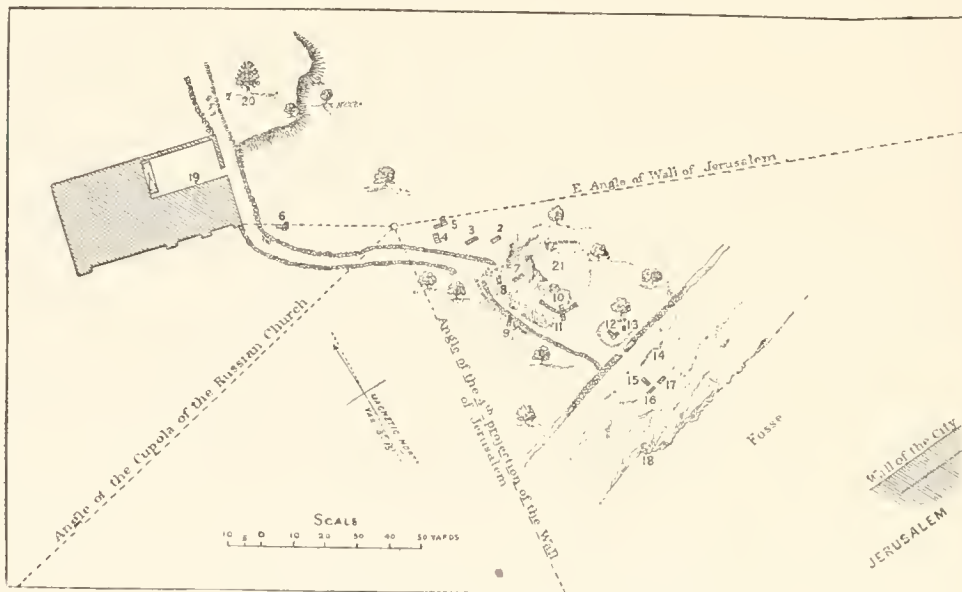
The owner of the land told me that they had found another great sepulchre hewn in the rock under the north-east wall of the present building (on the south side of the inner little court of the house marked on the Ordnance Survey).† Moreover, it seems that a tradition places a *makâm* of *El Khadhër* (the prophet Elijah, or St. George) at *Kerm esh Sheikh*. I think that there must be many tombs of the same kind in this quarter. We know that it is hereabouts that those who would identify the outline of Agrippa's wall with that of the modern north wall, place the Fuller's tomb mentioned by Josephus as one of the landmarks of its outline.

* For the other tomb of the same type which stands further north, near the Ash Heap, see my remarks on p. 266, hereafter.

† See No. 19 on the general plan given on p. 250.

Some time afterwards I returned to this place, meaning to make a careful plan of the ground, and fix the exact position of the sepulchres in relation to the town. We carefully noticed the compass bearings of the tombs, which were different for each one of them. Even in a small piece of ground by the roadside, enclosed by a dry stone wall, we counted thirteen openings; some of them completely free, others nearly filled up with earth; others seemed to have been begun and left unfinished.

Opposite to this piece of ground, on the road itself, we also remarked that the road where the rock had been cut down, showed traces of three



PLAN OF THE CEMETERY AT KERM ESH SHEIKH.

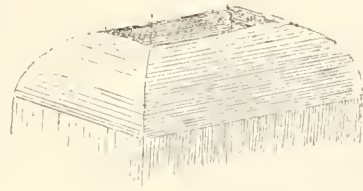
- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, open Tombs.
 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, Tombs full of earth, Tombs unfinished, and Tombs destroyed.
 18 Angle of the wall hewn in the Rock.
 19 Entrance to a Sepulchral Cavern.
 20 The great Pine Tree.
 21 Part used as a quarry.

square openings (15, 16, 17), belonging probably to the same group, as also does a great rock-hewn wall (14). Further on, on the very counterscarp of the city ditch, there is (18) the angle of another grave of the same sort, which must have been cut across and partly destroyed by the ditch.

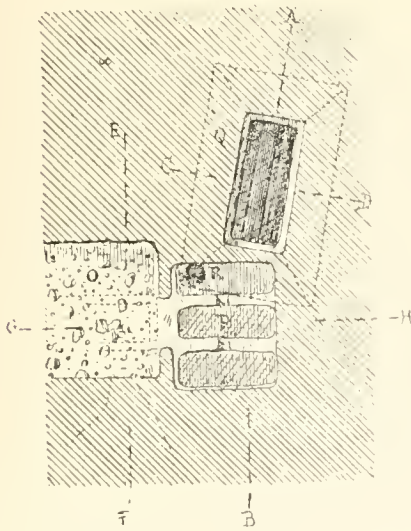
We were not able to explore completely the interior of all these tombs. We were forced to content ourselves with a detailed study of the two marked 1 and 2. We made our way into No. 1 by the opening,

which was half destroyed by the quarrymen who were at that time working at the rock at this place by mining, and who, I fear, if allowed to continue their destructive labours, will almost entirely sweep away these interesting sepulchres.

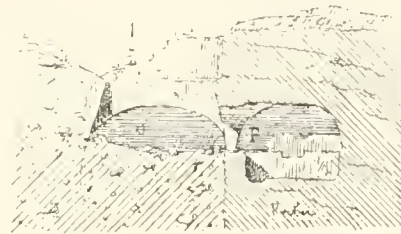
It is difficult by mere description to give an idea of the arrangement of these tombs. Those which we explored consisted of a chamber oblong in plan, vaulted in the manner technically known as *arc de cloître*, or "coved vault," that is to say, a vault formed by the strict penetration of two cylinders, whilst the vault known as "*voûte d'arêtes* (the plain groined vault) is obtained by the *intersection* of two cylinders. Here is a geometrical perspective view of one of these vaults, whose arrangement is considered by experts to be more ancient than the second.



Below the spring of the vault the side walls descend vertically; at the apex of the vault is the opening of the square hole or shaft leading to the inside of the tomb; the bottom of this shaft seems to have been closed by a great block of stone, which rested on a rebate cut in the rock.



PLAN AT LEVEL N N. (See Section A B.)

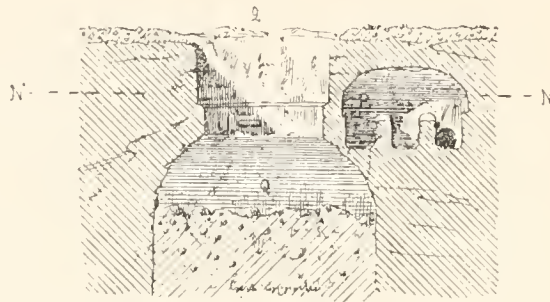


SECTION ALONG THE LINE G H.

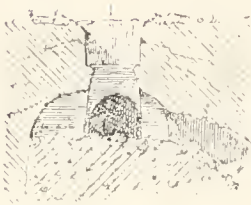
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The first chamber, o, into which we entered, and which is almost quite full of earth, communicates by a small original opening with a second chamber p, a very small chamber, whose very flat vaulted roof

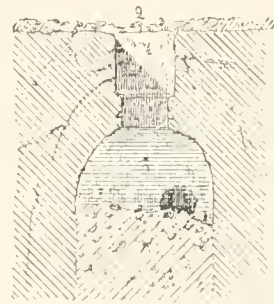
covers three loculi cut like troughs, parallel to one another. A hole, made in modern times by the Arabs, enables one to enter the neighbouring chamber Q, which is only separated from it by a thin panel of rock. This third chamber was full of earth almost up to the spring of the



SECTION ALONG THE LINE A B.



SECTION ALONG THE LINE E F.



SECTION ALONG THE LINE C D.

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

vaulted roof, so that we could not make out how the tombs were arranged within it. At the top of it is the rectangular opening, marked No. 2 in the general plan, which gives this chamber direct communication with the outer air.

I had intended to resume the exploration of the other chambers later on; at this season they were full of mud and water; but our other labours unfortunately gave me no leisure to do so. I cannot therefore venture to pronounce a formal opinion as to the date of these sepulchres, a question which, as I have already pointed out, is closely connected with that of how far ancient Jerusalem extended to the north in relation to this cemetery. I shall only remark, in this connexion, that within the limits of the existing town, about 250 mètres to the west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, tombs have been discovered with ossuaries, and the phials which are known as lacrymatories.

Whatever their age may be, these sepulchres, if spared by the picks and mines of the quarrymen, are worth clearing out ; perhaps one might find, if not an inscription, at all events some characteristic object which would enable one to decide the period to which they belong.

We may compare the interior arrangement of the second chamber Q with one of the tombs noticed by Colonel Conder in his Report No. IX, which stands near No. 31 in the Ordnance Survey plan.

A little way to the north of the house of Kerm esh Sheikh there is an ancient Arab cemetery, which seems to have been long deserted.

— Near the point where the contour line 2479 of the Ordnance Survey intersects the counterscarp of the city ditch, at the east end of the line,* is the mouth of an aqueduct, which seems to have been cut through by the ditch, and to have led from the north. Perhaps it might be worth while to trace it to its source. Only a few mètres east of this spot the rock-hewn counterscarp abruptly turns at a right angle, then resumes its former direction for 25 mètres, and again turns at a right angle corresponding to the first. This redan, which is very clearly marked in Ordnance Survey plan, does not seem to owe its existence to any strategic reason, for it does not correspond to any projection of the scarp of the city walls. May not this have been a small ancient *birkeh* which has been almost entirely destroyed by the ditch ? If so, this aqueduct and pool, supposing that they existed, perhaps formed part of the system of waterworks of the north-east region of Jerusalem, which is still so hard to make out.

— Now that I am speaking of this region, I shall add two notes which are connected with it, and which I made in the year 1867. (Note Book, II, p. 22) :—

A.—At the north-east angle of the city wall of Jerusalem, on the inside, there is a sort of casemated chamber, of modern work. In it is the mouth of a subterranean passage—unexplored.

B.—At about ten steps from the north-east angle, the rock-hewn counterscarp of the ditch makes an outward curve, a very distinct sort of arc of a circle, the chord of which is formed by the wall and its rock-cut scarp. What can be the cause of this curious arrangement ? Perhaps it shows us how the ground was arranged before the ditch was cut.

* Not "close to the Damascus Gate," as the editor of the *Quarterly Statement* added to my report in a note, but between the Bâb ez Zâhireh and Burj Laklak, on the same contour line, but at the other end of it.

Greek Inscription near Jeremiah's Cave.—In a house situated to the north of the Damascus Gate, towards the slaughter-house, behind the Mohammedan cemetery of Jeremiah's Cave, I found the following fragment of inscription, which has since become the property of the Russian Archimandrite. It is a piece of a slab of calcareous stone. The reverse side is rough: it measures 0^m.28 by 0^m.25. The style of the inscription belongs to the Byzantine period; it is carefully enough carved, and may be part of an epitaph.

. . . Σ(?)ίμω[ν

. . . ν αὐτ

διαφ]ερο[ν

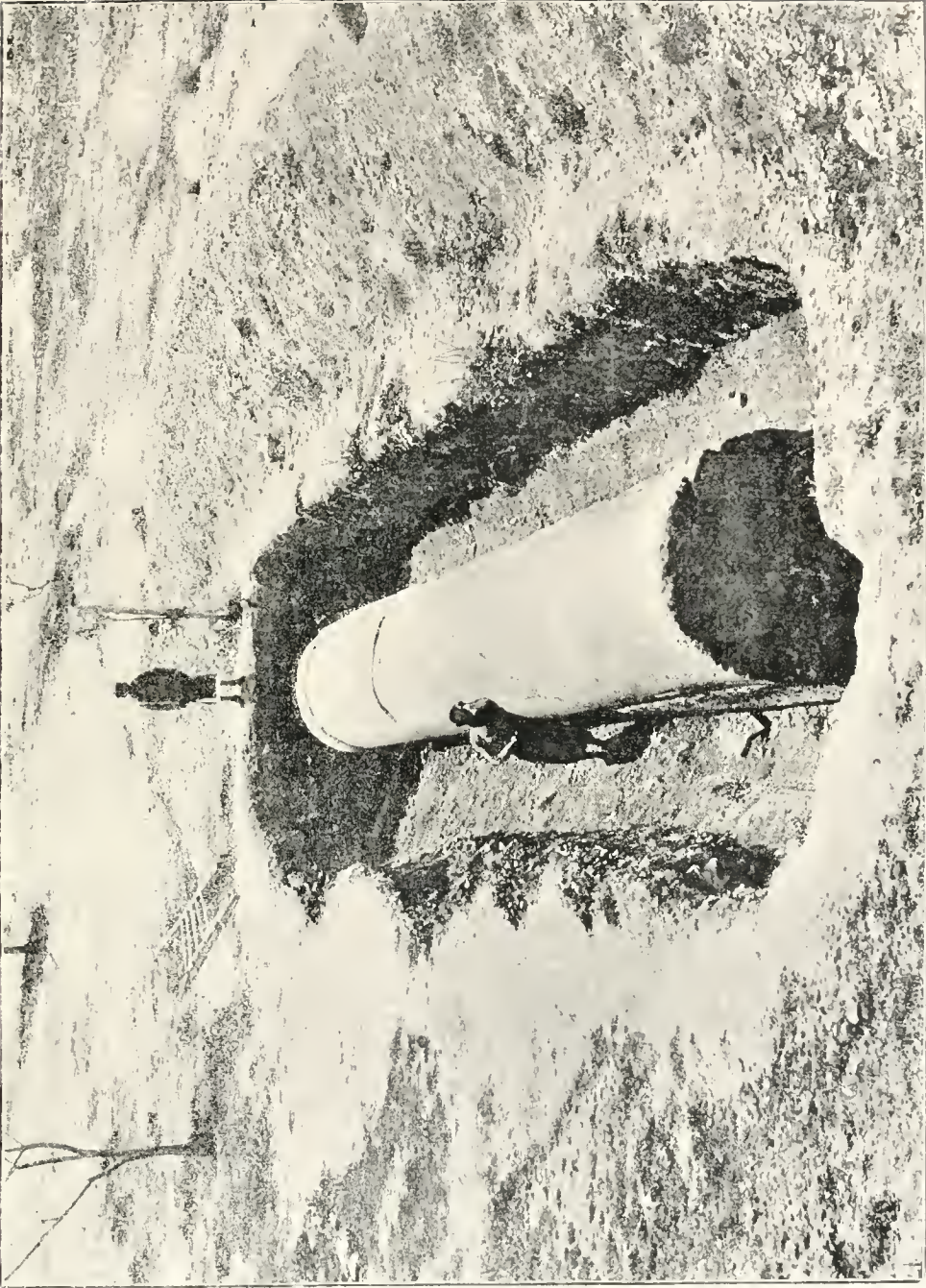


GREEK INSCRIPTION NEAR
JEREMIAH'S CAVE.

A COLUMN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.

In the course of the excavations which took place in 1871 within the Russian property outside the city, an enormous monolithic column was discovered, lying in front of and almost parallel to the church. Three trenches, dug in the first instance to each end and to the middle of this column, enabled one to gain some idea of the really colossal proportions of this unfinished shaft, which still lies on the bed of the quarry from whence it was hewn. It had evidently been abandoned there without ever having been used, and that for a reason which we shall presently see. Some years later it was completely cleared of earth, as is shown in the accompanying engraving.

When it was discovered, I examined this colossal relic of the past with a lively interest, and this examination led me to assign to it an origin which has been generally accepted. Unfortunately, as the column was then only partly uncovered, I had great difficulty in taking exact measurements of it for certain important details. The few figures which I shall have to quote (except the length, which I think is pretty correct) are therefore given with reserve. It would be very desirable, seeing that the column



A COLUMN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.

is now altogether accessible, and that there are many expert archæologists at Jerusalem, that one of them should take the trouble to make a detailed and exact survey of it.

By adding up the measurements, which I was obliged to take piecemeal, I made out the whole length of the shaft to be 12^m·15. This measure of length is, as we shall see, the essential one in order to prove the origin of the column, and must be true within an inch or so. The shaft is not entirely cylindrical, but is joined for all its length to a flat pilaster of about fifty (?) centimètres in thickness. The column is larger at its base than at its head, and its mean diameter was estimated by me to be 1^m·75 (?). This seems to point to its breadth being in the ratio of one to seven to its length. At one end it terminates in a projecting flat band, intended perhaps to be subsequently worked into an astragalus moulding. Both shaft and pilaster are obviously unfinished. On one side one sees the cylinder and its penetration of the pilaster clearly indicated; while the other side of the huge mass is merely roughly hewn into shape, the hollow where the shaft joins the pilaster not being cut out of the solid. Working somewhere about the middle of the column, and starting from the finished side, I made out the following transverse measurements. Width of pilaster, 0^m·49; distance from the quirk round the face of the finished part of the cylinder to the point where it becomes merged in the rough stone, 2^m·25. From this point the roughly hewn mass slopes down again obliquely in a straight line, 1^m·40 in length. Moreover, below the pilaster the stone is hewn away obliquely on both sides, a fact which seems to indicate that the rear face of the pilaster still remained to be worked, and is perhaps still attached to its quarry bed.

From these data, inadequate though they may be, for the reasons which I have given, one can reconstruct the plan of this combination of column and pilaster. The thinness of the pilaster leads one to suppose that it was itself intended to be set against a wall to act as a sham pilaster.

Why was this colossal piece of architecture left thus unfinished and abandoned in its quarry? Probably because of some accident which occurred in the course of the work, and which rendered it impossible to use the monolith. Indeed one sees—the reader can see it in the illustration, which is made from a photograph—one sees, I say, that towards one of the ends the shaft of the column is split completely across, owing, perhaps, to some fault in the rock.

The existence of such a column at this place, and under these

conditions, is a matter of interest in itself; but it becomes much more interesting if we admit the historical explanation of it which I have ventured to suggest, and if one looks upon this column as having been meant to form part of Herod's rebuilding of the Temple. Josephus, in his description of the exterior porticos which surrounded the *hieron*, or sacred enclosure, in the middle of which rose the *naos*, does in fact tell us that these porticos were supported by *monolithic columns of very white marble, twenty-five cubits high*.* The twelve mètres and some centimètres which our column measures in length agree well enough with the twenty-five cubits of the Jewish historian. As for the material, we know from other passages that Josephus dignifies with the name of marble, the white calcareous stone of the country, *melekch*, which is capable of receiving a fine polish. Finally, with regard to its shape, we see that, according to what Josephus tells us elsewhere,† two of the four porticos which surrounded the square enclosure of the *hieron* (probably on the east and west sides) must have joined on to the enclosing wall; which implies the use of engaged columns of much the same shape as our own column, engaged as it is to its pilaster. The same arrangement is even more distinctly described as existing in the famous south portico,‡ which was called *Basilike*. Here the portico was triple, and covered all the space between the two valleys (Tyropœon and Cedron). It consisted of three parallel galleries, the central one being wider and higher§ than the side ones, supported by four rows of columns with Corinthian capitals. The columns which formed the fourth row (the most southerly) were part of the enclosing wall itself (*συνεδέδετο γὰρ ὁ τέταρτος στοίχος λιθοδομήτῳ τείχει*). A few lines afterwards Josephus again expressly mentions these columns as being engaged in the wall: *τοίχου κίονας ἔχοντος ἐνδεδομημένους*. Here, indeed, he speaks of these columns as being only twenty-seven *feet*, not twenty-five *cubits* high; but we may be allowed to believe that this is due to some slip of the pen or copyist's error,|| more

* Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, V, 5, 2: Κίονες ἐ' αὐταῖς ἐικοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἕφεσθήκεσσι, μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου.

† Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XV, 11, 3.

‡ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XV, 11, 5.

§ The central gallery must have been formed of two ranges of columns, the one placed above the other; at least that is how I understand the obscure expression used by Josephus: *ἐπιλῆς σπειρας ὑπειλημμένης*. In this way we get the characteristic arrangement of the traditional *basilica*, such as we see among the Romans and in the early period of Christianity.

|| Due perhaps to the fact that in this passage the measurements of sundry other parts of the Royal Portico are given in feet and not in cubits.

especially as in order to give an idea of the circumference of these columns, Josephus tells us that it took three men to embrace the shaft. This last measurement implies a diameter, and, consequently, according to the proportion of parts, a height which agrees closely with the measurements of our column.

I need not say more about the importance of this conclusion, which leads us to see in our column one of the columns of the portico of the Temple as restored by Herod. It is easy to see all that could be made out of this one discovered unit, this single piece of architecture, in the matter of forming a probable restoration of the Herodian buildings.

I must, however, say that there is one thing which surprises me. These enormous porticos must have contained a considerable number of columns like that before us—in the Basilike alone there were 162.* How comes it, then, that we find no other traces of these enormous monolithic shafts? Their disappearance may, I imagine, be explained by the fact that these columns were of such a great size that they could not be used over again in their original form in the many buildings subsequently erected at Jerusalem; they required to be cut down and re-worked on a smaller scale to supply the builders of Aelia Capitolina, of Byzantine Jerusalem and Arab Jerusalem with more manageable architectural units. That forest of columns which had no longer any *raison d'être* when deprived of the rest of the grand mass of building in proportion to which they had been set up, must soon have been systematically converted into building material. Those columns which had been too much injured may have been simply broken up into rubble and made use of for building walls. Careful examination might enable us to find here and there some fragments whose diameter would show the source from which they really came. There is, for instance, the great stone disc in the Haram, upon which I discovered an Arabic inscription which I have already described. Perhaps this disc is really a slice cut from the shaft of one of these columns of Herod's Temple.

I should myself be inclined to recognise another of these gigantic columns from Herod's porticos in the great shaft in the subterranean passage of El Aksa (the Double Gate) which supports the four elegantly carved stone cupolas, and whose origin has caused so much discussion. I have not planned its measurements; all that I can say is, that it would certainly need three men to embrace it, so that in one respect at least it answers to the description

* Josephus, *l.c.*

given by Josephus. Its diameter has been reckoned to measure 1^m.53,* which would agree near enough with that of the column in the Russian establishment, as far as one can tell by eyesight alone. This shaft is only seven mètres high, so that it falls short by more than five mètres of the length of that in the Russian establishment. However, I can easily believe that it was cut down to the required† height during the Roman or Byzantine period—whichever you please—when it was again made use of in this new architectural arrangement. If this were so, I think that it was the upper‡ part of the shaft, when divided into two, which was used; that is to say, the column being slightly conical in shape—the part which had the least diameter.

I believe that the capital which surmounts it at the present day is really the original one. The long acanthus leaves which form part of the ornamental structure of this capital distinctly mark it as belonging to the Corinthian order. Now, as I have already stated, Josephus expressly tells us that the columns of the Royal Portico were surmounted by *Corinthian capitals*. I should therefore for several reasons be tempted to believe that we have in the column of El Aksa a sister of the column in the Russian ground, a sister grown singularly short at the present day, but still a sister who once saw happier days, for she once had her place in the ranks of columns in the Royal Portico, whereas her sister, mortally wounded from her birth, but nevertheless stretched at her full length, lay derelict on her bed in the quarry.

Perhaps one might push this identification even further, and find other fragments of Herod's colonnade in other equally mutilated fragments built into the inner part of the structure of the Double Gate; for instance, in the pier formed of two *engaged* columns opposite to one another (like the column in the Russian ground), in the other great shaft which has been set up further north, etc. . . . But I know too little about their measurements to found any theory upon this matter, I shall therefore content myself by recommending future archæologists to direct their attention to it.

* Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 797.

† It seems to me certain *a priori*, that this shaft in its present condition cannot display its true original height; so squat *a priori*, that this shaft in its present condition cannot display its true original height; so squat a column (height 7 m., diameter 1.53, according to M. Renan; height 4 diameters, according to M. de Vogüé) would be contrary to all rules of proportion.

‡ What seems to prove this is the presence of the projecting astragal moulding which crowns the top of the shaft. This seems to answer to the projection not yet cut into a moulding which we see on the small end of the column in the Russian ground.



HEAD OF AN IMPERIAL OR ROYAL SEAL.

HEAD OF AN IMPERIAL OR ROYAL STATUE.

This magnificent head of a statue is carved in white marble, and is of life size. It was discovered in 1873, in a dry stone wall which was being demolished for building material at a place in the northern part of the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. It was found by a *hammâr*, or ass driver, who was engaged in removing these stones, and was named Nakhleh 'Urd (قرد). I got him to take me to the exact spot where he found it, in order that he might thoroughly explain the material conditions under which his discovery took place. The place is by the side of the road to Nâblus, some thirty mètres north of the K'bûr es Salâtin.

The *hammâr* straightway brought his "find" to his master, an effendi of the city named Rabâh Effendi el Huseiny. The latter, who had long been a personal friend of mine, told me of it on my arrival at Jerusalem in 1873. As I was much impressed by the beauty of this fragment, and thought it very valuable from an archæological point of view, I keenly urged the committee to buy it. However, as the price which I was empowered to offer appeared inadequate to Rabâh Effendi, he addressed himself to Mgr. Antonin, the Russian Archimandrite, who did not hesitate to give him what he asked for it.* Herein he was right, for the piece is one of the very first class, considering the extraordinary absence of antique sculpture at Jerusalem.

Besides the full face photograph represented here, I took a good cast of the whole fragment, which has been deposited in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund; it is from this latter that the profile has been executed.

The head, which, as I have said, is of life size, is in alto relievo, and evidently belongs to a bust, or more probably a large statue whose body has unfortunately disappeared. Perhaps, however, we need not despair of finding it some day, either whole or in pieces. Careful search should be made among all the stones which are strewn about the place where the "find" took place.

* Mgr. Antonin died a few years ago, and I do not know whether this head of a statue remains at Jerusalem with the rest of his collection, or whether it has been sent to St. Petersburg. At any rate, I learned from M. Golénischeff, the Keeper of the Hermitage Museum, that in 1896 it did not form part of the collection of which he was in charge. Subsequently (December 1898) he renewed his assurances to me upon this subject. Quite recently (April, 1899) I have been told that the head is actually in the Russian Embassy at Constantinople.

It is the head of a man with a short beard ; his hair is worn in a series of long, thick, slightly waved locks, which overshadow the brow and cover the temples, leaving only the lower lobe of the ear visible. The end of the nose is broken ; some parts of the face, especially the right eyebrow, have been injured. The back of the head has been broken off, owing to a mutilation of ancient date ; the neck is cut off almost level with the chin.

The head is encircled by a laurel crown, whose triple wreath is fastened above the forehead by a large circular medallion, probably representing a gem or cameo. Within the rim of the medallion, in spite of some damage which it has received, one can still very distinctly make out an eagle in bas-relief, full front, with wings half spread, and head turned to the left.

The style of the sculpture is thoroughly Græco-Roman. The work is not altogether above criticism, but the modelling is vigorous and life-like, and the general effect of the face is extremely imposing and majestic. We have before us beyond doubt a portrait, and not a common conventional type. The eye-balls, which are shown hollow in the carving, look upwards. A slight want of symmetry in the face completes the proof that the sculptor must either have copied it direct from nature, or else from some very exact model.

The countenance has a grave and serious expression, verging on harshness when viewed at certain angles. The personage represented was already of a ripe age, as is plainly enough shown by the slight puffiness of the lower eyelids, and the double fold which runs from each nostril to the drooping corners of the mouth.

A portrait, then, it undoubtedly is, and, we may add, a portrait of a monarch, whether he were an emperor or a king. The presence of the laurel crown, and still more of the cameo bearing the eagle, the emblem of sovereign power, is altogether decisive on that point. The question is to determine the identity of this imperial or royal personage, who must necessarily be some one closely connected with the history of Jerusalem, for we must bear in mind that we are in all probability dealing with a life-size statue, which was found at the very gates of the city under conditions which insure absolute certainty. On the other hand, giving the style of the sculpture, the date cannot be much later or much earlier than the first few centuries of our era. In spite of all these data, the problem, as we shall presently see, is a very difficult one, and after having turned it over and over in all its aspects, I have been obliged after all to content myself with having distinctly stated it, without being able to flatter myself on having solved it.

At first sight, my ideas wavered* between Herod or one of his successors, some local dynasty, or the Emperor Hadrian. I ended, not without some hesitation, by deciding for the latter hypothesis,+ although I had not at that time any of the necessary evidence from authentic statuary which was necessary to verify it; I only remembered how much the various official portraits of Hadrian which have come down to us differ according to their respective dates, and above all according to the places at which they were executed, and I said to myself that in spite of certain details which seem to differ from the type of Hadrian, such as I remembered it, this head might very well be that of a statue of that emperor, sculptured by some provincial artist more or less careful about accuracy.

This fancy was all the more attractive to me, because the breakage of the end of the nose has certainly in this case caused a notable alteration in the characteristic to the face. Moreover, there was a very tempting coincidence: the existence, I mean, at Jerusalem of that famous statue of Hadrian which, according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim‡ and St. Jerome,§ both of whom must have seen it with their eyes, stood on the very site of the Holy of Holies, then consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. It is certain that at some given date this statue, which was still in existence in the fourth century, must have been made away with, and cast on to the dunghill of Mussulman, if not of Byzantine Jerusalem, which lay in the very quarter where the head was picked up.

This hypothesis fulfilled the historical conditions of the problem well enough; unfortunately it fulfilled its iconographic conditions far less satisfactorily. As soon as I returned to Europe, I was able to convince myself of this, when I had an opportunity of comparing this head with the

* See my letter No. 1, *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 7, and my private letters addressed to the Committee.

† *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 207.

‡ He even mentions *two* statues of Hadrian; "sunt et ibi statue due Hadriani." *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Vol. I, p. 17.

§ Beside the statue of Jupiter, "Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est" (*Comment. ad Is.*) In another passage (*Comment. ad St. Matth.*) St. Jerome further informs us that the statue of Hadrian was an equestrian one, "equestri statua." It is possible that the second statue of Hadrian, spoken of by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, represented him on foot. It has been thought that the pilgrim may have mistaken the statue of Antoninus Pius, his adopted son and successor, which stood by his side, for that of Hadrian himself; we might also guess that it was the statue of Jupiter which gave rise to this confusion. I shall confine myself to remarking that the existence of two statues of Hadrian is by no means inadmissible.

various authentic portraits of Hadrian which exist in museums. Even allowing for the breakage of the nose, I am obliged to admit that it is difficult to recognise in it the features of Hadrian, or of any other Roman Emperor. The cut of the beard, indeed, is like enough to that of Hadrian, but this is a very insufficient piece of evidence, and all the more so because there is a piece of counter evidence on this point in the hair, which, with its long, thick, slightly waved locks, is altogether at variance with the rules of Roman fashion,* and rather suggests some barbarian fashion, in the classical sense of the word, meaning neither Greek nor Roman.

We are thus brought back to the hypothesis of a native dynasty, which occurred to me at first, and which I put aside. This view is to a certain extent supported by the general appearance of the features, which, especially in profile, remind one somewhat of the Semitic type. Yet here the difficulties are not less great, although they are of another class. Historical necessities fix our earliest possible date at the year A.D. 79, that is to say, the year of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. This period seems a very early one when one considers the style of the sculpture. If we disregard this objection, we shall have only too many personages to choose from in the Idumean dynasty of which one naturally thinks: Herod the Great, Archelaus, Herod Agrippa I, Herod Agrippa II, and even Herod, King of Chalcis, who exercised regal† powers at Jerusalem during the minority of the latter, his nephew. Here we shall not be embarrassed by iconographic difficulties, for we have no evidence of any kind as to the personal appearance of these princes, and the field is open for all sorts of conjectures.

It remains to be seen whether it is historically probable that the Jews, who were so sensitive on this point,‡ would have endured the setting up of a statue, whether human or divine, in the Holy City. Assuredly the princes of the Idumean dynasty from Herod the Great downwards, all of them passionate admirers of Greek art, were not those who would feel

* The only comparison which can be made, and that a very untrustworthy one, is the three locks of hair which cover the middle of the forehead and the three characteristic locks of Septimius Severus. But the features have nothing in common with those of that emperor.

† He had the custody of the Temple and of the sacred treasure, as well as the right of appointing the High Priest. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XX, 1-3.

‡ This religious scruple, as I have already pointed out (p. 245), did not exist among the Israelites before the Captivity, but became all-powerful among the Jews during the later periods of their history, especially in the reign of Herod.

any scruple of the kind, or would despise that form of glory which consists in offering one's image or suffering it to be offered to receive the homage of the populace. In the case of Herod the Great we have positive proof of this. In an ancient sanctuary at Si'a (the ancient Seia) in the Haurân, there has been found the base of a statue representing him on foot, as is attested by the Greek inscription* which is carved thereon. Unfortunately the statue has disappeared; nothing remains of it except one foot still adhering to the base. If ever we should be so lucky as to find the head of it among the rubbish, the problem which this Jerusalem one has raised for us would perhaps be solved.

Herod Agrippa II must have been as free from prejudices on this subject as his great-grandfather, for among the decorations with which he adorned Berytus there were numerous statues.

Herod Agrippa I himself, although his real or pretended piety found favour for him in the eyes of the most fanatically orthodox, nevertheless had statues of his three daughters† in his palace at Cæsarea.

As for Archelaus, the son and immediate successor of Herod the Great, all that we know of his conduct proves his utter contempt for the laws and customs of the Jews.‡

We may then unhesitatingly admit, that the Herods would have had no scruples about setting up statues of themselves at Jerusalem, if they had only their own personal tastes to consult. But at Jerusalem they would have had to reckon with the uncompromising prejudices of a fanatical populace, always ready to rise in rebellion at the slightest hint of an attack upon its ritual or its dogmas. The proof of this is that none of the Herods ventured to put his portrait upon the money coined in his name. Yet they must have been sorely tempted to do it, and to taste the delight of this prerogative of sovereign power.

The Romans themselves, although they were the real masters of the

* Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, No. 2364.

† We know this through an incident which took place at his death. The Greek populace, in order to insult his memory, took these three statues away from his palace, and set them up on the roof of a house of ill-fame, making them at the same time the butts of the most obscene practical jokes. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XIX, 9: 1.

‡ For example, his marriage with his sister-in-law, Glaphyra, which was condemned by the Jews as incestuous (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVII, 13: 1; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 7: 4). See also the complaints made about him by the Jewish delegates sent to Augustus (*Ant. Jud.*, XVII, 11: 2, and 13: 2; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 6: 2 and 7: 3).

country, nevertheless found it necessary to act in this matter with great and significant care not to hurt the feelings of the Jews. Thus, for instance, their troops who formed the garrison of Jerusalem were strictly charged always to leave their ensigns outside the city, because they were surmounted by the bust of the reigning emperor. It will be remembered that Pontius Pilate very nearly caused an outbreak by his attempt to bring in these ensigns* surreptitiously by night. A little later it was very different, when the lunatic Caligula took it into his head to set up his imperial statue in the Temple itself, as he had endeavoured to do in many synagogues throughout the empire.† The great rebellion, which was a few years later to bring about the destruction of Jerusalem, was very near breaking out at that moment, and leading to the final catastrophe before the time which fate had fixed upon for it.

Certainly Herod the Great dealt pretty carelessly with the prejudices of his easily-offended subjects. We see for instance that he did not fear to set up a great gilded eagle above the main entrance to the Temple, a thing which was a terrible eyesore to the orthodox Jews, and which, about the time of the tyrant's death, finally brought about a tragic incident.‡

It is also instructive in this connection to remember the affair of the trophies with which this same Herod adorned the magnificent theatre that he built at Jerusalem, with all the refinements of pagan luxury.§ He caused paintings (?) to be placed all round it, setting forth the exploits of the emperor, and trophies in remembrance of his victories. The orthodox Jews of course were greatly shocked; but, says Josephus, nothing shocked them more than the trophies, because they imagined that there

* Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVIII, 3 : 1 ; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 9 : 2. There was a general tumult among the Jews, who protested against the sacrilege of setting up an image of any sort (*εἰκόλον*) in their city. The terrible Procurator himself had to yield under these circumstances.

† Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVIII, 8 : 2 ; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 10 : 1. Herod Agrippa had sufficient influence over him to induce him to repeal this order; but the Emperor might perhaps have remounted his hobby, and goodness knows what might have come of it had not Chæreas' dagger put a timely stop to his career.

‡ See Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVII, 6 : 2, 3. *Bell. Jud.*, I, 33 : 2, for an account of all the details of this episode, which gives a good picture of the feelings of the Jews on any subject connected with this burning question of sacrilegious representations of living creatures. A coinage attributed to Herod is extant; it bears an eagle, which perhaps represents that one which he set up over the entrance to the Temple.

§ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XV, 8 : 1, 2.

were statues inside them.* Herod only partly convinced them by having some of these suspected trophies taken to pieces in their presence, and got the laugh of them by showing that these dummy figures of warriors contained within them only a few pieces of wood which served to support the panoplies.

One can easily understand from these various incidents, what an explosion of fury would have been provoked among the Jewish populace by this exhibition of a life-size statue representing their king. It would have been enough to set the whole of Jerusalem in a blaze. So flagrant an outrage upon the precepts of their religious law could not have passed unnoticed, and we should certainly find some mention of it in Josephus's history, which is full of details of all the wrong doings, great and small, with which he reproaches the Idumæan princes, from the founder of the dynasty downwards. Can we imagine that he would have omitted such a grievance from his indictments, had it really existed?

Perhaps it may be said that the statue did not stand in the king's palace within the city, but somewhere outside, for instance in the great amphitheatre, which, in addition to the theatre of which I have just spoken, Herod built without the walls,† on the plain, and that in that place he might count upon the same toleration which was extended to the Roman ensigns. But it would be strange if such a thing, even if tolerated, should have escaped the ever watchful criticism of Josephus.

We see then that if we are forbidden by iconography to recognise this head of a statue for that of Hadrian, history on the other hand, not to speak of the apparent age of the sculpture itself, opposes no less important objections to our taking it for that of Herod, or of one of his successors.

We encounter the same objections if we take into consideration the fact

* It is curious to observe that the paintings (?) (*επιγραφαι*) do not seem to have given any peculiar offence to Jewish Puritanism. We may therefore ask whether the paintings in question may not have been simply commemorative inscriptions, and not, as has been supposed, real representations of human figures. If this last hypothesis be maintained, we must infer that the Jewish prejudice applied specially to images carved in high or low relief: we know that the Mussulmans, who are just as great iconoclasts as the Jews, show a comparative tolerance for painted figures, owing to their more or less immaterial character.

† One might even infer from this that the amphitheatre must have stood somewhere near to the place where the head was discovered. M. de Saulcy thought that he had noticed traces of it in that very region (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, II, 18). M. Schick, on the other hand (*Quarterly Statement*, 1887, p. 161), places it in quite a different quarter, on the south side of the city.

of the head having been found close to the K'bûr es Salâtin—otherwise known as the Mausoleum of Queen Helena—and try to argue that it may have formed part of a statue of Izates, for instance, Helena's son, King of Adiabene. In this case the objections seem even more formidable. How indeed can we suppose it possible that this family of Jewish proselytes, who, with the zeal of converts, desired themselves to be buried at a vast expense at the very gates of the Holy City, could have committed so heinous a breach of the fundamental principles of the faith which they had so ardently embraced?

This iconographical problem still awaits solution.

ANCIENT SEPULCHRES NEAR THE ASH HEAP.

On the north side of the city, in the direction of the Ash Heap, about 110 mètres north-west of the ancient piscina marked No. 81 on the Ordnance Survey Map, I have noticed the existence of two sepulchral chambers hewn in the rock, which appear to belong to the same system as those of the small cemetery of *Kerm esh Sheikh* already discussed. I had intended to explore them and to see whether there might not be some other similar ones in the neighbourhood, but I was prevented by the pressure of other work.

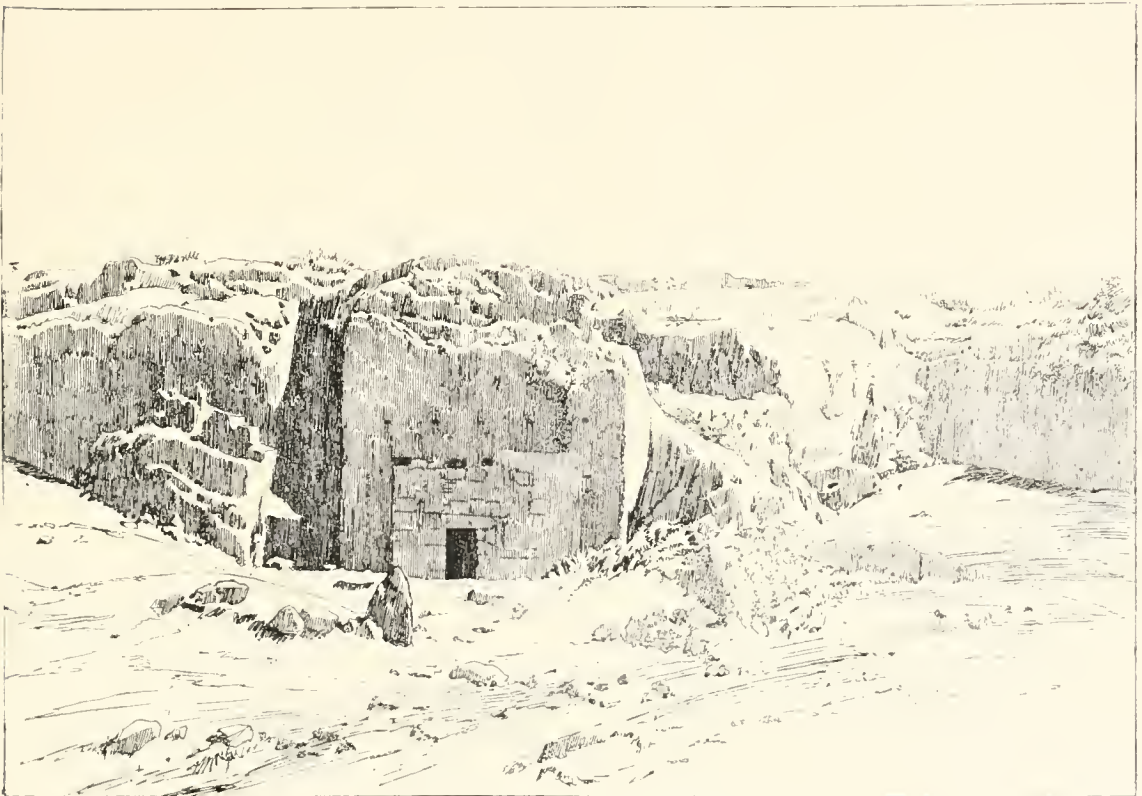
It will be observed that it was in this very region that in 1896 a remarkable sepulchre of this type was discovered, containing fresco paintings and remains of Greek inscriptions (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1896, p. 306; *cf. Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 132). There must be, therefore, in this place, within the triangle formed by the junction of the two roads to Neby Samwil and to Nâblus, a separate cemetery, consisting of a more or less considerable number of tombs of the altogether peculiar type which I discovered in 1894 at *Kerm esh Sheikh*. The rocky slopes, more especially those which lie between the little *wely* of Sheikh Jerrâh and the road to Neby Samwil, are full of sepulchral excavations more or less easily seen, which it would be interesting to explore and search.

In 1869 I made an excavation in a little sepulchre close to the Ash Heap, on the south-east side. It consisted of a single square chamber, hewn in the rock, with one arcosolium somewhat in the shape of the end of an oven, containing only two *kôkîm*, one of them unfinished. The arcosolium was hewn in the end wall of the sepulchral chamber, and covered a bench with a hollow two centimètres deep, which was cut on one side so as to receive the head of the corpse. Everything indicated that this

sepulchre had never been finished. This was proved by a very curious detail hitherto unique of its kind. I found, in fact, upon one of the plain walls, that on the right as one enters, a charcoal tracing of the arch of an arcosolium which was meant to be hewn out. This mark was in places reinforced by a scratch from some pointed tool. Although this sepulchre had never been finished, it has nevertheless been made use of; it was full of mould mixed with many pieces of bones and fragments of pottery. I picked up a small bronze thimble. The entrance of the tomb was still closed by its stone door fitted in the grooves framing the door.

THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF SIMON THE JUST.

Among the rock-hewn tombs on the north side of the *Wâd el Jauz*, to the north of the K'bûr es Salâtin, there is one which is of especial interest, owing



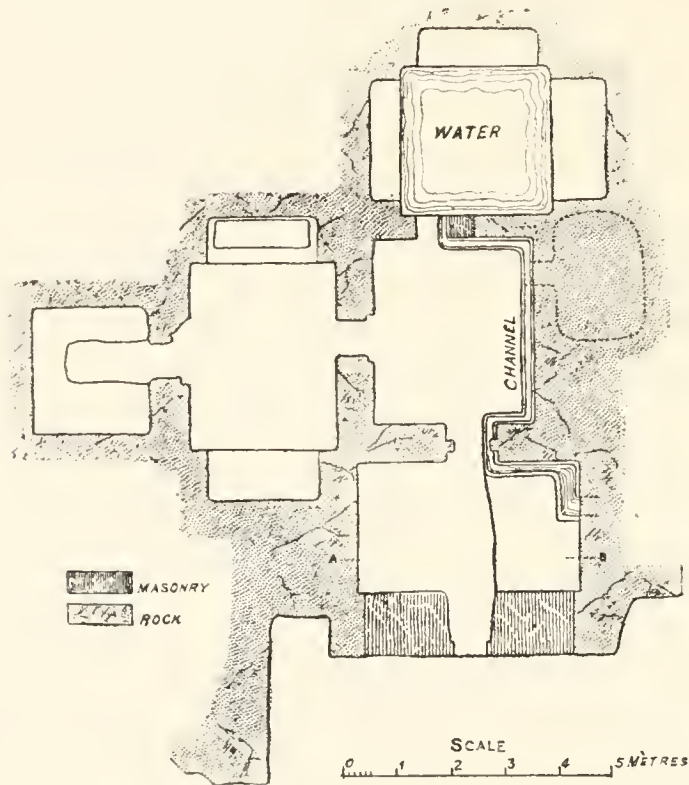
VIEW OF TOMB OF "SIMON THE JUST."

to the Jewish tradition still current which would see in it the tomb of *Shem'on es Siddik*, or Simon the Just. We made a detailed plan of it, which

differs in some points* from that of Lieutenant Mantell, which is given in the *Quarterly Statement* (1882, p. 143), and is reproduced in the *Memoirs* (*Jerusalem*, p. 378).

In the first place, on p. 267 is a sketch of the façade of the sepulchre, partly disfigured by a modern building.

As may be seen in the following plan, the chamber at the far end has been turned into a regular cistern, to which water is brought by a channel



PLAN OF TOMB OF "SIMON THE JUST."

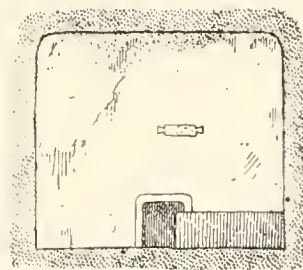
of masonry which passes along the right hand side walls of the ante-chamber and central chamber. With the exception of this merely accidental peculiarity, this sepulchre differs in no respect as regards its internal arrangements from the ordinary sepulchres which one finds by hundreds in Palestine. The arrangement of the loculi in arcosolia and not in "ovens" would indeed

* We have assumed the north-west angle of the first chamber as a right angle, but it appears as a very acute one on the plan in the *Memoirs*, and was probably measured by its author, a thing which we did not do; we contented ourselves with measuring the mean width (4^m.404) from the middle of the west wall to the middle of the east wall.

point to a comparatively late date. There seemed, therefore, to be nothing to support the curious legend attached to it, a legend whose authenticity it would be folly to discuss, and which even cannot be a very ancient one.

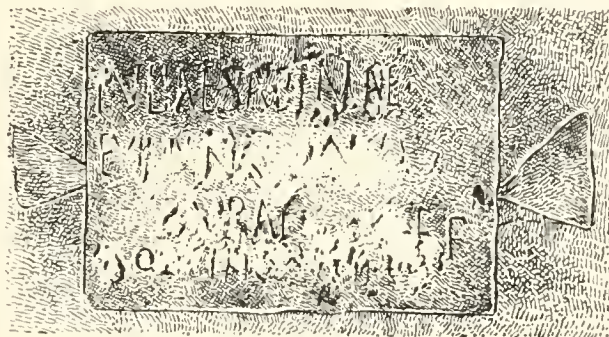
While carefully studying the interior of this sepulchre, apparently of such a commonplace character, I made in 1871 an unexpected and very interesting discovery, a *Roman inscription* whose existence had escaped the notice of the archæologists who had preceded me, even as it has that of those who have followed me, for up to the present day no one, as far as I know, has noticed it or mentioned it. It is not a *graffito*, but a large inscription carved in lapidary style in a cartouche with triangular tabs at the ends, engraved on the back wall of the ante-chamber, above the low door, about two mètres above the floor of the chamber. The following section, made from A to B (see plan), shows its exact position.

The length of the cartouche, counting the tabs, is 0^m·41. The wall above the door has been previously prepared with care over a certain portion of its surface, by light strokes of a toothed tool, to receive the inscription. This consists of four lines of narrow and slender letters, about 0^m·035 in height, delicately engraved. Unhappily it has been hammered with evident fury, which renders it very difficult to decipher, and also explains why it has not been hitherto noticed.



SECTION ON A B.

I took an excellent squeeze of it, which is here reproduced as faithfully as possible.



ROMAN INSCRIPTION IN THE TOMB OF "SIMON THE JUST."

The first line alone can be read with certainty: *Juliae Sabinae*. This name *Julia Sabina* reminds one of that of . . . *lius Sabinus*, first centurion of the

Tenth Legion Fretensis, a dedicatory inscription to whom I once brought to light from the inside of Jerusalem itself. Can our Julia Sabina have been the wife or daughter of this [Ju]lius Sabinus? The form of the letters in the two texts shows considerable similarity, moreover, the face of the stone in the one case and of the rock in the other seem to have been smoothed with the same toothed tool, worked in the same fashion. This identity of treatment is strikingly apparent when one compares the two squeezes. If this ancient Jewish tomb was re-adapted during the period of the Roman occupation to receive the body of a woman connected by marriage or by birth with one of the officers of the legion which bore so terrible a part in the war against the Jews, one can easily see how eager the latter must have been to obliterate as soon as they were able, the traces of this double profanation of one of the sepulchres of their ancestors, by hammering the epitaph thus insolently displayed.

The second line probably contained the names, in the nominative case, of the author of the dedication. The first letter seems to be an E or an L; the rest of the line is undecipherable, for the destructive hammer has raged over it. I can only distinguish here and there some strokes which it is hard to make into letters with any certainty. The third line, a very short one, seems to consist of the five letters CVRAT = *curator*? The last line, which is the longest of all, ends with a large F, possibly a siglum for *Fecit*. The second letter is an O, in pretty good preservation. At times one fancies that one can see *conjugi carissimæ* or *rarissimæ*, but this is very uncertain.

Mutilated though it is, the inscription nevertheless teaches us a new and important fact: that this sepulchre, which Jewish tradition regards as that of Simon the Just, received during the Roman period the remains of a woman named Julia Sabina.

ON THE WAY TO THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

In the direction of the Tombs of the Judges, to the east of and on a level with the Russian Buildings, I noted the existence of a great artificial mound of earth, broken pieces of paving stones, fragments of hewn rock, bits of mortar, evident traces of the hand of man.*

* I suppose that these are the ruins mentioned in the Notes on the Ordnance Survey, by Sir Charles Wilson. Subsequently a fellâh who had worked at this place assured me that lead water-pipes had been found there.

To the eastward of the Syrian Orphan Asylum, managed by Herr Schneller, there are heaps of hewn stone, a great cylindrical hollow stone, and little stone cubes of mosaic.

As one goes towards the Tombs of the Judges, on the left hand, above a small building of dry stones behind an olive tree, I have seen a doorway either built of stone or hewn out of the rock, with mouldings, half buried in the ground.

On the right hand, opposite the Tombs, on a little hill where the rock crops out, hewn vertically at right angles, I have noticed a sort of altar or apse(?) cut in the rock. The place is called *El Hasâhis* (الخصاحص?) I have also noticed hard by a very curious tomb with high interior doors arched at the top, and funerary benches. It is called *El Hammâm* (the Bath).

On the road leading to the Tombs of the Judges, at a spot which I cannot specify more exactly owing to a lacuna in my notes, I have remarked the sepulchre which is drawn below. It is interesting because of the transformation which it has been made to undergo, making a sepulchral niche into a cistern or drinking trough. A long vertical gutter has been cut in the rock to convey into the trough the rain water from the upper level. It is probable that this angle, now open to the sky, once formed part of a chamber whose roof has been broken in. In that case, the half buried doorway which we see on the left hand wall would not be an exterior door in the original façade, but an interior door connecting the two sepulchral chambers.



ROCK-CUT TOMB ON THE WAY TO THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

THE *Scopos*.

The *Scopos* where Cassius, and after him Titus, pitched their camps during their military operations against Jerusalem, was, according to Josephus, a commanding height, seven stadia to the north of Jerusalem, from which the city and the temple could be seen. It has been conjectured with some

probability that its name and position agreed with that of *Sapha*, to which the High Priest Jaddus advanced when he went to meet Alexander. The Jewish historian himself discusses the meaning of the Greek and Jewish names of *Scopos* and *Sapha*, both of which mean "a watch tower, a high place from which one commands an extensive view."

While studying this topographical question on the spot, in 1870, I made a discovery which ought to throw some light upon the exact position of *Scopos*: my discovery is briefly related by Captain Burton, to whom I referred it in 1871 (*Unexplored Syria*, Vol. I, p. 16; Vol. II, p. 308).

On the ancient Roman road leading from Jerusalem to Nâblus, between the *Wâd el Janz* and another little valley named *Wâd S'lcîm*, there is a remarkable height which is called *Sherefek* or *El Meshâref* (the plural of *el Meshrefeh*). These names, which signify "the place from which one sees, or discovers," are identical with the name *Scopos*. Quite close to this place, on the opposite side of the road, there is a large well or ancient cistern, whose presence would incline an army to halt there. Moreover, at this same place we find a number of *meshâhed*, or little heaps of stones, placed there by Moslems, according to a well known habit, because, as they have told me, that is the place from which they get their first view of Jerusalem and the Kubbet es Sakhra when coming from Nâblus. As far as names go, therefore, the place would have a serious claim to be regarded as *Scopos*, and the coincidence is all the more striking, because this is just where many archæologists, guided by other considerations, have decided to fix it.

There is, however, a very serious objection to this identification; it is, that the distance between the present wall of Jerusalem and the *Meshâref* is more than eleven stadia, whereas we only want seven to suit Josephus's statement. This difficulty was not so great at the not very distant period when it was supposed that ancient Jerusalem extended much further to the north than it does now. But at the present day, when it has been proved that the precincts of the city never extended north of the present wall, this objection gains new strength. It was this consideration which led me, during my stay at Jerusalem in 1873-74, to renew my study of the question on the spot, and to collect the names given by the fellâhin to the principal peaks on the mountain ridge called *Scopos*, which extends from *El Meshâref* to the northern crest of the Mount of Olives (*Viri Galilæi*).

To the north of *Viri Galilæi*, the ridge upon which in the Ordnance map the last letter of the word *Scopos* are written, is called *Ez Ze' 'weîka*. On its south side it is separated from *Viri Galilæi* by the ascent called

'*Akabat es Surwân*, with the road leading to El 'Aisâwiyeh. The ridge which joins it on the south-east bears the name of *El Muttalâ'*, which means "the look-out place." This name represents Scopos well enough, and the distance, measured from the north-east angle of the city wall of Jerusalem, is exactly seven stadia. Still, I hesitate about accepting this as Josephus's Scopos, because of its position. *El Muttalâ'* is, indeed, due east of Jerusalem, and I find it hard to believe that Titus, coming from the north, can have pushed on so far, all the more because the Xth legion, which marched from Jericho to join him before Jerusalem, was encamped on the Mount of Olives itself, at a distance of six stadia from the city. The two camps cannot have been so near one another as to be almost touching; Titus's object was to invest the place, and he must have posted his troops at a series of strategic points some distance apart from one another.

If we go to the north-west along the ridge of Scopos towards *El Meshâref*, as far as the gorge which is called *Khall't el 'Ajûz*, very near the place where the word "mount" appears in the Ordnance Survey map already mentioned, there is a high crest called *Bât'n el Battâsh*. This name is singularly like *Tell el Battâshch*, which is the name of an ancient camp which I discovered near Khulda.* The word *Battâsh* (= strong, powerful) perhaps here also preserves the memory of an ancient encampment, which may have been Titus's. The position, at a height of 2,724 feet 8 inches, is a very commanding one; it is the highest point of the whole range from the Mount of Offence to El Meshâref. All the neighbourhood is full of ancient cisterns, which must have been a valuable resource for the water supply of an army. Lastly, a matter of some importance, the distance from *Bât'n el Battâsh* to the north-east angle of the wall of Jerusalem is clearly seven stadia: the line between the two points runs pretty nearly north-east and south-west. I may add that, according to one of my notes, which unfortunately is not quite clear, one part of *Bât'n el Battâsh* is known to the fellahin under the distinctive name of *Sherefch*, a name analogous to *Meshâref* and *Scopos*.

RUJÛM EL B'HÎMEH.

About two hundred mètres east of *El Meshâref* I have noticed a group of stone heaps which the fellahin call *Rujûm el B'hîmch*, literally "the cairns

* Vol. II, p. 466.

of the animal." The special interest of these heaps lies in the fact that they are entirely formed out of a prodigious quantity of flint chips. I have only been able to pay them a passing visit; I promised myself that I would return, but had no leisure to do so. On my first examination I found that these heaps, which were oblong in shape, and contained some thousands of cubic mètres, deserved a more thorough study. I commend this task to future explorers.

How are we to account for the presence of this enormous mass of flint, all broken into small pieces? A few steps off, one sees the reef of rock from whence all these chips came, just showing through the earth. With what purpose did they thus break up the rock into tiny fragments? The piling of them together in a heap is comprehensible; it may have been done with a view to clearing them off the surface of the arable land for convenience of tillage. But what explanation can we find for the flints having been chipped? I thought directly, and am still inclined to think, that there must have been a workshop for chipped flints in this place. The existence of tools and arms made of flint in many parts of Palestine is a matter which at the present day does not admit of doubt. I need only remind the reader of the authenticated discovery of such implements at Beit Sâhûr, near Bethlehem, at Gezer and other places. It should furthermore be noted that the chipped flints from these two places, at a great distance from one another, are exactly alike in form. This likeness inclines one to suppose that the flint implements came from some few manufacturing centres, and were sent out from them to the rest of Palestine. This mode of production is a very probable one, especially if we remember that the strata containing numbers of flints suitable for working exist only in certain districts, and that it is therefore probable that the manufacture was carried on close to where the raw material was obtained.

If this be so, ought we to see in the Rujûm el B'himeh the waste products of one of these primitive factories, which supplied the land of Canaan? I am not as yet able to affirm this, but I am greatly inclined to believe it. We were only able to spend a few minutes in looking over the surface of these heaps for specimens of chipped flint; we found numbers which seemed only to have been roughed out and prepared; others, again, seemed to have been begun and then thrown away; we did not find one perfect specimen which we could positively declare to be a weapon or a tool. I did intend to have cross diggings made

in these heaps to satisfy my curiosity; but my attention was directed to other matters.

I must add that the local tradition (which I got from the lips of a fellâh of Liftâ) says that this is the site of an ancient city, a *beled*, or "inhabited place." With regard to the flints themselves it is mute, merely describing them by the ordinary name of *Suwâânât* (silex). We also, by the way, picked up on the surface some broken pieces of apparently ancient *terra-cotta*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WEST SIDE OF THE CITY.

THE TOMBSTONE OF JEAN DE VALENCIENNES.

The works of enlargement and improvement undertaken in 1874 between the Protestant School and the English Burial Ground, on the south-western edge of the traditional Mount Sion, as well as the researches of Mr. Maudslay at this point, have disclosed, as my readers know, a part of the original fortifications of the city, whose excavation has since then been renewed and carried out with so much success by Dr. Bliss. The ditch, with its scarp, and here and there its counterscarp, hewn out of the living rock, was at this time traced at its full depth for a distance of about 150 mètres, and showed clearly, by its curves, that there must have been a series of square towers standing out from the wall, and connected by curtains. The buildings, which must once have risen from this basement of work and have followed its shape, existed no longer. The ramparts and the towers had fallen, and lay at the foot of the escarpment, where, subsequently, this avalanche of blocks of hewn stone had been covered with earth. The chief object of the excavations was to get out these blocks of stone, which furnished excellent building material all ready for use on other works.

I naturally watched these operations with great care, more especially examining the blocks of stone as they came out: plain ashlar, bases and shafts of columns, keystones, etc. . . . all of great size and fine specimens. I soon became certain that all these stones, from the fashion in which they were hewn, could not be of an earlier date than the period of the Crusades. They showed for the most part that altogether characteristic tooling, peculiar, as I have pointed out, to Western masons, which appears in Palestine when they appeared, and disappeared with them. However, this verdict appeared a somewhat rash one to those who were in charge of the diggings, or who,

like myself, were watching them, for they were inclined to see in this collection of stones the remains of buildings of the greatest antiquity.

The appearance of two or three masons' marks upon some of these blocks confirmed me in my view. At last a final incontrovertible proof appeared, and proved me to be right.

At the foot of the escarpment, among the heap of stones which had slid down there, they brought out at last a great fragment of a slab bearing an inscription which gave a date to the chaos, and distinctly showed that at this side of the city the greatest depth to which they had dug down did not date earlier than the time of the Crusades.

We may conclude from this that whatever may be the real date of this part of the fortifications of the so called Mount Sion, they were at any rate put into proper condition by the Crusaders. After their departure the buildings which they erected upon the scarp must have fallen down, or been cast down, and their materials became subsequently covered with earth.

This slab, which is of fine hard calcareous stone, had been broken across somewhere about the middle, and the lower part was lost. When unbroken it must have formed an oblong trapezoid, wider at the top than at the bottom; it greatly resembles in shape and proportions the tombstone of Philippe d'Aubigny, already described.* The edges are bevelled; the width, measuring across the top, is 0^m·79; the thickness, 0^m·13. The oblique mediæval tooling is still to be seen on several parts of the surface, which, as well as the bevel, was finally polished; the lower side is merely tooled.† The text consists of two lines, which can be read without difficulty. *Hic requiescit Jo(hannes) de Valencinis.* "Here rests John of Valenciennes."



CRUSADING INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, so unambitious in its character, is perhaps unfinished. What inclines one to think so, is the absence of the cross, though it

* See p. 106.

† The original, it seems, has since then passed into the little museum of antiquities collected in St. Anne's Convent (*Quarterly Statement*, 1887, p. 78).

looks as if a space had been left before the word *Hic* wherein this necessary symbol might be placed.

The letters are very well and very deeply cut; they show, even in the same words, intentional palæographical variations like those which we find on the tombstone of Philippe d'Aubigné. The remarkable similarity of these two monuments emboldens me to conjecture that they must be pretty nearly contemporary, that the tombstone of Jean de Valenciennes is perhaps unfinished, that its epitaph was intended, like that of d'Aubigné, to begin with a little cross and to end less abruptly, by some pious formula respecting the soul of the departed. In this case they would not even have taken the trouble to cut the three points which were intended to separate the words: the necessary intervals have been left blank, and have never been filled up. Similarly one may suppose that the slab was originally intended to contain the coat of arms of the deceased, which might have aided us in identifying him. But the face of the stone below the inscription, though a great deal of it has been preserved, shows no trace of any thing of the kind.

It is difficult to say exactly who this personage was. We find in authentic documents concerning the Crusades* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a number of people bearing the name of Jean de Valenciennes, without anything to prove that our deceased Crusader was one of them. I was at first inclined to think that our monument must belong to the twelfth century, and be of an earlier date than the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin. At the present time, after carefully weighing the evidence, and taking into consideration the great resemblance which this stone bears in every respect to that of d'Aubigné, and the historical fact, to which we cannot attach too much importance from an archæological point of view, that, thanks to the "evil peace" concluded in 1229 between the Emperor Frederick II and Sultan El Kâmel, the Crusaders re-occupied Jerusalem for some fifteen years, I should perhaps be rather inclined to refer our newly found tombstone to that period. The hurried fashion in which the Crusaders were finally turned out of the Holy City in 1244, by the invasion of the Kharesmians, would account very well for the obviously unfinished appearance of the stone. Under these conditions, our hypotheses are limited to the namesakes of this personage belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century, and more especially to the period 1229-1244. These conditions seem to exclude

* See those which I have quoted in the *Musée Archéologique*, 1875, Tom. I, p. 264, in the various forms *Johannes de Valentienues*, *de Valentines*, or *Valentines*, *de Valantina*, *de Valancinis*.

all the Jolins of this family hitherto known. Perhaps Jean de Valenciennes was the father or uncle of the Jean de Valenciennes who followed St. Louis in his Crusade in 1250; the fact of this latter having been entrusted by the king of France with the task of opening negotiations with the Sultan of Egypt,* seems to argue a certain experience of Eastern habits, due perhaps to a long residence in the Holy Land, where the family of Jean de Valenciennes had been established at least since the middle of the eleventh century.

THE CEMETERY OF MÂMILLÂ.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem there is a spot which I wish especially to point out to future explorers as being almost certain to yield monuments and inscriptions of the Crusading period, and possibly even more interesting ones, if permission could be obtained to make explorations there. This is the Moslem cemetery which lies without the gates of the city, round the great pool known under the name of Birket Mâmillâ.

This seems to me to be especially indicated by a clue given in the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, which proves that at the period of the Crusaders there was a Christian cemetery on this spot, with a church. "Praeterea ecclesiam et cimiterium extra portam David, juxta viam qua itur Bethleem."†

The Gate of David is that which the Arabs at the present day call *Bâb el K'halîl* (Gate of Hebron), and which Europeans call the Jaffa Gate. The present road‡ to Bethlehem starts from the gate, which is sometimes for this reason called the Bethlehem Gate, and immediately dips down to the south into the valley called Hinnom,§ across which it passes obliquely in order to make its way between the Birket es Sultân and the Jewish foundation of Sir Moses Montefiore. There is no room on this side for the church and

* Joinville, § 469.

† *Cartulaire de l'Église du St. Sépulchre*, p. 234 (Bull. of Pope Celestin III, relating to divers privileges belonging to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre).

‡ I am speaking here and hereafter of the state of things which existed down to 1874, which has probably been altered now that a proper road passable for wheeled carriages has been made from Jerusalem to Bethlehem.

§ The present Arabic name for it is *Wâd Rebâbeh*, or more correctly, as I find it in one of my old notebooks, *Wâd Rebâbât* or *Rebbâbât*. The northern part of the valley, towards the beginning of it, is called *Wâd el Meis*.

cemetery of which we are treating. On the contrary, the old road, whose course can still be traced, proceeded due west towards the Birket Mâmillâ, crossed the valley at its upper end, before it becomes deep, and, turning due south a little way before it reaches the *Birkeh*, arrived by an almost level route on to the high plateau which leads to Bethlehem, avoiding, by this detour, the distressing descent into the valley of Hinnom, immediately followed by an ascent out of it, of the present road. It is this old road, which skirts the southern side of the ancient Moslem cemetery; the road is still used for visits to St. Cross, to 'Ain Kârem, and to Bethlehem itself, turning off at the spot which I have pointed out, a little before coming to the *Birkeh*, and is, as I know from personal experience, the only possible road for those who wish to attempt the arduous task of driving in a carriage from Christ's tomb to his birth-place.

I may, moreover, support my opinion by quoting a document which has the advantage of putting things even more plainly, both from the topographical and the historical point of view. This is a charter of the year 1179, which deals with an exchange effected between Nicholas Manzur and the Hospital of St. John, of a piece of land with a vineyard,* bounded on the east by the road which leads to Bethlehem (*viam publicam que vadit ad Bethleem*), on the south, by a piece of land belonging to the Greek nuns† and the Armenians of the Order of St. James; on the west, by the old road which leads to the *Patriarch's Pool* (*viam veterem que ducit ad lacum Patriarche*), and, on the north, by the cemetery of the Holy Sepulchre (*cimiterium Dominici Sepulchri*). This description agrees in all respects with what I have already set forth, and furthermore proves that this was the cemetery of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, who depended directly on the Patriarch. At‡ the same time, we see how the name of *Patriarch's Pool* came to be applied to the Birket Mâmillâ. It should be noted that then, as at the present day, this Birkeh was used to supply the pool called Hammâm el Batrak, or "The Patriarch's Bath," within the walls of Jerusalem, which, as I have already demonstrated, p. 124, is no other than the *Lacus Balnearum* which belonged to the Patriarch at the time of the Crusades. It is therefore easy to see how,

* Cartulary of the Order of St. John, in *The Archives*, etc., edited by Delaville Le Roulx, p. 139.

† Cf. the *Abaié de Nonnains*, of which mention will presently be made.

‡ The Patriarch's proper title was *Patriarcha Sanctæ Resurrectionis Ecclesiæ*, and the chapter of Canons was directly dependent upon him.

in Crusading times, the Birket Mâmillâ, the reservoir which supplied the Birket Hammâm el Batrak, received the name of "the Patriarch's Pool."

This is the cemetery to which the anonymous writer of the Rothelin* MS. gives the name of "The Charnel House of the Lion," and which he places near the "Patriarch's Pool," which itself lay "without the David Gate, toward the setting sun."† After relating the legend explaining the origin of the name "Charnel House of the Lion," telling‡ how the corpses of Christians slain in a battle against the Saracens were buried by a lion during the night, the writer adds: "and above the charnel house was a minster where they sang every day."§ This *minster* is the *ecclesia* of the *Cartulary*. A league further on, that is to say, along the same road, was found an *Abaie de Nonnains*, which is perhaps the present convent of St. Cross.

From the other side Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, pp. 413, 414) speaks of a Mohammedan cemetery called *Mâmillâ*,|| and situated on the west side of Jerusalem, as being the largest of all the cemeteries which lie round about the Holy City:

"It contains," says he, "the graves of men who were illustrious for their learning or their piety, or who fell in battle against the infidels. The name of *Mâmillâ* is derived sometimes from *ma mann Allah*, "that which God hath granted," sometimes from *Bâb Allah*, "the Gate of God," and sometimes from *Zeitân el Milla*, "the olive tree of the religion," or "of the nation."

"The Jews call it *Beit Milla* (Mello?) and the Christians *Bâbîla* (Babylas?). The ground there is rocky, and it is hard to dig graves in it."

He is continually quoting the cemetery of *Mâmillâ* as the place where such and such illustrious personages mentioned in his chronicle were buried.

* *Recueil des Hist. des Crois, Occident*, II, pp. 502, 503.

† "Dehorz la porte David, par devers soleil couchant."

‡ "Charnier au lion." Many other contemporary and later descriptions relate the same legend, with more or less important variations. Some of them may be found in Tobler's *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II, p. 181.

§ "Et desur le charnier avoit .I. moustier où l'on chantoit chacun jour."

|| I accent this word thus, relying upon the pronunciation which has remained in use down to our own time.

In the days of this historian a considerable edifice, a Mohammedan *Zâwiye*h called *El Kalenderiyeh*, stood in the middle of the cemetery ; it was even then falling into ruin. "It was in ancient times," he tells us, "a church built by the Greeks (*Rûm*) known by the name of *Ed Deir el Ahmar*, 'the red convent,' and was held in especial veneration by the Christians." The church here mentioned is again our *ecclesia* of the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre.

Lastly, there can be no doubt that it was the same church which receives a passing mention in the description of the Holy Land written by Bernard the Monk (§ xix ; the work was written about the year 870), which throws a great light upon the identity and situation of the building, the exact form of its name, and the more or less historical origin of the legend localised there :

"Est inter hec, ad occidentalem partem Ierosolyme, civitatis milliario uno, ecclesia Sancte *Mamille*,* in qua sunt multa corpora martyrum qui, a Sarracenis† interfecti, ab ipsa sunt ibi diligenter conditi."

The remembrance of the sanctuary of this Sta. Mamilla was preserved, at all events in Greek tradition, as late as the twelfth‡ century.

This at all events justifies Mujîr ed Din in what he says about the Byzantine origin of the building. It follows distinctly from this quotation that the church of Sta. Mamilla stood on the west side of Jerusalem, which agrees perfectly with the position of the Birket Mâmillâ and of the Kalenderiyeh which stood near it, although the distance of a mile seems rather large measure. We also conclude that the pool has probably borrowed its name from the adjoining church ; that this church was from the ninth century downwards of the character of a mortuary chapel ; and finally that the fabulous lion of the legend, who buried the dead bodies, is probably nothing more than a mythical version of the deed of this Sainte Mamilla, a version which is apparently due to some phonetic blunder

* Observe the spelling, with two *l*s, which justifies the modern pronounciation *Mâmillâ*.

† The current legend attributes it not to Arabs, but to Persians during the invasion of Chosroes. For further details, see my *Étude sur la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, in my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, tom. II, p. 144. Cf. *Quarterly Statement*, 1898, p. 41.

‡ Description of the Russian Abbot Daniel. § lvii : *Agia Mamilla*, with the cavern containing the bodies of martyrs who suffered at Jerusalem in the reign of Heraclius, two bow-shots from the Tower of David, which is the Jaffa Gate.

turning on her name or the name of some other personage* associated with her by tradition.

This strange legend, moreover, appears in very different forms. I have found it, for instance, with curious variants, in a very ancient description of the Holy Places written by an Arab Christian in a MS. which I am preparing for publication. I find there that, according to the testimony of a writer named 'Aly ben 'Obeid,† one sees, near the Gate of the Mihrâb of David (the Jaffa Gate), before you come to Jerusalem, a church called أبو جرج, where it is meritorious to pray before entering the Holy City.

"This church," he adds, "is at the present time in ruins. Beside it are a *Birkch* (our Birket Mâmillâ) and a *cave*, wherein lie the bones of a host of martyrs of the time of Sapor, king of Persia." Here follows an account of the taking of Jerusalem by Sapor, in the reign of Heraclius, and of the destruction of the churches and the murder of the inhabitants of Jerusalem by the Jews, etc. "The corpses of the victims," continues our author, "were cast into the Birket لعلل (sic for لعلل Mâmillâ). After the massacre there

* Perhaps some one named *Leon* or *Leontios*? The legend of Thomas and his wife burying and counting the bodies of the victims of the Persians, is perhaps another version of this legend of Sta. Mamilla. Moreover, the personality of this Sainte Mamilla is most obscure. One may ask whether *Mamilla* may not be a slightly altered form of *Babylas*, relying on the name of *Bâbilâ* which was applied by the Christians to Mâmillâ according to Mujir ed Din, and on the existence, according to the Anonymous Pilgrim preserved by L. Allatius, of a monastery of *Hagios Babylas*, which stood at a distance of five stadia from Jerusalem on the road to St. Cross, at the place where St. George suffered martyrdom.

† 'Aly ben 'Obeid el 'Irâky (a native of Irak). Evidently a Mohammedan, from the look of these names. The work mentioned is lost, and its author is unknown, which is all the more to be regretted, because our Christian writer, who is himself unknown, quotes him several times as his principal authority. One may at first be tempted to identify him with 'Aly el Herewy, who was born at Mosul, of a family which originally belonged to Herat; but this will not do: the latter was the son, not of 'Aly, but of Abû Bekr. Besides this, it seems to result from a passage which I quote further on, that our unknown author wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century, whereas 'Aly el Herewy belongs to the twelfth century. Yet his existence and that of his book are no myth, for, as M. de Goeje has pointed out to me, our 'Aly, son of 'Obeid, is quoted by Yâkût in his *Môjem el Buldân* as an authority for the spelling of the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Damascus; Yâkût calls him *Abû'l Hasan* (which is a surname or *konyeh*) 'Aly ben Obeid el Kûfy, that is to say, "who was born at Kûfa." Kûfa is indeed in "Irâk," which justifies the epithet *El 'Irâky* which our Christian document bestows upon its 'Aly ben 'Obeid.

‡ *Abû Jurh*, literally "the Father of the Wound." The name is so punctuated in the MS.; but perhaps the diacritical points are wrongly placed, and it should be read quite differently. For instance, أبو جرج, "St. George"? About the existence of the legend of St. George in this quarter, see above, note *.

came an old woman accompanied by her female dog;* she and her dog carried the bodies of the victims into this cave. The bodies remained intact, without decomposition; the blood could still be seen quite fresh. Such," ends our author, "is the tale told by 'Aly ben 'Obeid in his book, where he says that the massacre took place six hundred years ago."†

The legend also seems to have varied to a remarkable extent, while always remaining connected with this place, marked out by the actual presence of a great deposit of dead bodies, which it explains in divers fashions. I believe, indeed, that it is here that we ought to find the "two caves containing the bodies of the *Holy Innocents* massacred by *Herod*," which caves used to be shown on the west side of Jerusalem on the road leading to 'Ain Kârem,‡ six miles before one arrives at that village, according to the tale of the monk Epiphanius.§ The name of Herod must have been substituted for that of Chosroes, and the victims of the Persian invasion turned into those of the Jewish king.

Whatever it may have been originally, it seems that the ancient Mâmillâ cemetery during the period of the Crusades, must have had many funerary monuments placed in it. I have, indeed, found scattered here and there round about the elegant Moslem chapel called *El K'ebekiyeh*, quite a number of carved and moulded blocks of stone, which leave no doubt possible on this matter. Some of them may still be seen above ground, others are half sunk in the earth, which probably conceals many others, perhaps with inscriptions on them. The greater part of these blocks were hewn into a prismatic shape, with a shelving ridge, sometimes connected with a base; they all show the mediæval tooling with oblique strokes. I have not found any trace of an epitaph upon any of them; but it is probable that as they have been used over again for Mohammedan tombs, the inscriptions have been obliterated.

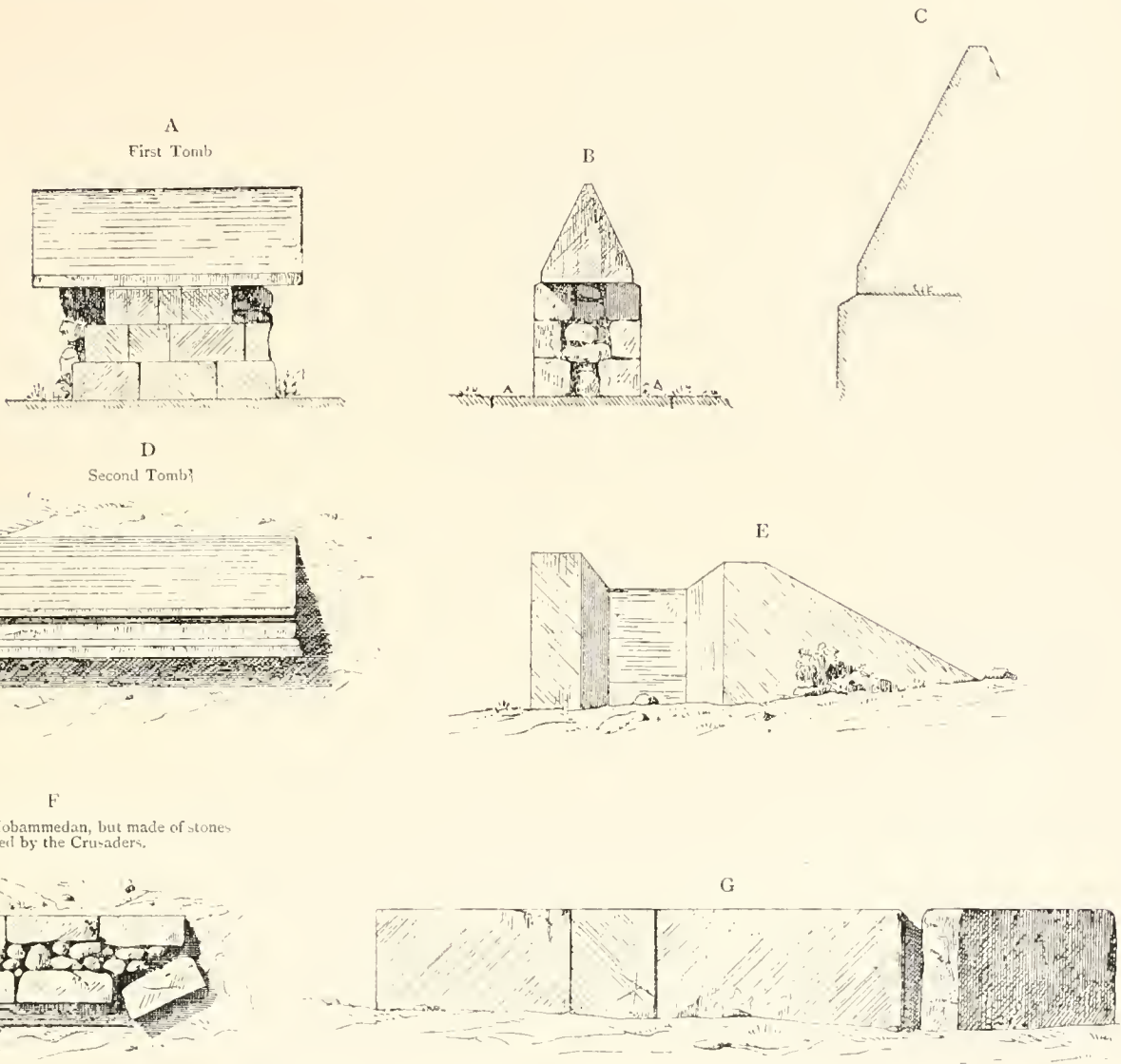
* A curious variant of the famous *lion*.

† This last hint, vague though it be, may nevertheless throw some light upon the date of this 'Aly ben 'Obeid, whose work, which is unhappily lost, must have been exceedingly interesting. As the Persian invasion took place in 614, this would make him out to have been writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

‡ Καμήλιον ὄρος, ἢ πατρὶς τοῦ Προδρόμου.

§ See the two versions of this description of the Holy Places published in the eleventh number of the Proceedings of the Russian Palestine Society, pp. 3 and 13, *cf.* p. 130. The date of this description is roughly put at the middle of the ninth century. Draeseke (*Byzant. Zeitschr.*, 1895, p. 346) would even refer him to the eighth century.

On one of them I have even made out a mason's mark on one of the blocks, distinctly cut, and surely not Arab (Fig. G). Here are some specimens of these interesting monuments which we have planned.

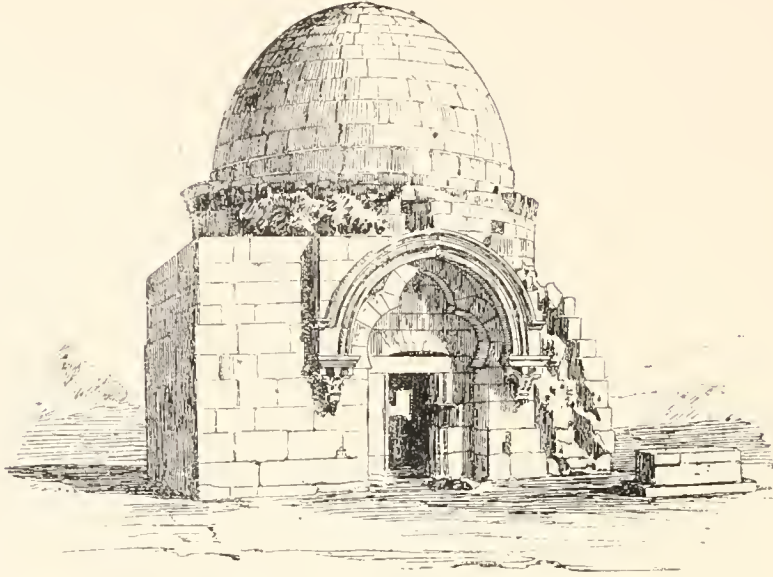


A. Elevation of side. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.
 B. Elevation of end. „
 C. Details. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.
 D. View from above (actual state). Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

E. Elevation of end (actual state). Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.
 F. Plan. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.
 G. Side elevation, with mason's mark. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

Near the north-east angle of the Birkeh stands an elegant and picturesque Mohammedan *kubbeh*, which unfortunately was already falling

into ruin in 1874, and which at the present day must be in a piteous state if nothing has been done to arrest its decay.



FUNERARY CHAPEL CALLED EL. KEBEKIYEH.

The above illustration will give a good enough idea of the general appearance of this monument, with which I shall deal in detail further on. As we are told by the Arabic *tarîkh* set above the door, this is the mortuary chapel of 'Alâ ed Din . . . the son of 'Abd Allah, surnamed *El Kebeky* (المعروف بالكبكي), who died on Tuesday, the fifth day of the month Ramadhân, A.H. 688 (September 23, 1289 A.D.). Mujîr ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 414) mentions this remarkable funerary chapel in the following terms: "The Zâwiyeh el Kebekiyeh. In the cemetery of Mâmillâ there is a well-built kubbeh known by the name of *El Kebekiyeh*, after that of the Emir 'Alâ ed Din Aydoghdy, the son of 'Abd Allah el Kebeky." He gives the date of this personage's death, which agrees exactly with that which may be read on the *tarîkh*. Unless Mujîr ed Din has made some mistake, we must, it seems, distinguish between this personage and his all but namesake, the great Emir 'Alâ ed Din Aydoghdy, who also was the son of 'Abd Allah, and who died in the month of Shawwâl in the year 690, and was buried in the *ribât* which he had caused to be made near the Haram, at the Bâb en Nâdher.*

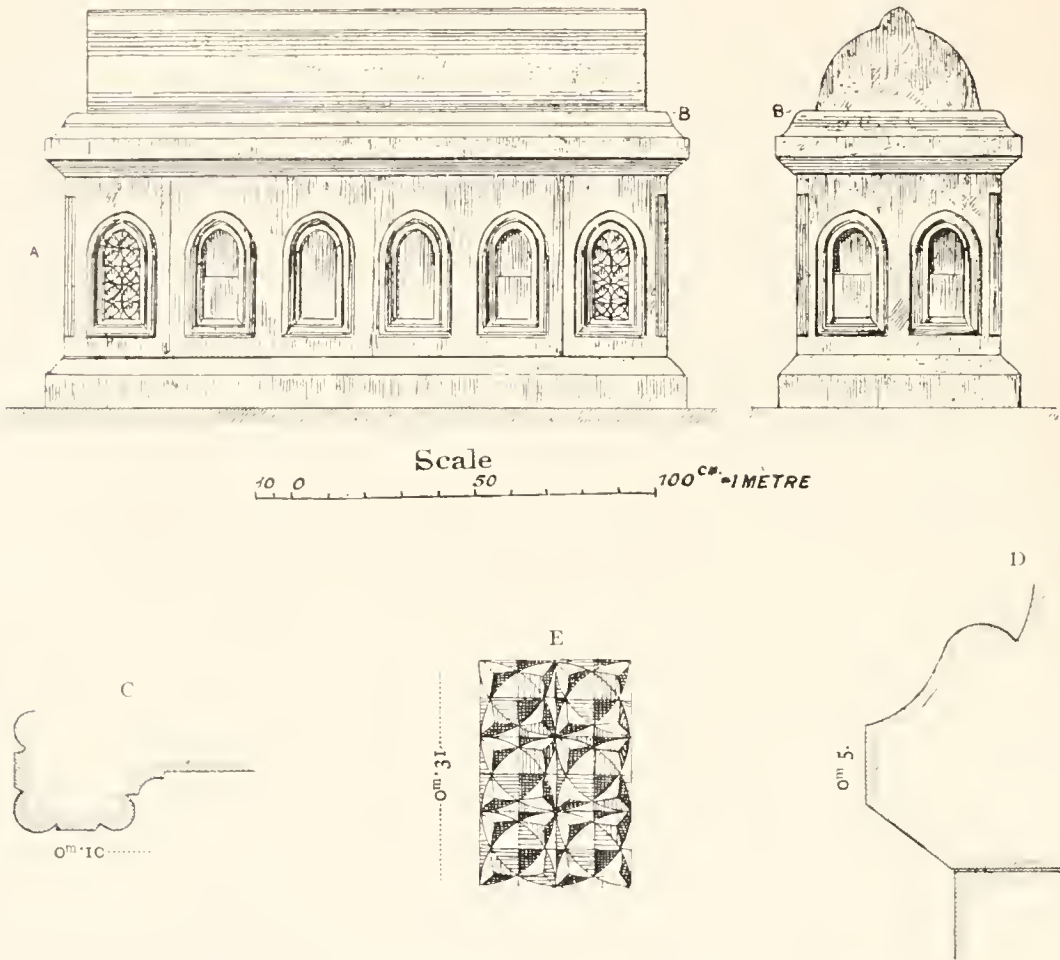
* Mujîr ed Din, *op. c.*, pp. 383. 394, 605, 57.

If then we are to believe the *tarikh*, which is confirmed by Mujir ed Din, the Kebekiyeh must have been built a little before the year 688 A.H. But a glance at the monument suffices to show that the architectural forms which enter into its construction have never been wrought by Arab masons of the end of the thirteenth century. The conclusion to which I have come is, that materials belonging to an earlier period, that of the Crusaders, have been to a great extent used over and over again. These materials must have been found on the spot, and they may perhaps have belonged to that very *ecclesia* which stood in the cemetery of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, a sort of mortuary chapel, whose façade, at least, may have been left untouched. The elegant archivolt beneath which opens the door of the Kebekiyeh, with the two little columns with sculptural capitals, now partly destroyed,* by which it is supported, appear to me to be an altogether mediæval piece of work : it is a pointed, but only very slightly pointed arch, with a vertical joint in the middle, of carefully dressed stone, and its mouldings are exactly the same as those of many arches existing in various churches built by the Crusaders. The style of the capitals and the profiles of the abacus are quite in accordance with this conjecture. A more careful examination of the materials only confirms this. On all four sides of the monument, especially on the south-east, which is the one in best preservation, I have found many Latin masons' marks which place their origin beyond doubt. (For this detail see the Special plate, and the accompanying table, under the head "Kebekiyeh"). The principal work of the Arab masons might have consisted in building the cupola ; and even to prove this one would have to examine minutely the blocks of which it is composed, a thing which I was not able to do.

The interior of the building itself furnishes us with an additional piece of evidence in favour of this theory, and one of great interest from other points of view. In the midst of the square chamber, which is roofed over by the lofty cupola, and lighted by four windows pierced in three of its sides, we see a magnificent cenotaph, which stands on one side, and beneath which the body of the Emir ought to rest, but which assuredly never was carved for him. The faithful drawing of it, which I give below, much of the delicacy of which has unfortunately been lost by its too hurriedly executed engraving,

* My recollections and notes do not enable me to say whether these columns are "kneel shafts." If they are, it is another argument in favour of my theory.

renders it unnecessary for me to describe it at length. I think that no one would hesitate to recognise in it a Western piece of work, belonging to the twelfth, or perhaps even to the eleventh century.

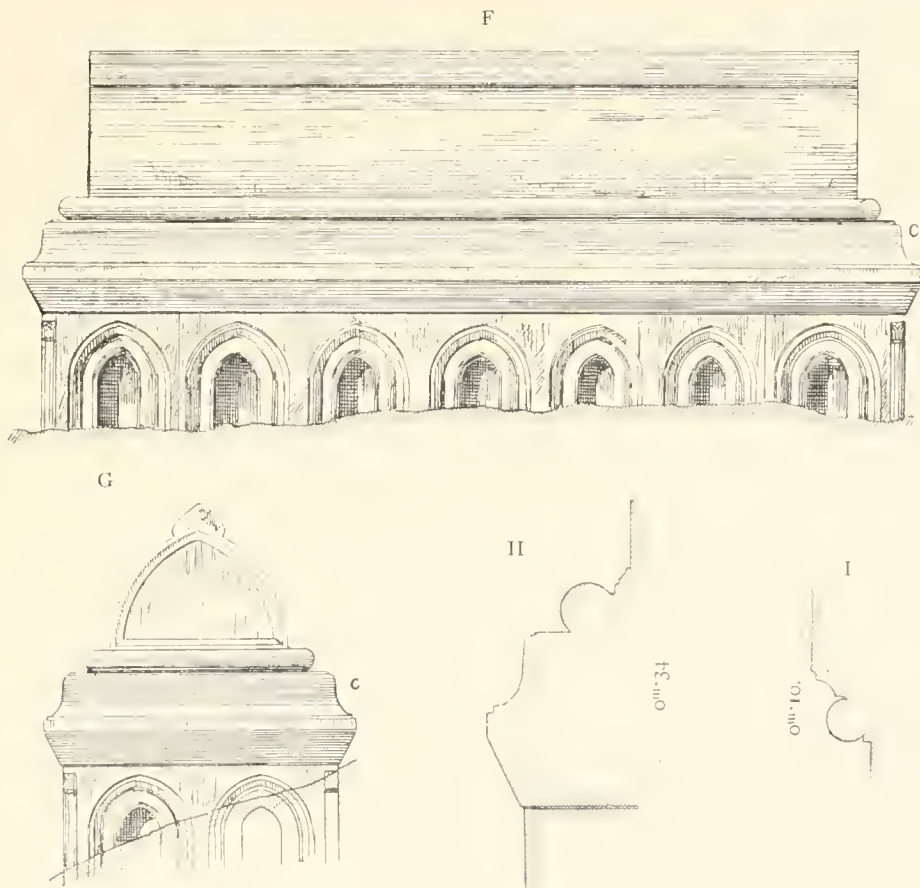


- A Side elevation.
- B End elevation.
- C Profile at the angle A.
- D Profile of the moulding B.
- E Detail of diaper work in arcade.

The mediæval tooling is still visible on several of the large blocks of which the body of the centotaph is composed. It should be noticed that it is only the two blind arches at each end of the sides which have been ornamented with the diaper work, which is of a delightfully delicate character. Eight of the other arches, that is, two on each side and two at each end, have their upper part countersunk, while the four remaining ones, being the two

middle ones on each side, are filled with plain hewn stone. They were perhaps intended to contain either figures, or at all events some surface ornamentation of the same kind as that which we see in the two end arches of each side. Of course the figures, if ever carved, would not have been spared by Mohammedan purism. The same mishap must have befallen the mediæval epitaph, which probably was inscribed upon this fine tomb. It will be noticed that the two arches next to the end ones on the side of the tomb, as well as the two at each end, only have their filling cut away for half the height of the arch.

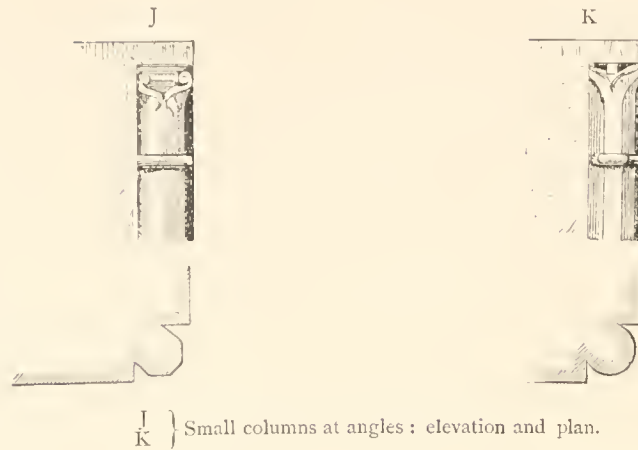
Not far from the Kebekiyeh, within the cemetery itself, in the midst of Mohammedan tombs, I remarked another carved cenotaph, half buried in the earth. It shows a remarkable likeness to the other, as may be seen by comparing the elevation given below with that on p. 288.



F Side elevation. } Scale same as that of A B, p. 288.
G End elevation. }

H Profile of the moulding.

I Profile of the moulding of the arcade.



The stones of this tomb, like those of the former, bear the marks of mediæval tooling. It should be noticed that the niches Nos. 3, 4, and 5 (counting from the left), which are all hewn out of the same block of stone, are smaller and more rudely worked than the others.

I think that we shall not be too rash in assuming these two fine cenotaphs to be tombstones which originally belonged to high dignitaries of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, whose burial ground and mortuary chapel, as I think I have amply proved, are represented at this day by the Mohammedan cemetery of Mâmillâ and the Kebekiyeh.

CHAPTER XII.

TO THE SOUTH OF THE CITY.

EXCAVATIONS IN A CAVE ON MOUNT SION.

While exploring the slopes of what is traditionally known as Mount Sion, with a view to studying the question of the ancient city wall and the very important problems connected with it, I observed a large and curious cave at the bottom of the south side of the hill, about 280 feet west of the great mulberry tree which stands at the south-east corner of the "Old Pool" in the Ordnance Survey Plan. The entrance is very narrow, but soon afterwards the cave, which seems to have been partly hewn out by human labour, grows considerably larger, and leads almost horizontally into the side of the hill. At the end of it, a roughly hewn pillar supports the roof of the cave; beyond this one sees the entrance to other galleries, nearly full of earth, so that one is obliged to crawl along them in order to pass between the floor and the roof. As I wished to ascertain the direction in which this curious cave extended, I decided to begin digging. I started by having a narrow trench, of no great depth, made along the main branch, intending to drive it as far as this branch went, and subsequently to dig down to the original floor, and also to clear out the other branches of the cave. We had got about 15 mètres from the entrance, when I was taken ill, and was obliged to abandon my explorations. I resumed them some time afterwards, but did not push forward any further. I brought the workmen back again, and set them meanwhile to dig right down to the rock. These excavations, which unluckily I soon had to break off in order to attend to other work, led to the discovery of an incredible amount of broken fragments of different kinds, which were heaped up in this great cave. First of all there was a mass of bones all flung together as if in a charnel house. These bones, which seemed to me to be human, formed more particularly the upper layers of the accumulated earth which partly filled the cave. Next came thousands of pieces of pottery, some of which looked very ancient. Next came a great number of fragments of great vases made both of soft and of hard stone (calcareous rock, marble, and basalt), turned in

the lathe and ornamented with very carefully cut flutings and mouldings. Lastly came many stones shaped like weights, grindstones, etc. I had some of this rubbish carried away, and give here a rough list of it, with figures of a few specimens.

Six rubbers* of hard stone and of black basalt.



Black basalt. Length 0^m·095.



Black basalt. Length 0^m·075; the rubbing surface is distinctly convex.

Six hard stone balls of different sizes.

Six pieces of terra-cotta: these are slightly convex, and pierced with little round holes, very regularly arranged in pairs. (Were these holes meant to hold strings to hang them up by?)



1 centimetre thick.



A piece of a terra-cotta colander (?).

A great number of thick amphora handles, some of them with various marks engraved upon them, both before and after baking, and several bottoms of terra-cotta vases, some bearing cruciform marks.

A



A. Amphora handle 0^m·09 long.

B



B. Amphora handle.

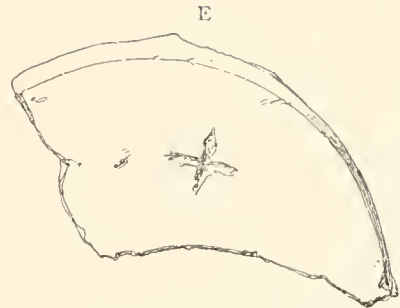
* Stones such as are used to grind colours, etc.



C. Bottom of a cup with a very low small foot. 0^m.07 in diameter.



D. Piece of a tile. 0^m.01 thick.

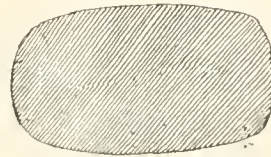


E. Round piece of a flat-bottomed vase made of soft calcareous stone. 0^m.10 in diameter; 0^m.01 to 0^m.02 thick.

Many weights of hard calcareous stone, in the shape of discs of varying thickness.

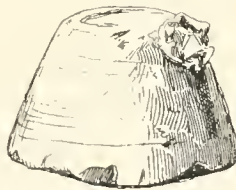


0^m.09 in diameter. 0^m.052 in thickness.
Weight 11.240 grains.



Transverse section.

Sundry unidentified objects made of soft calcareous rock, worked on a lathe into conical shapes.



Diameter 0^m.072. Height 0^m.047.

Observe the incrustation, formed by the calcareous deposit of the cave, upon the piece of stone figured above. I have ascertained that stalactites exist in the cave.



Rubber (?) of soft calcareous stone. 0^m.065 high.



Piece of a little phial of thick terra-cotta, with two openings. 0^m.035 high.

For the rest, see Rough List, in Appendix to Vol. II, pp. 485 and 486, Nos. 30-46.

What can this cave have been originally? I regret that I was not able to clear it out more thoroughly, and it would certainly be worth while for someone to continue my work. I am much inclined to believe that it was an ancient quarry, perhaps a very extensive one, although I have only explored one branch of it: a quarry which at some hitherto unascertained period furnished Jerusalem with building materials, as did the Royal caves in the northern part. In this quarter of the city the workmen found their stones here as it were ready to their hands. Later on, probably many centuries later, the cave was partly filled up again with all sorts of rubbish from the city, which must have accumulated there, the place having been used as a lay-stall. Who knows what might be found amongst this rubbish, some of which may be of very great antiquity. The numbers of bones which I found there on the surface, would even incline one to suppose that in its latter days the cave was used as a common burying place for the lower classes, whose bodies were cast on the lay-stall. Here we must remember that the polyandrium of Aceldama, at present located on the opposite side of the valley of Hinnom, at the *Shurneîn*, does not seem to have always been shown at that spot. St. Jerome speaks of Aceldama as having been in his day shown in Aelia, on the south side of Mount Sion (*in Aelia, ad australem plagam montis Sion*). Eusebius, although he puts it on the north side (probably a copyist's error, rightly corrected by St. Jerome), says expressly that it was near a pool, the Fuller's pool. He probably meant the pool of Siloam. The *Shurneîn* is a long way from this, whereas our cavern-charnel house is quite close. Arculfus, who visited Aceldama several times, also puts it on the south side of Mount Sion. A century before him, Antoninus of Placentia went straight from the well of Siloam to the field of Aceldama. In the middle ages we see the tradition hesitating between several sites. All these discrepancies were probably caused by the fact that, at different periods there have been either successively, or at the same time, various places used as common burial grounds. We may therefore reasonably ask ourselves whether our cavern on Mount Sion, an ancient quarry, used during many years as a lay-stall, which afterwards became a common burying ground, may not be one of the places once shown as the legendary Aceldama. This would explain the presence of this mass of bones, belonging to corpses which had evidently been flung in there hastily and carelessly. I must add that on the ground at the

entrance to the cavern I found traces of great foundations. Were they part of the city wall, or of some ancient building? Only more elaborate excavations can tell us, and they will at the same time answer the other questions which arise in connection with this remarkable cavern.

Other Caves on Mount Sion.

Dâûd Abû Jelâjel, a fellâh of the village of Selwân, owns a piece of land below the Sion Gate, in which there are some rock-hewn caves. In one of these there are two *balât* with a cross and part of a crown. Mohammed S'limân, another native of Selwân, owns the land above this.

THE HILL CALLED OPHEL.*

The Arabic name of the hill which we have agreed to call "Ophel" is "*edh Dh'hûra* (ظهور). It is also called *ed Dh'hor* and *ed Dhahr*. All these names, which mean "the back" or "ridge," allude to the characteristic shape of this hill, and perhaps it would be wiser to use this vulgar but true name as its ordinary designation, a proceeding which would have the advantage of not prejudging a question of ancient topography which is still quite uncertain.

The upper part of the hill—the *habël* (حَبِيل) as the Arabs call it—which extends above the Virgin's Well, is named by them *es S'lôd'ha* (السلودحة), and the valley corresponding to the Tyropæon, *el Jôra* (الجبورة), "the hollow." As for the traditional Mount Sion, I have heard them sometimes call it by the name of *El Bâten*, or *El Batën* (البطن, الباطن).†

— Proceeding along the road which goes from the Pool of Siloam up to the angle of the Hakûrat el Khâtûniyeh of the present city wall, one sees all along it on the right hand, at a distance of about five mètres, the base rock of the west flank of the Dh'hûra, hewn perpendicularly, with chambers cut out of the solid rock.

* All the following notes were made in 1871 (Notebook IV, pp. 24, 27, 30, 31), and also the information received from the fellahin of the village of Selwân, who cultivate the fields on the *Dh'hûra*.

† *Batn*, "belly," and *Dhahr*, "back," are two vulgar topographical terms which are used in a generic fashion to designate the ridges of hills. They are sometimes used as synonyms in Syria. Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 388) tells us of a place called *Dahr* or *Batn el Jemel*, "the camel's back or belly," which was assigned as wakéf to the Medreseh Khâtûniyeh at Jerusalem (*cf.* Map III, *Nd.* and IV, *Nd.*).

— During the building of the little house which stands at the southern end of the Dh'hûra, above the Pool of Siloam, and is occupied by the Jew—*, large rock-hewn steps were found.†

— Towards the month of July, 1871, some native quarrymen who were working at the rock of the Dh'hûra discovered a large piece of well-built wall extending for a distance of forty or fifty cubits. I went towards the end of August to look at the place; unfortunately the best of the stones had already been sold to masons, and a mine had destroyed all the part of this wall which had been uncovered. Nevertheless I still saw some great blocks of stone measuring almost 2 mètres in length by 0^m·50 or 0^m·60 in height; but they were no longer *in situ*. The quarrymen assured me that they had found some which were "two men" long and "one man" high, and said that the workmanship was as good as that of the south-east angle of the Haram (*Mahd 'Isa*) the "Cradle of Jesus." The mine had at this point laid bare the hewn face of the rock, some great rock hewn cisterns, underground chambers, walls of buildings, at right angles to the great wall, etc. No doubt only the foundation courses were left, covered with earth, for the rock crops out in many places.

This remarkable piece of city wall lay just below the path which starts from the south-east angle of the Haram, passes along the crest of the Dh'hûra, and ends at the Pool of Siloam. It seems to extend in the same general direction as the portion which was discovered, much higher up, by the explorations of Sir C. Warren. Probably this path marks out for us, so to speak, the complete outline of the ancient rampart which enclosed Ophel, and upon which I imagine it rests throughout almost all its course. A little cheap digging would suffice to lay it bare throughout its whole course, thanks to this clue. It would be very important to be able to compare the size of the stones of these two pieces of the city wall.

I have done my best to fix the position of this interesting point, by measuring the distance between it and the corner of the path 80 mètres lower down (see the *Map* of the Ordnance Survey); it lies practically at the intersection of this path with the contour-line 2229, about half way between the Virgin's Well and the Pool of Siloam.

* I cannot read the name in my notes.

† They seem to have belonged to a system of stairs distinct from those which have since been discovered by Dr. Bliss, and perhaps represent the true old steps leading up to the city of David.

One of the workmen assured me that at this point the wall made a return angle, but he did not say in what direction, or of what importance; I even asked myself, on the faith of this last piece of information, doubtful as it was, whether this alteration of direction might not show the place where the city wall took a turn to the south-west, in order to cross the Tyropœon valley, and reach the hill of Sion. I do not however lay much stress upon that conjecture, for it seems more natural to suppose that the wall continued to descend further southward, following the line of the existing path, which perhaps hides the rest of it from us. Here is, in any case, a track which is well worth following up.

— A fellâh of Selwân, named Sâleh Abû 'Abd er Rahmân, assured me that he owns, on the Dh'hûra, a "house," hewn in the rock, "with a door and windows."

He showed me, near what is known as Isaiah's mulberry tree, a place which, according to his father, is the entrance to an ancient tomb.

This mulberry tree, with which is connected the tradition of the blind man healed by Jesus, has been pointed out to me under the name of *Tûtet Sâlem Makhbûr*. I have also heard it called *Tûtet Selîm* by the fellahin of Selwân. According to them, the source of Siloam is called by the Christians *'Aîn Burbara*.

— In 1871 they found in the pool two thin plates of lead, about the size of a man's hand, covered with Arabic inscriptions scratched with a sharp point, and a good deal perished, so that I have not been able to read them; perhaps they are some talismanic formula.

DEIR ES SINNEH.

About twenty minutes' walk from the village of Selwân, to the south-eastward, down the Kedron valley, I noticed half way down the left-hand slope of the valley, an ancient site called *Deir es Sinneh*; these are caves and tombs; the rock is hewn and hollowed out into troughs with sloping sides (presses); and there is a rectangular *birkeh* hewn in the rock, measuring about 7^m × 8^m, and one mètre in depth. Its bottom is covered with a mosaic casing, formed of little cubes; there is also an enormous cistern or subterranean reservoir, hewn in the rock.

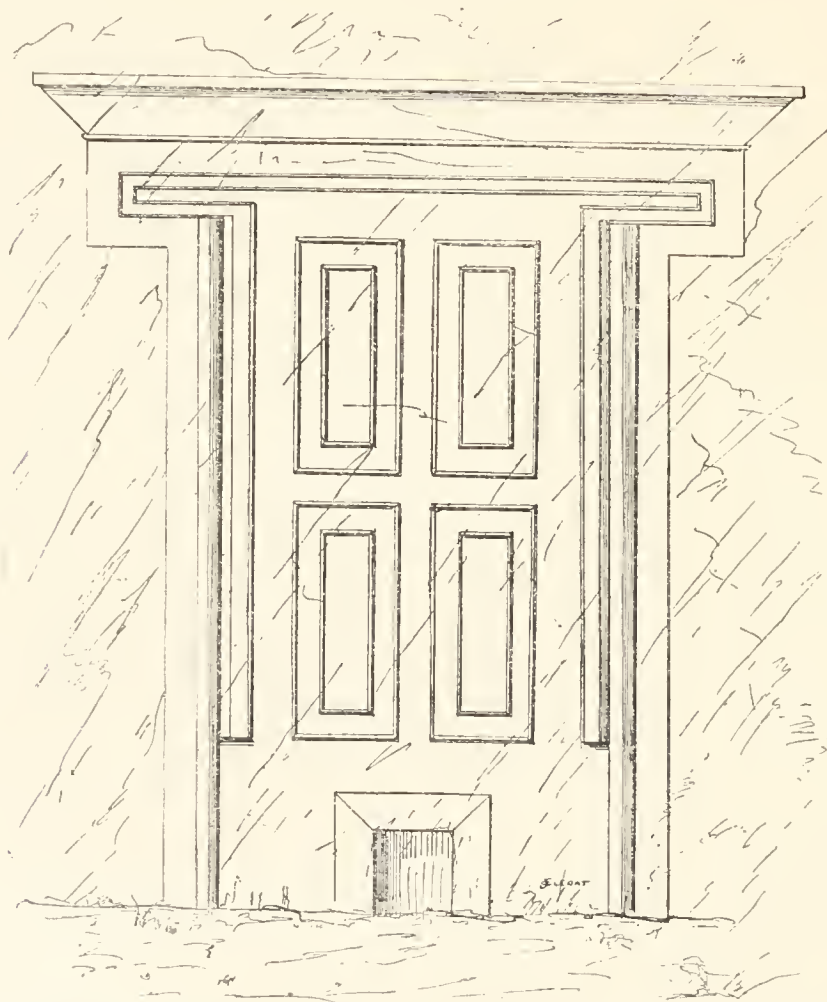
About ten feet further on in the same direction, after crossing the *Wâdy Kaddîm*, there is a little tomb hewn in the rock with a very small vestibule outside a lintelled door. I have had it explored, and have made a sketch and plan of it. Near it there are many tombs full of bones,

marking the site of a regular necropolis. Here are huge irregular-shaped caves, called *Meghâir 'Isâ*.

This *Deir es Sinnch* is mentioned by this same name by Mujir ed Dîn, who says that Solomon's Jerusalem reached as far as there. About ten minutes before reaching the place, you come to a great natural cave, with a very lofty roof, called *El Bôberiyeh*.

Returning after some days* to the same place, I noticed a very fine entrance to a tomb, carved in the rock, with a sham door or window above it in panels, decorated with return moulds.

Here is a little sketch I made of it. I fear that this tomb has dis-



* Note book, 1870, C. IV, 19.

appeared, having been destroyed by the quarrymen, who have been working the necropolis as a mine of hewn stone.

VARIOUS LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH THE SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERUSALEM.

I give here several stories which I was told by the peasants whom I employed in our diggings at Wâd Yâsûl and Wâd Beit Sâhûr, which are connected either with that district or with places at a greater distance.

JEBEL EL MUKABBER AND JEBEL ESH SHEMMÂ'A.

The high mountain to the west of *Beit Sâhûr el 'atîka*, which is separated by *Wâd Yâsûl* from *Jebel Deir Abu Thaur*, is called by the fellahîn *Jebel el Muchabber* (= *el Mukabber*). It reaches, they say, as far as *Mâr Elyâs*. From its top one has a very fine view of Jerusalem from the Tower of David to the south-east angle of the Haram area. I find in my notes the name of *Jebel esh Shemmâ'a* also applied to the same mountain, which tradition calls the Hill of Evil Counsel. According to another note, *Jebel esh Shemmâ'a* is distinct from *Jebel Deir Abu Thaur*, and is separated from *Jebel el Mukabber* by Wâd Yasûl; and before it, on the left (?), is the little ravine called *Khall't Bîr Eiyûb*.

THE PROPHET'S OLIVE TREE.

On the very top of *Jebel el Mukabber* there stands an old olive tree named *Zeitûnet en Nebi*, "The Prophet's Olive Tree." A strange legend gives the following account of its origin :—The Prophet Mahomet, according to the legend, came to besiege Jerusalem, which was occupied by the heathen, *Jâheliyê* (so they call the ancient peoples who are neither Moslem, Christian, or Jewish). He stood at the foot of this olive tree, and shot arrows at Jerusalem. One of his arrows struck the king of the heathen, who was standing at one of the windows (*tâka*) of the Haram area, and slew him. But numbers of the heathen came against the Prophet, and forced him to retreat precipitately. It was not till afterwards that the heathen were conquered, and that Jerusalem was taken by Hassan, the son of Boulos (Paul), who was the

father of Martha and the brother of Sem'ân (Simon), surnamed *es Salibi*, "the cross-bearer" (?) (from *salîb*, "cross").* Perhaps this strange legend, together with the olive tree and mountain to which it alludes, have some indirect connection with the Jewish legend recorded in the *Jichus Ha-abot*: † "Beyond the outskirts of Jerusalem there is a lofty mountain, on which stand two trees. It was from this point, we are told, that our father Abraham beheld Mount Moriah, as it is written, 'He saw the place afar off.' ‡ Men go thither to offer petitions and to pray."

The little *wâd* to the south of the great *wâd* which separates the cemetery from the ruins of Beit Sâhûr bears the name of *Wâd* or *Jaufet es Sal'a*, سلعَة, "cranny."

BİR EİYÛB.

When talking with my fellahin, I was surprised to find that when speaking of Bir Eiyûb they did not really pronounce it *bîr*, but rather *bêr*; it is interesting to have proved this, because in this form the word *bêr*, "well," exactly reproduces the Masoretic vowel-pointing of the corresponding Hebrew word בְּיַר (= بئر). Here is the legend which is current among the people of *Schwân* about this same Job's well. *Neby Eiyûb*, when sick and eaten of worms, went into a cave hard by, and to the west of Bir Eiyûb, on the side of *Jebel es Suciîh* (السويح). § His wife came every day to bring him food. Here follow several details which I pass over, and which are given at length by Khondemir (see D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*). Every day Job went and bathed in a hole full of water, a little pool which stood where the well now is, so that at last, by the will of God Most High, he recovered his health, and came out of his last bath young again as though he were but fourteen years old (literally, like "a son of fourteen years," *ibn arba'atasher sench*). This last expression is not without interest, being word for word the same as the usual Hebrew formula; for instance, 2 Chron. xxvii, 1: "Jotham was twenty and five years old . . ."; literally, "was a son of twenty-five," בן עשרים וחמש שנה.

* Possibly the legend refers to Simon of Cyrene.

† Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 442.

‡ Gen. xxii, 4.

§ Another name of *Jebel Batn el Hawâ*, the Mount of Evil Counsel.

This little pool was turned by a miracle into a plenteous spring of living water, which is the present Bir Eiyûb.

The fellahin draw a great distinction between the water of Bir Eiyûb, which is sweet, they say (a *nèbè* 'helweh), and the water of *Sitti Meryem*, which is brackish (*mâl'ha*). This statement is all the more curious, because the well which Josephus calls Siloam has, according to him, sweet water (*γλυκεῖαν*). How are we to reconcile this characteristic detail, which suits the water of Bir Eiyûb much better, with the universally received theory which places Josephus's Siloam at the spring of Sitti Meryem (the Virgin's Well), or at any rate at the point where it discharges into the bathing pool at the other end of the underground watercourse? Is the underground source that supplies the spring of Sitti Meryem the same as that which flows out of Bir Eiyûb?

KHUREÎTÛN.

One of my workmen, who belonged to the tribe of the *Sawâheret el Wâd*, speaking of the place which rightly or wrongly is said to be the Cave of Adullam, at Khureitûn, told me that its proper name was *Maghâret el Mi'sâ* (المعس).

KHÛRBET MERD, THE CITY OF NIMROD.

He also told me a long story about the ruins of *Merd*, south of Nebi Mûsâ. These, he said, were the ruins of the city of Nimrûd (*medînet Nimrûd*), an impious king, who caused himself to be worshipped as a god by his subjects and who was killed by a fly or gnat (*hes-hes*), which was sent by God to punish him for his crimes, and which went up his nose. At this day they point out Nimrod's tombs (*K'bâr Nimrûd*) at this place. Here we evidently have one of the legends made out of proper names, to which I have often had to call attention. The fact is, that the name of *Nimrod* and the local name *Merd* are both derived from a root *marad*, which is found both in Hebrew and Arabic. Vain attempts have been made to this day to discover what place can be meant by this Arabic name *Merd*. Some have proposed to see in it the Maroth of Micah (i, 12), while others confound it with Maarath. These guesses do not seem to be at all happy ones. Another can, I think, be made, and one which is at least sounder from an etymological point of view. We know that in the genealogy of the sons of Judah as given in Chronicles

(1 Chron. iv. 1, etc.) there appear a number of names of towns belonging to the country of Judah, which are given as the names of men descended from that patriarch. Here we have a common fact which we meet with in other patriarchial genealogies. I have often had occasion to dwell upon its importance, and have made use of it for the solution of problems of Biblical geography.* Now among these eponymous names I observe (verse 17) a group, that of the sons of Ezra, composed of Jether, *Mered*, Ephher, and Jalon. I shall not here enter into the various questions raised by the examination of this obscure passage, which have hitherto remained unexplained; I shall merely point out that the eponymous ethnic *Mered*, מֵרֵד, is the exact transliteration of the Arabic *Merd*, مَرْد, and that it is quite possible that this verse in the Bible, as in so many other instances, refers to the place which is known by this latter name at this day, and which stands in the midst of the country of Judah.

* It enables us, for instance, to fill up more or less the unfortunate gap of the lot of the tribe of Ephraim in Joshua's catalogue. Compare, for instance, the city of *Arsúf*, (= *Apollonias*), which, as I have proved, represents the fabulous *Resheph* (1 Chron. vii, 25), identical with the Phœnician god of the same name (= *Apollo*).

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE CITY.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION IN THE CITY WALL.

While examining the outside of the city wall on the eastern side of the city, immediately to the south of the Bâb Sitty Mariam, I discovered in it a piece of a Greek inscription which had hitherto escaped attention, although the place, being only a few yards from the gate, is well frequented. The stone, a square one, is built into the wall in the sixth course of ashlar, and is set in such a fashion that the lines run vertically downwards. With the help of a ladder I managed to get up to the stone and clear its surface of the mortar which was plastered over it, and hid several letters. This cleaning disclosed a little cross carved in the ground on the left, and enabled me to take the squeeze and copy from which the accompanying drawing has been made.

As we see, the inscription, which is contained in a large frame, consists of four lines, of which we have only the beginnings, perhaps about one-third of the original text. It is hard to make any thing out of this wreck. Perhaps the first word should be restored *Ἐκοιμήθη*, the equivalent of our "Here lies," which occurs so frequently in the epitaphs of Greek Christians. In this case the name should follow it in the nominative case. If so, perhaps the four first letters of the next line belong to some patronymic such as *Ἐπάτιος* rather than to the title of *Ἐπατος*, "consul," or of *Ἐπατικός* "consularis" (vir); indeed, our inscription has not at all the appearance of an official document. *ΟΥ*, in the third line, must be the genitive termination of



0m.40

some word or proper name. The letters in line four probably stand for $\pi(\rho)\delta\varsigma$.*

ZACHARIAH'S TOMB.

On the west front of Zachariah's tomb, at a height of about 2^m·50 above the present level of the ground, I noticed in the three intercolumniations formed by the two angle columns and the two intermediate ones, three round holes, bored regularly, of a very small diameter, and exactly equidistant. They each seem to have been meant to hold a large bolt which perhaps held some ornament that was fastened to the wall between each of the columns.

The Governor caused an excavation to be made near Zachariah's tomb. This excavation was made on the west, south, and north sides. It was filled up on the following day. It consisted of a very narrow trench, of an average depth of about 0^m·30, and showed the remains of the bases of rough columns resting upon the beginning of a stylobate.

I climbed with some difficulty on to the cornice of the monument, and went all round it, examining it carefully to see whether by chance there might not be some built up entrance in one of the four sides of the pyramid. Nothing of the sort. When I wanted to get down, as I had got up, by my own unaided exertions, I found it impossible. They had to go and fetch a rickety ladder from the village of Selwân to release me.†

AT SELWÂN.

Selwân, a quite suburban village, or outlying dependency of Jerusalem, deserves the archæologist's undivided attention. I am convinced that in it discoveries of the very first importance might be made by any one who would take the trouble to explore it more thoroughly than has hitherto been

* Twenty years later, in 1894, this inscription was studied anew by Father Séjourné, who believed himself to have discovered it. I greatly doubt whether his conjectural readings, Ἐκοι[τος] and ἔπι[τος], are correct, and whether we ought to see in it the epitaph of a historical personage, one Equitius, who was consul in A.D. 374. Father Séjourné's copy has a little *eta* in the $\mu\upsilon$ $\overset{H}{M}$; I did not see any trace of it, but perhaps it escaped my notice; in this case it would mean "the month" $\mu\eta(\nuός)$: we might then take the I which precedes it to stand for the number 10: $\tauὸν \epsilon' \mu\eta(\nuός)$ "of the tenth month." But this is exceedingly uncertain.

† It was on this same day, as I was coming home after the failure of my visit to Zachariah's tomb, that I was so fortunate as to discover the famous Stele of Herod's Temple, a discovery of which I have spoken elsewhere.

done. During my various terms of residence at Jerusalem I often visited it, and have never had cause to repent of my devotion to it. I well remember the discovery which I made there of the so-called Stone Zoheleth, upon which I have since then only published* a few lines which should have been expanded into a complete essay. But I do not wish now to discuss this matter, which is connected with important considerations of general topography; I reserve this for another occasion. I shall now confine myself to quoting a few brief extracts from my notebooks relating to certain discoveries that I was able to make in the course of my repeated explorations in the village.

DISCOVERY OF TWO HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS DATING FROM BEFORE
THE CAPTIVITY.

The most important of these discoveries is certainly that which I had the good fortune to make of two large ancient Hebrew inscriptions in Phœnician letters identical with those of the inscription in the Siloam tunnel. These two inscriptions were cut side by side in the wall of the rock, in two sunk panels—an arrangement which seems to be characteristic of Hebrew epigraphy before the Captivity, for, as I have shown, it occurs not only in the tunnel inscription, but also in a third inscription which I discovered at Selwân, and of which I will presently speak.† I may observe, by the way, that the discovery of these two texts was made long before that of the inscription in the tunnel, and therefore, though people in general do not seem to recognise this fact, it was the first which enabled us to behold an authentic specimen of Hebrew monumental epigraphy of the period of the Kings of Judah.

I had these two inscriptions cut out of the rock and sent to London, where they may be seen in the British Museum. The first text consists of one single line in large letters; the second, of three lines in smaller letters, closer together. They both measure 1^m.32 in length. Unfortunately they

* *Survey, Memoirs, Jerusalem*, p. 293.

† See what I have already said upon this subject, when treating of the *Royal Caverns*, p. 246. I cannot too often repeat that this is a valuable guide for the discovery of ancient Hebrew inscriptions: whenever one thinks that one can make out, on the surface of a rock, traces of a sunk panel, it would be well to look at it several times; it may well happen that within it are concealed some of these Phœnician letters, which are so delicately engraved that they are easily missed if the spectator is not on the look out for them.

have both suffered greatly ; thus far I have only succeeded in making out a few words, and to this day I have put off publishing the result of my studies, waiting always for an opportunity of making the necessary verifications in London from the original stones. I will not attempt to deal with this thorny subject here, but will merely give a brief explanation of the material conditions, of great interest to archæologists, under which these two texts were discovered.

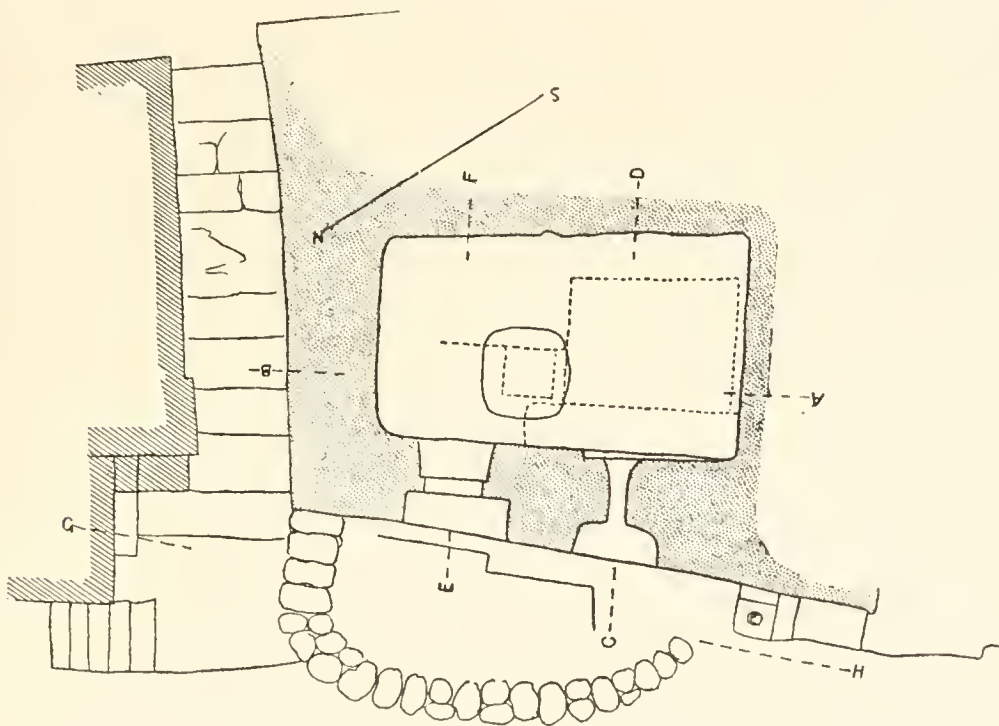
On Sunday, May 15, 1870, I went to the village of Selwân to re-examine the question of the Stone Zohemoth on the actual spot. I went into the village on the north side, the high part, which they call *El Hâra el Fauka*, passing through those curiously hewn rocks which stand at the entrance. Leaving on my right the little monolithic monument in the Egyptian style, a few steps further on, before one comes to the site of the *Zehwêleh* (Zohemoth), I passed in front of a sort of warehouse standing against the house of the sheikh of the upper quarter. Its façade, flush with the street, consists of a vertical wall of rock, having a perfectly dressed surface, and it has an upper story of quite modern work, whose ground floor consisted of the warehouse in question. This messuage was called *Bcit Sharaf*, from the name of its owner. In this wall of rock was cut a rectangular door, and beside it, on the right hand, a smaller opening, also rectangular, which served as a window. Above each of these openings I noticed a rectangular sunk panel, within which I thought that I could make out engraved letters, especially one which had the appearance of a *kaph* of the Phœnician pattern. At that moment my mind was full of the Moabite Stone, in deciphering which I was deeply engaged. At first, therefore, I imagined that I must be the victim of an hallucination ; but a more attentive examination soon convinced me that I had really before me two great inscriptions in ancient Hebrew letters.

As the light was unfavourable, and I was being pestered by the whole village, I could not conveniently study the two texts, which were placed rather high up. I returned on Tuesday very early in the morning, and, by means of backsheesh, managed to make a first sketch of the inscriptions. The owner himself agreed, for a consideration, to allow me to make my way into the chamber to which the door cut through the wall of rock gave access. This room itself was altogether hewn out of the rock. It was full of chopped straw (*tebên*), faggots, and stones ; its walls, grimed with smoke, were covered with a coarse plastering of clay, so that at that time, in the midst of all this rubbish, it was impossible to ascertain whether the interior contained some sculpture or some other inscription. I returned again

during the night, to study the letters by artificial light—a proceeding which I especially recommend to explorers, for by means of the play of light and shade it often enables one to succeed in deciphering letters that are difficult or even impossible to read by broad daylight.

Subsequently I managed to take squeezes of them, and finally, thanks to the good offices of the English consul, I was enabled to have these two precious inscriptions removed on behalf of the British Museum,* the only way to ensure their preservation.† I afterwards, as far as possible, cleared the inside of the chamber and the outside of the door jambs.

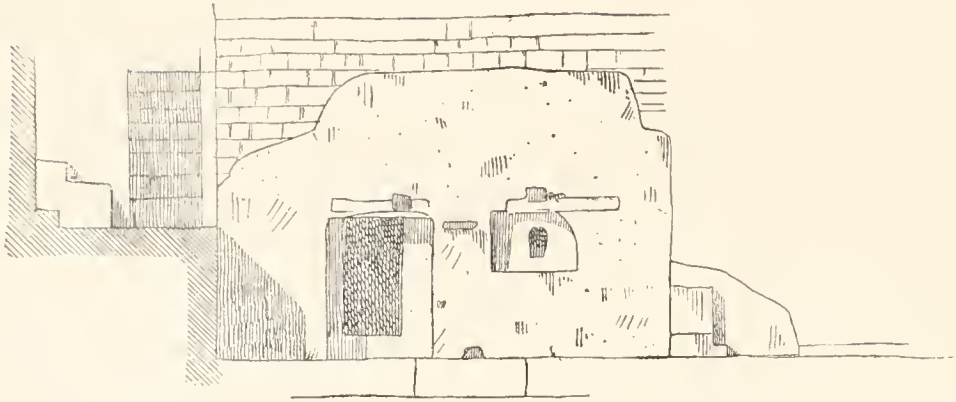
The following drawings, which were executed in 1874, with the assistance of M. Lecomte, suffice to give a precise enough idea of the outward and inward arrangements of this ancient monument, as well as of the places where the inscriptions were found. The position of the two panels is shown in the elevation, above the door and the window.



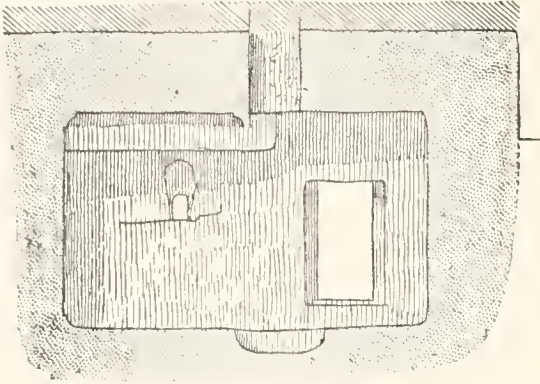
PLAN OF THE ROCK-CUT CHAMBER. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

* The British Museum indeed made a grant to the English Consul of £31, which included the indemnity paid to the owner and costs of removal.

† I also took the additional precaution of having a very good photograph taken of the front of the house with the two inscriptions still *in situ*, before their removal, besides plaster casts.

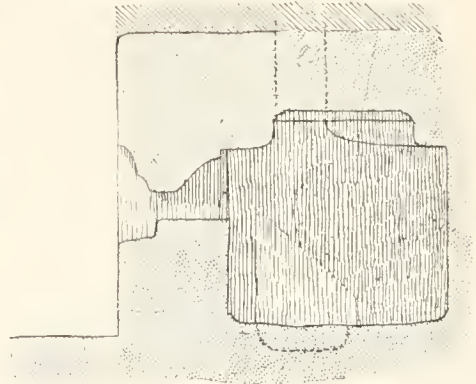


ELEVATION FROM G TO H, SHOWING THE TWO PANELS WITH INSCRIPTIONS.

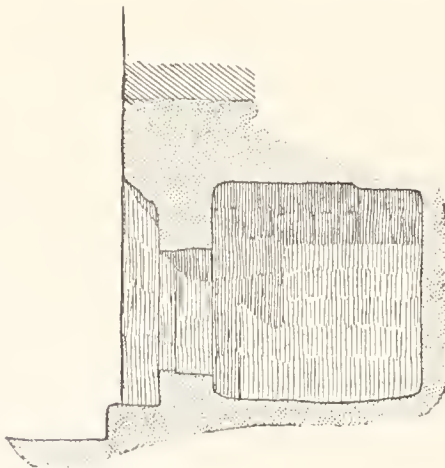


SECTION FROM A TO B.

(Looking toward the door and the window from the inside.)



SECTION FROM C TO D.



SECTION FROM E TO F.



Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

The exact position of the monument may be found on the Map of the Ordnance Survey, $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale, at the intersection of two lines drawn at right angles to one another, one drawn due east and west from the top of the letter *e* in the word "Valley" (of the Kedron), the other due north and south, from the foot of the first *i* in the word "Sitti" (Wady Sitti Maryam). The rock-hewn wall which forms the true front of the monument, and stands at the side of the chief street of the village, not far from its northern entrance, faces north-west; it measures a little under eight mètres in length; on the right its corner forms almost a right angle whose return trends south-east, to a distance which I have not been able to fix because of the houses built up against it. On the left hand the wall runs back, forming an obtuse angle, whose side one can trace for about six mètres; at this point the wall of hewn rock turns at a right angle, and at a distance of 1^m·35 is lost in the wall of a neighbouring house. Between this house and the side wall of the monument in question there is a covered passage 1^m·44 wide, with a stair of eight or nine irregular steps, all modern work, giving access to chambers above the ancient monument. At the foot of the stair, on the left hand side, and almost in the same line with the front of the monument, there may still be seen (a little above G) another angle very carefully hewn in the rock, and serving more or less as a pendant to the angle on the right, which forms the left angle of the monument. The wife of the fellâh who owned the house assured me that once there had been another monument *with inscriptions*, like this one, on that spot, but that it had been to a great extent destroyed some fifteen years after the building of this second house. If this information is true, an irreparable loss has here taken place, and I cannot but applaud myself for the heroic measure to which I thought it right to have recourse in order to place our two inscriptions out of the reach of such a disaster.

To return to the façade of our monument. It had in front of it a small and very low enclosure wall, of dry stones, and had all its lower part concealed by accumulated earth. I had it cleared of this so as to lay bare the rock-floor. The lower part of the door was thus entirely set free. At the same time I brought to light some curious horizontal cuttings of the rock-floor, forming, as it were, irregular steps whose use I cannot very clearly make out. They are marked in the plan as distinctly as possible. Towards the right hand side of the façade one of these levellings is characterised by remarkable regularity. At this point there is a kind of salient projection hewn horizontally in the rock, standing out at right angles to the façade; one would

guess it to be the partition wall of another chamber originally hewn out of the rock and subsequently destroyed. On the surface of this projection a hole has been made, of no great depth, shaped like a cup, about 0^m.20 in diameter. This hollow suggests the socket of a pivot carrying a door. I must, however, admit that I could not find any traces of the friction which ought to have been visible if this hypothesis is correct.

The door, 1^m.90 high and 1^m.44 wide, was surmounted by the panel containing the great three-line inscription. To the right of the door is a square window, irregularly enough hewn, and besides this considerably damaged on the right hand side; it seems as if it had been enlarged and heightened as an afterthought, at any rate on the outside, for inside it is splayed down to a sort of deep narrow loophole (height 0^m.90, width 0^m.30), passing all the way through the wall, which at that point is not less than a mètre and a half thick. Immediately above this window was the other panel containing the one-line inscription; it was cut irregularly as regards the window, that is to say, the axis of the latter, instead of coinciding with the middle of the panel, is situated very near to its left end. This want of symmetry, especially when compared to the quite normal position of the other panel in relation to the door, might lead one to suppose that the window was opened as an afterthought. We must not, however, attach too much importance to this detail, for our modern craving for symmetry was not always felt in ancient times. What, however, is certain is that the window has been subsequently enlarged; this is proved by the fact that when they raised it, they seriously damaged the lower edge of the panel which surmounts it.

This, alas, is not the only damage which these two precious texts have received. They have been subjected to deplorable mutilations, of which I must now speak. They have undoubtedly been purposely beaten with a hammer. Moreover, one notices in the panel over the door, on the right-hand side, a large and deep square hole which has been made through the inscription itself, destroying eight or nine letters in each line. An exactly similar hole has been made above the window, seriously damaging the end of the panel, already much injured by the heightening of the window. Between these two holes, and a little lower down, there is, moreover, a long groove, deeper than the holes, but much narrower. Finally, at the foot of the wall, exactly below the central groove, there is another deep hole, a little smaller, however, than the two former. These four holes form between them

a practically symmetrical figure.* I imagine that they were meant to receive the ends of beams of wood at a time when this ancient monument was being adapted for other uses. Besides the partial destruction of the inscriptions by hammer strokes which I have already mentioned, I also noticed traces of a violent hammering in the region lying between the two cartouches, above the great central groove; here more than anywhere else the hammer has wreaked its fury; one would think that the wielder of it must have set his heart upon obliterating some writing or emblem carved upon the rock.

At what period were these various mutilations perpetrated, and by whom? The answer to this question is given us by the monument itself. I have indeed found, cut on the side face of the right hand door jamb, a large forked cross which bears witness to the presence of a Christian during the Byzantine period. There can be no doubt about it; our monument must have served as a cell or chapel for one of the many barbarous hermits, who, as we know from the tales of many ancient pilgrims, dwelt in the rock caves of Selwân and gave themselves up there to the severest practices of asceticism. The hermit must have been the perpetrator of this irreparable ruin. The same thing has happened here which happened also at the Tomb of St. James, at the Tomb of Absalom, where, during our researches, I found unmistakable proofs that a hermit had installed himself, and also, as I shall presently show, in the little monolithic monument in the Egyptian style which stands a few steps from this place.

Now that we have enlightened ourselves as to the origin and subsequent misfortunes of our monument, let us go into the inside of it. The door shows a somewhat complicated arrangement; first there comes a large recess, larger than the door, forming a sort of little vestibule; next, a smaller recess with a projecting rebate, which seems to imply a system of double doors, one without and one within. The second recess has a threshold formed by a large projecting piece of rock. Crossing this, one finds oneself in a large chamber entirely hewn out of the rock, of an oblong, or, to be more exact, a slightly trapezoidal-shaped ground plan. The door does not stand in the middle, but towards the left end of one of the longer sides. The chamber measures 4^m·65 in length by 2^m·25 across its ends, its greatest height is 2^m·95. The ceiling is flat, but throughout the right hand part it is considerably raised, the

* We may also note the existence of a small hole, less important than the others, on the right hand side of the door, and at about half its height.

ceiling here being connected with the walls by a sort of rough cornice, consisting of a quadrant surmounted by a very small moulding whose profile is not easy to make out; the height and thickness of this cornice, which forms a sort of console appearing to support the ceiling, are each of them about 0^m·60. This cornice does not extend into the left hand part of the chamber, and in the right hand part of it looks like the crown of a small square recess, quite separate. In the ceiling, beyond the square part marked out by the cornice, a square hole has been made, measuring about 0^m·50 on each side. This hole passes perpendicularly through the whole layer of superincumbent rock, which enabled me to measure the thickness of this stratum, more than a mètre up from the face of the ceiling. This hole, at the present time closed up at its upper end by planks, should lead into the Arab house built on the top of the monument, but this I was not able to ascertain. In the rock which forms the floor of the chamber, just underneath this hole in the ceiling, I found a sort of square trough, with very rounded edges, rather shallow, measuring about 1^m·20 × 1^m·20. There is an evident connection between the hole in the ceiling and this trough. At first one would guess the trough to mark the site of an ancient hearth, and the hole in the ceiling to be intended to let out the smoke. But this seems unlikely. The simplest explanation is that at some period, later than that at which the Christian hermit made it into his cell, this chamber was turned into a cistern, the entrance door, of course, being previously blocked up, which could easily have been done. In this case, the hole in the ceiling must have been made to enable people to draw out the water from above, and the little trough, if indeed it was not expressly made by the hand of man, may have been worn away by the constant friction of the buckets. Two facts render this explanation likely enough. The first is the unsolicited statement of the fellahin of the village, who assured me that this chamber was once a cistern. The second is the existence of a thick (0^m·10) layer of cement which covers all the interior walls, a cement composed of the particular mortar used by the Arabs to plaster their cisterns, and called by them *k'sâra*.* This is an unfortunate matter for us, for this cement, which I have only been able to scratch away in a few places, perhaps hides something which would have

* The base of it is pounded pottery, mixed with charcoal. I need not say how desirable it would be to remove the whole of this cement and to lay the walls of the chamber completely bare. This is another of those *desiderata* which I recommend to the attention of my successors.

enlightened us as to the true origin of this monument. What could it originally have been? A tomb, a sanctuary, or a dwelling house? The two inscriptions, now safe in the British Museum, may answer this question when their interpretation has been effected. The only word which I have been able to read, and that with absolute certainty, is the word **בית**, "house," which would fit any one of the three interpretations which I have just suggested. This does not give us much help until we know more. Nevertheless, I am in hopes that the problem will be solved. The most probable explanation is that we have here a funerary monument,* for it must not be forgotten that at Selwân we are in the great City of the Dead.

DISCOVERY OF AN INSCRIPTION IN PHENICIAN LETTERS UPON THE
MONOLITHIC MONUMENT IN THE EGYPTIAN STYLE.

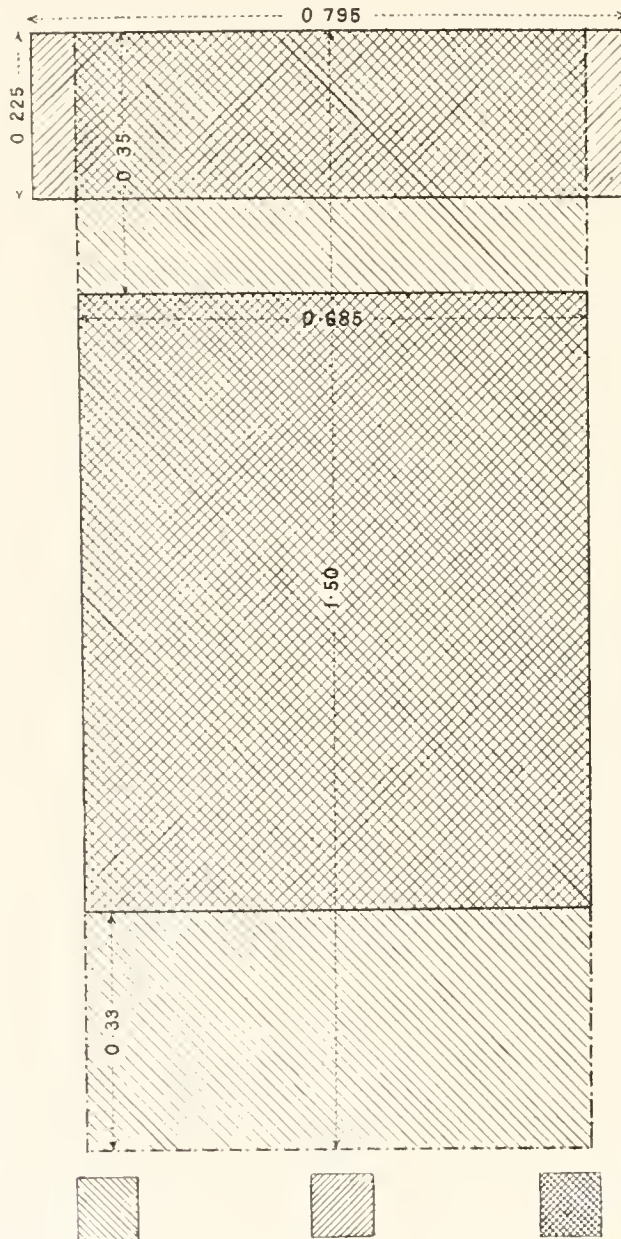
Close by stands that remarkable monument in the Egyptian style, shaped like a little *naos*, and entirely hewn out of the solid rock, which is so well known to all travellers, and has been often described by archæologists.

The guide books usually call it the Tomb of Pharaoh's wife (*Zaujé Fer'aîn*). This suggestive name is not that which is given it by the fellahin of Selwân. They call it simply *M'ghâret el Munshâr* (the cave of the saw), or *es Zunnâr*. *Zunnâr*, which means "girdle" in ordinary Arabic, signifies a stone so hard that it can hardly be worked; this word seems the generic term among the fellahin for caves and excavations hewn in the rocks at the entrance to their village.† The rocks hewn with the pick in the cliff immediately above it are called *El 'Assâra*.

* I hardly venture to say that I have sometimes conceived that this might be the tomb of Shebna, or of one of his colleagues, for I fancied that I could read in the larger inscription the complete title **אשר על הבית**. But it is as well to be on one's guard against these too sanguine illusions.

† Herr Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 195) gives the following explanation of the technical word *zunnâr*, used as a building term: "Nearly the same kind of stones as the Jebbah, but cut on three long sides and more carefully worked, and of equal thickness. They form the string-course in walls, and often project. Their faces must be good and regular. Sometimes they are worked out as a cornice." It seems to me from this that in this special sense *zunnâr* (= zone) corresponds to what we call in architecture by a similar metaphor, a string (*bandeau*). Possibly it is the characteristic cornice of the little building at Selwân which has caused it to be given this name. I need not point out that **ἄσπερ** is the same thing as *ζωνάριον*.

Here again it was reserved for me, a short time later, to make a discovery of the same kind as the preceding one. Although this monument must have been viewed by thousands of eyes, yet no one ever saw that it bore an inscription in Phœnician letters, exactly like those of the two inscriptions of which I have just spoken, and those of the inscription on the Siloam tunnel. After a careful examination of the door of the building, I ascertained the following facts :



1. Originally the door was much lower than it is at present (1^m·50); it consisted of a mere hole of an almost square shape, measuring 0^m·82 in height by 0^m·685 in width, exactly like the entrances to the small sepulchres in the village of Selwân, which, in my opinion, are of extreme antiquity, and, I may say, quite unknown. I shall have something to say about them presently. At an uncertain epoch, either after the first transformation of the monument into a little temple in the Egyptian style, or it may be much later during the Byzantine period, when Selwân was inhabited by hermits, it was found needful to enlarge the entrance to this monument, which was itself made into a cell for some anchorite. This was done by leaving the little door at its original width, but lowering its threshold by 0^m·33, and raising its lintel by 0^m·35, which produced the existing opening, measuring 1^m·50 in height by 0^m·685 in width.

2. At the top of the jambs of this new door, on the right and left hand sides, in the front wall of the building, there are two little square depressions, which look like two incised crossettes. They measure 0^m·225 in height. In that on the left hand I discovered *two fine Phœnician letters*, distinctly carved. The last one is a *resh* with a long tail; the last but one is the head of another *resh* or *daleth*, whose tail has been cut off by the subsequent raising of the height of the door.* These two pseudo-crossettes are really the two ends of a rectangular sunk panel 0^m·795 long and 0^m·225 high, which once was carved above the original little door. Between the lower edge of the panel and the original lintel there was an interval of 0^m·125. As the door was raised 0^m·35, that is to say, to the upper edge of the panel, almost the whole of the panel was naturally destroyed; but as it was 0^m·795 long, whilst the width of the door was only 0^m·685, it exceeded the width of the lintel on each side by 0^m·05, and its two ends, being beyond the line of the door jambs when produced, were spared, fortunately for us. The inscription consisted of a single line, and must have contained some twenty letters, whereof the two last ones alone have survived. Here again we see that particular arrangement which appears to be characteristic of archaic epigraph: a sunk panel in the rock with an inscrip-

* In my *Rapports sur une Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie* (1884, plate II, D) will be found a heliogravure of the squeeze which I took of these letters. An attempt was made some time afterwards, without the least foundation, to impugn the reality of these characters (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 108; cf. p. 195).

tion cut on the ground of the panel. This arrangement seems to have been adopted for the purpose of protecting the text as far as possible from the rain-water that runs down the wall.

The interior of the little monument consists of one small quadrangular chamber measuring 2^m·25 by 2^m·18. The whole of the left hand side, as you go in, must originally have been taken up by a large bench hewn out of the rock. The traces of this bench are still visible at the two corners; it was destroyed at the time when the chamber was transformed into a Christian cell. Probably we should attribute to the same period the cutting of rough niches in each of the three walls, and also, perhaps, the sort of little ante-chamber formed by the interior enlargement of the entrance passage,* as well as the beginning, scarcely boasted out, of a new door through the external wall on the west side of the monument. The ceiling is of a very unusual form; it is neither flat nor curved, but saddle-backed, with two slopes like a roof, set at an angle of about 130° to one another. This is exactly the interior arrangement of a series of sepulchres in the Selwân necropolis, about which I must now say a few words. Comparison with this proves absolutely that our little monument can be nothing but a funerary monument, though the contrary has often been maintained. It follows from this that the inscription, the greater part of which has been destroyed, was probably an epitaph.

THE SELWÂN NECROPOLIS.

Below the first range of houses in the village of Selwân, there may be seen the square openings of ancient sepulchres hewn with the pick in the solid rock on the eastern slope of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. These openings grow more frequent when one has passed the rock of Zehweileh, going south; they range at different levels, and a much larger number of them are still hidden under the earth and accumulated detritus of ages at the foot of the ridge whereon the village stands.

* I have some doubts upon this matter, for if my recollections do not play me false, I have seen a similar arrangement in the entrance passage leading into one of the Selwân sepulchres, of which I am about to speak. What, however, inclines me to think so is that the ante-chamber is arched in its upper part, and that the rock is hewn with the same carelessness as in those parts of the monument which have evidently been re-worked.

As far as I know, no one has hitherto had the curiosity to explore them, or, if any one has done so, he has not paraded his exploit; and this is a strange thing, for these caves, simple and commonplace as they look from the outside, offer in their interior a real surprise to the archæologist. It is easy, however, to explain why their exploration has been neglected. When seen from a distance, these little square holes have an unattractive appearance; their very position renders them difficult to get at; and, last and most important reason of all, the interior of these caverns is really out of the explorer's reach, inasmuch as the fellahin of the village have adopted the very practical idea, from their point of view, of turning them into granaries or storehouses, where they keep their stock of chopped straw, firewood, and other necessaries. I was, however, determined to ascertain the true character of these sepulchres, and did not permit myself to be checked by such difficulties. By giving a fair recompense to the proprietors for the trouble which I caused them, I succeeded in having the interior of several of them cleared out, and was able to explore them. I expected to find simply tombs like those which one sees by hundreds round about Jerusalem and throughout all Palestine; a chamber with loculi shaped either as *kôkîm* or as *arcosolia*. . . . I was mistaken: these sepulchral chambers were not the least like that, and my first impression on entering was a feeling of astonishment and admiration on seeing the unusual shape of their ceilings, the novelty of their funerary arrangement, the harmony of their proportions, the minute care with which all the surfaces had been tooled, the exclusive use of the straight line, and the idea of grandeur which they conveyed in spite of their small size. In order to find anything which can compare with them, on a larger scale, we must go to the cemeteries of Egypt and some of those in Asia Minor.

I am sorry not to be able to reproduce in this volume the sketches which I took of them. I will try to make amends for this by describing some specimens which I was able to study.

Here is the description of one of these sepulchres, which belongs to a woman of Selwân named Shiha. To obtain an entrance, it was necessary to climb up the great manure heap over which one had to mount in order to reach the Stone Zoheleth.

— Width of doorway, 0^m·65; height, 0^m·84. There was a rebate 0^m·07 deep, intended to receive a sliding slab of stone by way of door.

— Little passage 0^m·84 long; at its further end there is a second interior rebate measuring 0^m·05.

— Chamber: length, 2^m·37; width, 1^m·40.*

— Ceiling, tent-shaped like a roof, with two slopes. The axis is directed towards the door at the end of the chamber. Length of each slope, 0^m·77.† Height from floor to crest of slopes, 2^m·25.

In the middle of the left wall there is a very small niche, large enough to take in a lamp or a vase. In the right hand wall there is a great rectangular *loculus*, running parallel to the wall, above a bench which is hollowed out into a funerary trough, and is also rectangular. Length of the trough, 2^m·07; width of same, 0^m·77; height, measuring from the ceiling of the *loculus* to the bottom of the trough, 0^m·67. On the edges of each of the sides of the trough are two large rebates intended to receive a horizontal covering slab of stone. The general arrangement reminds one considerably of a berth on board a passenger steamer.

On one side there is another sepulchral chamber of the same type, but with three rectangular *loculi*, parallel to the three uninterrupted walls.

Further on, there was another chamber which had partly fallen in. The *loculus*, similarly arranged, is on the left hand side as you go in.

In a third chamber, the bench is 1^m·16 wide, and was evidently meant to serve as a funerary couch for two corpses placed side by side.

In a fourth chamber, which differs from the others in the shape of its ceiling, which is flat, and by its arrangement as regards the door, which does not open at the end, but in one of the sides of the chamber, I found a regular hollow sarcophagus, standing alone, completely detached from the walls which enclosed it, but still adhering at the bottom to the rock from which it had been hewn. This sarcophagus is rounded at its two ends and has very much the appearance of a bath.

The similarity of these funerary chambers to the interior of the little monolithic monument in the Egyptian style is quite remarkable. It explains to us the meaning of the transformations which this monument must have undergone before arriving at its present architectural condition, and at the same time proves definitely that it was originally a sepulchre and not, as sundry archæologists have contended, a sanctuary. In its primitive state it must have consisted of one simple chamber, hewn in the thickness of a mass of rock, a chamber shaped like those which I have just described, with a simple

* Or 1^m·30; the figures are doubtful in my notebook.

† It will be noticed that the angle formed by the two slopes of the ceiling is practically the same as that of the ceiling of the little monolithic monument, about 130°.

entrance formed by a plain square opening of very small size. Above this door, in a sunk panel, was carved the epitaph of the deceased who rested in this chamber. Later on, at an unknown epoch, they cut a great cube out of the rock containing the chamber, and carved it into the form of a little *naos* in the Egyptian style. Evidently the deceased must have been a person of consequence, for them to have thought it worth while to perform so magnificent and so costly a transformation. Exactly the same thing was done in the case of the monument known as Absalom's tomb, as is proved by the exploration which I made there; originally it was a little cave hewn in the solid rock, from which it was isolated as an afterthought. The same procedure was followed in the case of the monument called Zachariah's tomb, where the interior cave, which certainly exists, has yet to be found.

What we should note in these Selwân tombs, so different in many respects from all the other tombs in the various cemeteries of Jerusalem, is their individual character as sepulchres. They are not family tombs. There is only room for one dead body, two or three at the most. This increases the chances of finding epitaphs, and the inscription on the little monolithic *naos* is well calculated to encourage this hope. I have not had the good fortune to find any in the sepulchres, not very numerous, it is true, which I have been able to visit, but this is no reason why explorers should not have better luck with the others. There are still a great number left to be explored in the Selwân cleft, not to mention those which, being situated at a lower level, are hidden by the accumulated earth, and are therefore in all the better preservation. I do not hesitate to express my own opinion, that this almost unknown necropolis is one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient of all those of Jerusalem. I earnestly beg future archæologists to take it as the subject of their researches, I think that I can prophesy that it contains finds which will fully repay them for all their trouble and expense.

EL K'NÎSEH.

In the middle of the village there is a great cistern, called by the inhabitants *Bîr el K'nîsch*, "the cistern of the church. Close by this cistern, in the inside of a house, I found an apse with an arched roof, hewn out of the rock, measuring 2^m·95 across, and preceded by a fragment of a waggon-vault, the crest of which is

0^m.82 higher than that of the apse. The artificial floor, made of earth beaten hard, prevented my discovering its true height. The fellahin call it *El K'nîs* (or *El K'nîseh*), and indeed it seems as if it must be some ancient Christian* chapel.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

In 1871 I discovered and took a squeeze of a Greek inscription which was built into the jamb of a little window in a house standing not far from Bir el K'nîseh.† Height 0^m.35, width 0^m.38. Calcareous stone. Letters irregular, and therefore all the more difficult to make out because several of them have been hammered. The *omicrons* are square-shaped, and so are the *sigmas*, the *epsilons*, and the *omegas*.



? ? ΝΗΜ
Α ? ΝΕΩ
ΝΘΕΝΕΟΥ
ΚΕΤΟΥΕΝ
ΑΥΤΩΝΙ(Ε)
ΟΚΟΜΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΚ ? ΙΛΗΤΟΥ

I venture with much diffidence to propose the following reading :

[? ? μ]νημα ? ενεωνος νεου κ(αι) του εν αυτω νοσοκομιου διακ(ονου)
[φ]ιλητων ?

“The funerary monument of ? . . . neon ? the younger (?) and deacon . . . of the hospital who is therein.”

I sometimes wonder whether this piece of late Greek is really an epitaph ; whether it may not rather be the dedicatory tablet of some work executed in a monastery by a person named Philetos, δια κ(υριου)? Φιλήτου? In this case the name of the monastery, with the qualificatory adjective “new,”

* This is probably the place which was pointed out to M. Schick some years later, of which he has given an exact plan in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 253, cf. p. 256.

† Since then, this inscription has been seen by M. Schick, who has given a very imperfect copy of it in the *Quarterly Statement* (1891 p. 13), and by Father Germer-Durand, who had attempted to make it out (*Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 566).

must be sought for in the group of letters . . . *ερεωνος νεου*; this would account better, grammatically, for some of the words which follow: *καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ νοσοκομίου*, "and of the hospital which is therein" (in the monastery). I dare not press the conjecture that *ερεωνος* may be a mistake for *ἐλεῶνος* = *ἐλαιῶνος*, the genitive of *Ἐλαιών*, "olivetum," that is to say, the Mount of Olives, and its sanctuary, which was colloquially called "Eleona."* Be this as it may, there can be no doubt about the word *νοσοκομ(ε)ῖον*, "hospital." We know that in the Byzantine period there were several charitable establishments of this nature at Jerusalem.†

-- In the pavement of the little forecourt in front of the large room which serves as a mosque for the people of Selwân, I discovered in 1871, and took a squeeze of, a fragment of an inscription in Byzantine Greek which was preserved upon a piece of a calcareous flagstone 0^m.075 thick, measuring in its present condition 0^m.50 × 0^m.38. The mean height of the letters is 0^m.06. The text,‡ which consists of at least four lines, has greatly suffered from the incessant trampling of feet.



?
 . . . (N)ΘΑΚΑΤΑΤΑΙ . . .
 . . . (ΑΙ)ΟΝΑΚΑ
 (C)ΤΕΦΑΝΟ? . . .
 (ΗΓΟΥ) . . .

? ἔνθα κατά[κεινται] Στεφανο . . . ἡγου[μεν . .] . . .
 " ? Here lie Stephanos . . . hegoumenos ? "

VARIOUS INSCRIPTIONS.—In the house of Hosein Nâser, in the village of Selwân, I have been told by an inhabitant of the village, there are two inscribed stones.

According to other information, an inhabitant of the village found in it an inscribed stone, partly buried in the earth, with two lines of inscription visible. Another inhabitant also possesses an inscribed stone, of which they even showed me a rough sketch. I was not able to verify these various pieces of information.

* See St. Silvia's Pilgrimage, *passim*.

† See the texts quoted in McGrigor's *Contributions towards an Index*, etc., p. 36.

‡ The original has since been purchased by the Russian Archimandrite, and has been discussed by Father Germer-Durand in the *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 567.

THE DIBONITES OF SELWÂN.—The intimate relations which I maintained with the fellahin of the village of Selwân led to my discovering a very curious peculiarity of that village. Among its inhabitants there are about one hundred who live for the most part in the low quarter (El Hâra et Tahta), who form a distinct colony, known by the name of *Ed Dhiâbiyeh*, that is to say, the people of *Dhîbân*, the ancient *Dibon*. Such, at least, is their own explanation of this name, which, otherwise, one would be inclined to connect with the name *Dhiâb*. It seems that at some remote enough epoch a little band starting from the old capital of King Mesha crossed the Jordan and settled at Selwân, at the very gates of Jerusalem. The memory of this little exodus is perfectly well preserved by the descendants of those who took part in it, although they are unable even approximately to fix the epoch at which it took place. Some of them have assured me that there are several other neo-Dibonite colonies established in other villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS.—Mr. Holman Hunt, the well known artist, told me in 1871 that several years previously he had seen, and had recently seen again, some Egyptian hieroglyphics painted on or in some of the sepulchral chambers at the entrance of the village of Selwân. I went with him to the spot, but unfortunately he was unable to find it again.

I wonder whether what he took for hieroglyphics may not have been the remains of some fresco painting on *stucco*, in some caves, more or less ruined, which were made into chapels during the Christian period. On one of these frescoes there can still be seen some lines of writing in Syriac characters, too dilapidated to be decipherable; the lines run *vertically*, and this detail is interesting as bearing upon the still disputed question of whether Syriac was ever written in lines from above downwards.*

VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

The fellahin of Selwân, when gardening and so forth in this valley, or on the lower slopes of the hills which form it, often find small antiques. Here are some which I have received from their hands.

1. A piece of brick, bearing the stamp of the Xth Legion Fretensis in

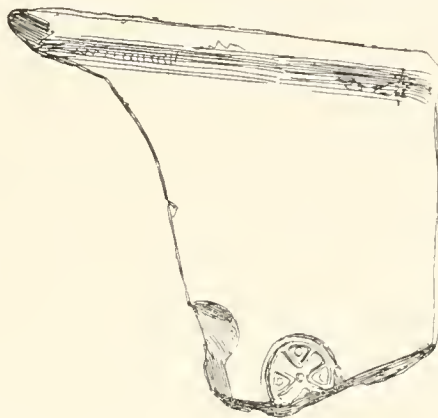
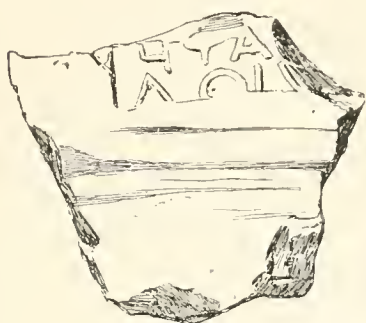
* In the inscriptions at Palmyra there are some examples of this mode of writing.

relief, similar to those which I have published elsewhere,* or those which I and others have since discovered. This fragment in its present condition measures $0^m \cdot 19 \times 0^m \cdot 175$; it is $0^m \cdot 035$ thick at one end, and $0^m \cdot 065$ at the other. This difference in thickness shows that the brick, when entire, must have been wedge-shaped; I think that it has been a voussoir belonging to some building with semicircular vaults. The earth is red, and well baked.



BRICK WITH STAMP OF THE X LEGION.

2. A piece of a terra-cotta tile with a large border: the tile itself is $0^m \cdot 02$ thick; the border is $0^m \cdot 03$. On the border there is a Greek stamp, in relief, of the Byzantine period. As the letters



PIECES OF TERRA-COTTA TILES.

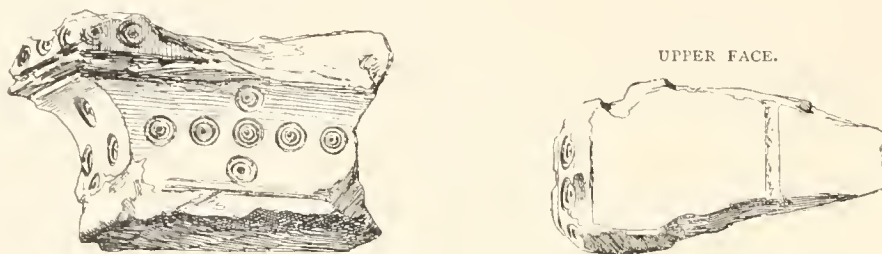
are incomplete and have taken the mould badly, I cannot propose any interpretation of them.

3. Another piece of a terra-cotta tile, with a narrow border, with a stamp bearing no letters, representing a cross of the so-called Maltese pattern. It is $0^m \cdot 02$ thick.

4. A little carved piece of soft calcareous stone, measuring $0^m \cdot 055$ in height. At first sight one would guess it to be a little base, meant to be set on its widest part. But on closer examination one soon perceives that its proper position is that shown in the drawing. In fact one sees on what I take to be its upper face a curious arrangement: two little rectangular basins, as it were, of unequal size, separated by a low partition. If the whole thing were

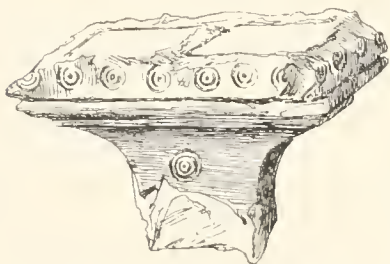
* Clermont-Ganneau, *Trois Inscriptions de la X^{me} Légion Fretensis, trouvées à Jerusalem*; Paris, 1872.

not of such a very small size, this arrangement would make one think that it must be a kind of little altar, with basins similar to those of the libation tables of the Egyptians. The upper cornice, which overhangs, has been much damaged. It was ornamented all round with little cavities, almost



hemispherical in shape, within which stand up little concentric rings worked in relief. These same cavities with rings ornament the sides; on one of the longer sides they are grouped in a species of cruciform arrangement. An interesting detail is that these rings retain traces of various colours, blue, red, and yellow, which come out very vividly when they are slightly wetted.

I cannot form any conjecture as to the true age or purpose of this singular object. It should in any case be compared with an exactly similar object found by Sir Charles Warren, if I mistake not, in the Muristân, which I here reproduce.



The similarity of the two objects strikes one at once: there are the two same rectangular basins on the upper face, the same ornamentation with concentric coloured rings: the chief difference is that the lower part is, in this example, much narrower. This second one has been much injured; the calcareous stone has, so to speak, become rotten, through the action of either fire or water, or both: it measures at the present time 0^m·06 in height, and 0^m·085 in width at its upper part.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

SEPULCHRES ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.—In December, 1870, I explored two sepulchral caves recently discovered by the fellahin on the Mount of Olives, all of them near the little house (*Kasr 'Abđ ed Dhanaf*) which stands high, just above Gethsemane. The first cave was roughly hewn and contained simple parallel partitions of masonry, not raised high above the floor, separating the bodies from one another as they lay side by side. There were a number of phials of white glass, a dozen of them unbroken, which I purchased; many fragments of glass and terra-cotta lamps, which had been broken by the fall of pieces of rock from the ceiling. There were also two pieces of glass phials ornamented with fretwork in blue enamel.

In the other sepulchre there was no phial or lamp unbroken, but a quantity of fragments. It had evidently been ransacked previously; the entrance was closed by a piece of a column, and I made my way into it through the ceiling. Many bones. I picked up a fragment of an ossuary of soft stone, ornamented with geometrical rosettes.

The fellâh of Selwân who accompanied me, told me that some forty years ago the fellahin murdered a Frank who came by night to break into the tombs in the neighbourhood, and threw his corpse into an ancient sepulchre.

The second sepulchre here mentioned consists of two chambers, probably of different origin; the one with oven-shaped tombs, the other with arcosolia. There are coarse paintings in red ochre on the rock-hewn walls. These paintings also form borders to the arches and adorn the backs of the arcosolia. They represent crosses of various kinds, and sundry Christian emblems, doves, palms, lilies, **A** and **W**, etc., reminding one of the paintings in the catacombs.*

* I find in my note book a sufficiently detailed plan of this sepulchre, and also drawings of its paintings. Reproductions of these painted decorations will be seen in the *Revue Biblique* (1892, p. 448, *et seq.*), by Father Lagrange, who has lately paid another visit to this sepulchre, now unearthed again after lying forgotten for twenty-two years.

— In another place on the Mount of Olives which I cannot exactly fix, I explored two other interesting sepulchres, one of which bore a Greek inscription. Unfortunately the detailed designs which we made with M. Lecomte have been lost in London by the engraver, and at this present time I cannot write about them for want of sufficient information.*

GREEK CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.—In the little *Kasr* adjoining the sepulchre described above, I found a great slab of calcareous stone broken at the top and bottom; the remaining piece is itself broken in two. On the left side one can make out the edges of a groove or rebate, which seems to imply that the slab was intended to be carefully fitted in somewhere.

Above a great cross carved in relief, the upper part of which alone remains, there is an incised Greek four-line inscription on a raised panel, with dovetail ends.† It runs thus:—

+ ΘΗΚ[Η]ΔΙΑΦΕΡΘΑΤΗ
ΟCΙΩΤΑΤΙΧΑΡΑΤΙΗΤΟΥΜΣΤΘ
ΕΥΑΓΣΜΣΤΟΝΑΡΜΕΝΙCΣ

+ Θήκη διαφέρουσα τῇ ὀσιωτάτ(ῃ), Χαρατ(ῃ), ἡγουμ(ένῃ) τοῦ εὐαγ(οῦς) μο(ναστηρίου) τ(ῶ)ν Ἀρμενί(ων)?).

“The private tomb of the most venerable Kharate, Lady Superior of the holy convent of the Armenians.”

Probably the convent in question is one of those which the Armenians inhabited on the Mount of Olives; it may possibly have been that in which may be seen the fine mosaics with Armenian inscriptions of which I shall treat hereafter.

In the flooring of one of the upper chambers of the *Kasr*, I saw a little fragment which still bore four Greek letters of the same period as the preceding ones: ΥΛΛ. The Mussulman proprietor of the *Kasr* assured me that the rest of the inscription must be in another part of the *Kasr*, to which I was denied access.

— A fragment of a marble slab, broken into four, coming from some undetermined place on the Mount of Olives, and now in the possession of the

* The lost plate bore the number “Series III, 45;” it contained the plans, sections, elevations and details of the two sepulchres, with a facsimile of the inscription.

† I have given a facsimile of it in my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie entreprise en 1881* (p. 61), and I have brought the original to the Louvre.

Russian Archimandrite. The fragment in its present state measures 0^m·19 and 0^m·03 in thickness ; the mean height of the letters is 0^m·05.

? ?
 . . . (Τ) 8 Τ 8
 . . Ε Ν Ο Σ Υ Π
 . . . Χ Τ ? ? ? ?
 . . . τουτου . . . ενος υπ[έρ ?]

A FRAGMENT OF A ROMAN (?) INSCRIPTION.

A little slab of white marble, very thin, coming from some undetermined place on the Mount of Olives. The last letter seems more like F than E (*fecit* or *fecerunt* ?).



0^m·10

ON THE TOP OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

VARIOUS ANTIQUITIES.—The building of the huge Russian monastery which now stands on the top of the Mount of Olives, not far from the sanctuary of the Ascension, resulted in the discovery of various antiquities of interest, especially for the student of Christian archæology. The work, begun in 1870, went on, as we know, for many years, the building not having been finished till 1887. I have twice had an opportunity, the first time in 1873-1874, and the second in 1881, of examining the archæological results of the excavations undertaken at this spot, but I must here confine myself, as far as possible, to the consideration of the discoveries made up to the year 1874.* Nevertheless, I shall be obliged to mention certain later “finds,” when they have completed or thrown light upon what had been found before.

* In my *Rapports sur une Mission en Palestine et Phénicie entreprise en 1881*, will be found illustrations of and brief comments upon various antiquities and inscriptions picked up on this spot between 1874 and 1881.

Among the antiquities which were unearthed I shall mention the following:—



— A little vase of thin bronze, thickened at the rim, unornamented, but of an elegant shape.

— A piece of a marble slab, sculptured in low relief. Nothing is visible of the scene which was represented in the middle of this frame beyond the bases of two little columns in the right hand lower corner, which are perhaps the feet of a throne, or the legs of an altar-table, for the space between them seems to have been always plain.

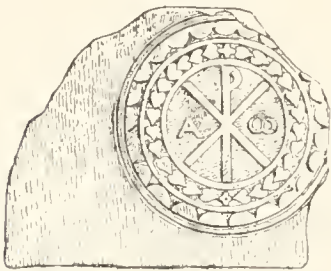
On the lower part of the large outer frame, which itself is surrounded by a border of scroll-work, there is the end of a Greek inscription: . . . [ἔτ]ους, ἰνδ[ικτιῶνος] Θ' ✠. "in the year . . . of the ninth Indiction;" the date unfortunately cannot be restored. This inscription must have formed one very long line, or perhaps two; the first line may have been carved on the upper part of the frame. The latter makes one think that the original slab must have been of very great size.



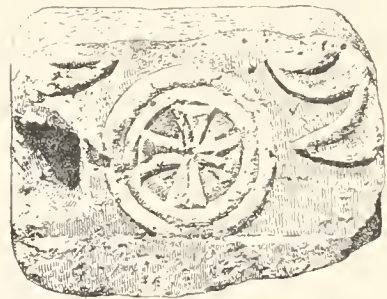
— A piece of a slab (A) of white marble, 0^m·028 thick. The diameter of the central circle is about thirty centimètres. Within a double wreath the monogram of Constantine is carved in relief, flanked by the traditional sigla of *alpha* and *omega*. This fragment may date from the epoch of the building of the first sanctuary on the Mount of Olives.

— A fragment (B) of a large block of stone upon which one can still

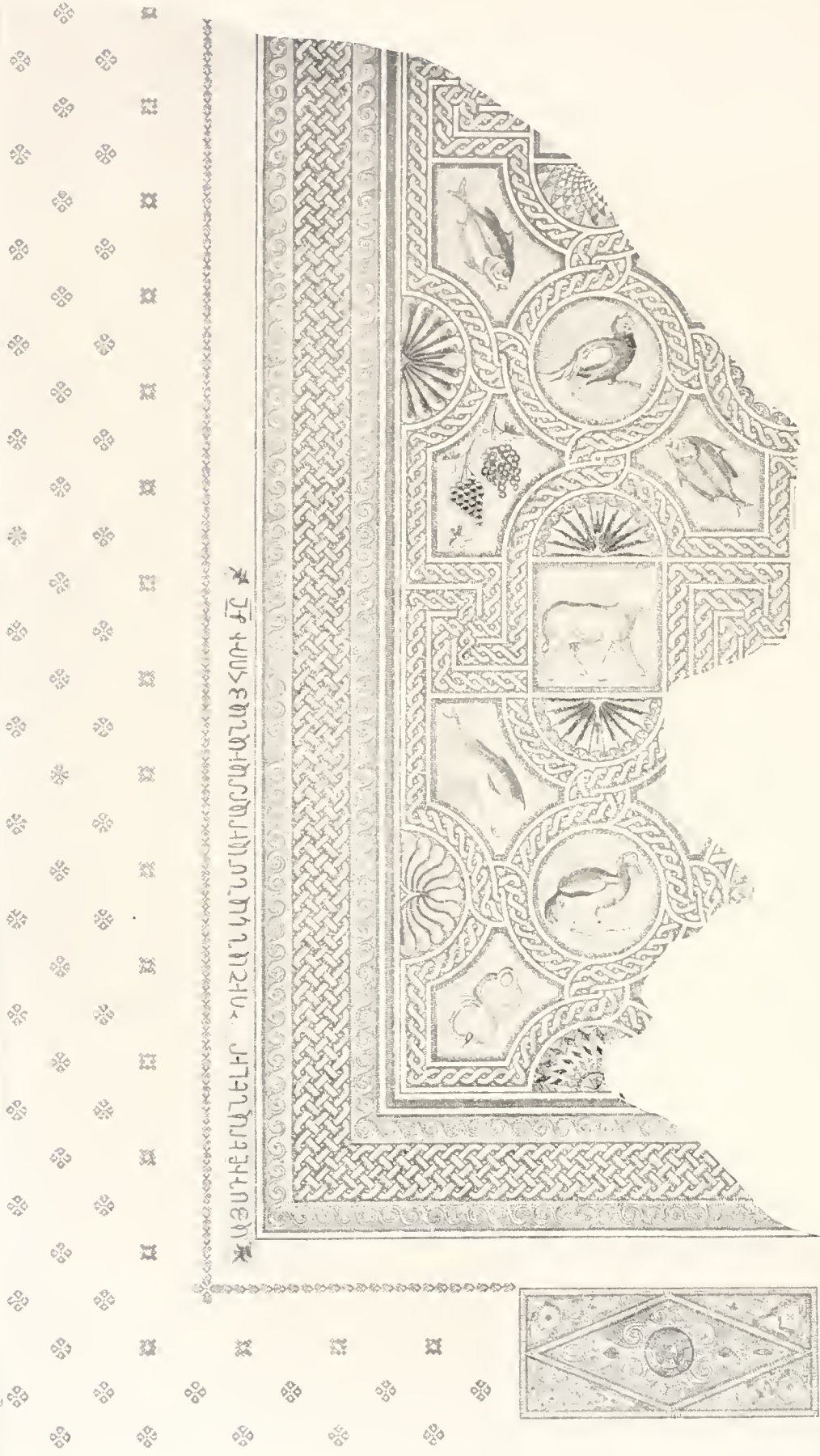
A



B



discern, carved in relief, a cross with limbs of equal length inscribed within a double circle or chaplet, and the remains of some decorative foliage.



ՄԻ ԿԱՍՏ ԵՊԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԻ ՄԵՆ ԴԻՆՆԵՐՆԵՐԻ ԿԻՐԱԿԱՆՆԵՐԻ

0.00 70

MOSAIC PAVEMENT ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES WITH ARMENIAN INSCRIPTION.

MOSAICS BEARING ARMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In digging the foundations of the monastery in 1872, they uncovered a large piece of mosaic pavement of magnificent workmanship, measuring in its present state 6^m·70 × 4^m·0. It evidently once belonged to a large chapel or a small church. This mosaic, a composition of considerable artistic value, was copied by M. Lecomte with the most scrupulous care; he made a very fine water-colour drawing of it, one-tenth of the original size. This water-colour was exhibited in the Salon in 1875, where it attracted the admiration of all persons interested in Art. It is from this that the facsimile on the opposite page has been engraved; the engraving gives an accurate idea of the elegance of the design, but cannot show the richness of the tints, the harmony of colours, and the delicacy of modelling which are shown in this work of the artist in mosaic.

Each one of the medallions formed by the turns of the cable contains a different subject, either a fruit or an animal; there are a double bunch of grapes, a bunch of lemons (?) cut into two parts, three fishes of no particular kind, a cock, a goose (or duck), and a lamb. The artist has invested this last creature with especial importance, by placing it in a central medallion, as compared with the others, and one of a different shape, larger, and more ornate than they. We may consequently ask ourselves whether the lamb has not here a symbolical meaning, and whether it is not an allegorical representation of the form of Jesus. The same question may be asked with regard to the lamb that figures in the centre of a similar mosaic, but a far less rich one, which was subsequently discovered on the north side of Jerusalem, near the basilica of Eudoxia.* We must, however, remark that when the lamb has this allegorical signification it is usually accompanied by certain characteristic emblems such as the cross, which are wanting here. But in any case there can be no doubt that we have before us a Christian mosaic. It reminds one in more than one respect of the mosaic discovered some years ago at Tyre by M. Renan, which bore an inscription in Byzantine Greek. The habit of using decorative subjects taken from natural history, from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, which was common among the heathen mosaicists, was equally so among their scholars the Christian mosaicists. These subjects long remained in fashion after the establishment of Christianity.

* See a copy of it in the *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 118, and in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 191.

I cannot do better with regard to this subject than quote the opinion of one well qualified to give an opinion about antique mosaics :*

“ During the transition period which extends from the fourth to the sixth century, the pavements are often nothing more than collections of zoological or even of botanical specimens. The artist successively passes in review domestic animals, wild animals, shell fish, fruits, and so on, down to the very humblest flowers.”

Indeed, Jerusalem had already furnished us with specimens of mosaics in which these same subjects are repeated. See for instance, the remarkable fragments of the mosaic in the church of St. Cross, which display a four-footed animal of indistinct species, a cock or peacock, a fish and a flower.† In the interior of Jerusalem itself, when digging the foundations for the Casa Nova of the Franciscans, a fragment of mosaic was found, containing a bird, some fish, and some shell fish.‡

What date ought we to assign to this fine mosaic on the Mount of Olives? It is not easy to answer this question by arguments drawn from the material examination of the work itself, for the qualities of style and technical skill may have lingered till a very late period among the mosaic-workers of Syria, even as they did among the architects of the same country. Of all countries Syria is the most unsafe one in which to trust exclusively to considerations of this kind, for local art fell into its decadence there much later than in the central parts of the ancient world, as is proved by the superb specimens of Byzantine architecture, so pure and nearly classical in their forms in spite of their late date, which are to be seen in Northern Syria.

The mosaic is accompanied by an inscription which one would expect to settle this question, but which, unhappily, only obscures it. It is an inscription consisting of one line, in Armenian characters, running along one of the outer edges of the frame. I submitted to a friend, a learned Orientalist, too early lost to science, M. Garrez, an accurate copy of it made by M. Lecomte, and he was good enough to give me the following translation of it :—

“ This is the body of the blessed Shushanik (Susanna), the mother of Artavan (Artaban). The eighteenth day (of the month) of Hori.”§

* Münz, *Revue Archéologique*, Janvier, 1877. p. 32.

† See the copy of it given by M. Pierotti in his *Jerusalem Explored*, pl. lxiii, which is not nearly as well done as it might be. M. Lecomte and I made some drawings of this mosaic with a view of giving a better representation of it, but they could not be made use of.

‡ This fragment has been engraved in the *Mittheilungen des K.K Oesterr. Museum*, 1866, No. 11, p. 166.

§ Hori is the name of the second month of the national Armenian Calendar.

This translation has since been confirmed by competent scholars who have turned their attention to it.*

It is greatly to be regretted that the writer of the inscription should have confined himself to giving the month, which for us has but slight interest, and that he did not think proper to give us the year, which would have been a much more important matter, and would perhaps have enabled us to date the mosaic; I say perhaps, because there is an interlocutory question to be considered, to wit, whether the mosaic and the Armenian inscription which accompanies it are indeed of the same date; whether the latter may not have been subsequently added, perhaps after a very long interval. I must say that everything would incline me to adopt this last hypothesis, were it not for one material fact of which I shall presently speak, which at the present day makes me hesitate. My first impression, derived from a minute inspection of the original, was that the inscription was not executed at the same time as the body of the mosaic; the cubes of which it consists are of quite a different kind to the rest of the work, and the strip which contains the text forms a single line inserted in a corner of the outer edge of the border, which has obviously been put in as an addition to the original design. That it is indeed a patch is evident even in the black and white of our plate: it is much more obviously so when seen in the original, because of the difference in the colouring of the cubes. The question is, how much time elapsed between these two operations; was it months or years, or even centuries?

In the absence of a date, can the general tenor of the inscription and the style of its lettering give us any clear idea as to the epoch to which it belongs? Were this Susanna, and her son Artaban, historical personages whom we can identify? The fact of the mother describing herself by the name of her son seems, *a priori*, to be a proof of the latter having attained a certain notoriety. The name Artaban, which is of Persian origin, was common among the Armenians who took service

* For example, by Father Joachim, in Brother Liévin's *Guide* (I, p. 369), and by Dr. Vetter, quoted by M. Riess in the *Zeitschr. d.d. Palaestina Vereins*, VIII, p. 157. M. Riess is mistaken in attributing to M. Lecomte the imperfect copies of this inscription, and of other inscriptions of which I shall speak presently, which are given in the *Jerusalem* volume of the *Memoirs*, p. 401. M. Lecomte's facsimile is an excellent one, as may be seen on the plate already given. I may add that when the water-colour drawing of the mosaic was exhibited in 1875, it was accompanied by the equally faultless translation of the inscription due to M. Garrez.

under the Byzantine emperors: we have for example an Artabanus who was a general and the governor of a province under Justinian.* One might, consequently, be tempted to recognise him in the Artaban of our inscription.† This would suit the date of the mosaic well enough. But can we admit that, in the fifth century, the Armenian alphabet, which at that period—if we are to believe the Armenian chroniclers—had only just been invented by Mesrob,‡ had already taken the form in which it appears upon our mosaic? I am quite incompetent to offer any opinion on Armenian writing, and shall not venture to give one; but this seems to me, *a priori*, very difficult to believe. One would rather expect those Armenians who were in the Byzantine service in the fifth century, to have used the Greek language and the Greek alphabet. Let us remember the inscription which I have already given of Charate, abess of an Armenian convent on the Mount of Olives. Moreover, Dr. Vetter,§ a scholar who appears to be well qualified to pronounce an opinion on the matter, confines himself to saying that on palæographical grounds this Armenian inscription, and two other similar ones, of which I shall speak hereafter, are at least as old as the ninth or tenth century of our era. Although these are only hints of minimum dates, yet it is no less true that there is a terrible gap between the ninth and the fifth century.

One might also find an argument in favour of high antiquity for the inscription upon a certain historical Armenian document, entitled “The Seventy Armenian Convents of Jerusalem,”|| and attributed to Anastasius of Armenia, who lived in the seventh century. But, without denying the intrinsic interest of this document, we may be permitted to doubt its authenticity, if we bear in mind that we only know of it through the medium of two copies, both of the seventeenth century, and that, as a general rule, one ought to look with some suspicion on the purity of the sources of Armenian history, as is shown by the recent exposure connected with the well-known chronicle of Moses of Chorene. In any case it is certain that this document has received much interpolated matter, for it distinctly mentions the “Saracens” as “now” being in possession of the Convent of the

* See De Muralt. *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, I, pp. 190. 203.

† This proposal has indeed been made. See *Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 126.

‡ He died in A.D. 441.

§ *Zeitschr. d.d. Palaestina-Verein*, Vol. VIII. p. 167.

|| Translated by Father Leontius Alishan, in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. II. pp. 394,

Forty Saints, that of the Zalakumians on the Mount called Viri Galilei, that of the Sunians, and three others of the Alwanians, and as having demolished the convent of Noravank, on the side of the Mount of Olives, as well as that of St. George. I do not therefore think we can regard as decisive evidence a passage in this document which reads thus: "The Convent of Pande (Pantaleon), called St. Forerunner, standing toward the East, on the Mount of Olives, was likewise built by a royal grant, in the name of the Holy Cathedral, of the city of Valarshapat," and "belonging to the Alwanians." The information may be accurate in itself, but if this sanctuary is the same as that wherein our mosaic was found, that proves no more than that the Armenians were in possession of the site at the period when the book was compiled. Now, all the evidence seems to prove that that time was subsequent to the Arab conquest. Even if the information be true, it is not so useful, chronologically speaking, as that which we find in another far more trustworthy document, the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*,* which contains a detailed catalogue of the chief religious establishments in the Holy Land about A.D. 808. After having mentioned the presence of certain Armenians among the clergy connected with the church on the Mount of Olives, it speaks of a convent of St. John, belonging to the Armenians, and containing six monks. It is quite possible that this Convent of St. John may be the same as the Convent of St. Pande, otherwise St. Forerunner, of the Armenian work already quoted. One is therefore inclined to ask whether our Armenian inscription may not have been added to the mosaic somewhere about the ninth century, which, on the other hand, would agree well enough, as we have seen, with the palæography of the inscription itself. It may have come to pass that at some given time, owing to political circumstances unknown to us, the Armenians had so far won the favour of the Caliphs; as to obtain partial or entire possession of various sanctuaries in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; in this case we ought not to feel any surprise at their having made various structural changes in these buildings to adapt them to their own peculiar needs. Our Armenian inscription, after all, is nothing but a plain epitaph, which has no connection whatever with the richness of the mosaic which it adjoins. This mosaic has nothing funerary in its treatment,† and appears to have been the pavement of a

* *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Orient Latin ed.), Vol. I, p. 302: "ad Sanctum Iohannem, quod tenent Armeni, monachi vj."

† Compare the mosaic from Tyre already mentioned, which is certainly the pavement of a church.

luxurious place of worship rather than that of a sepulchre. If the ground beneath it was subsequently hollowed out into a crypt to receive the body of Susanna, one can very well understand how this brief epitaph came to be added to the border of the mosaic, and this may have been done many centuries after the mosaic was put together.

The same reasoning applies to the other similar Armenian inscriptions, likewise in mosaic, which were found near this one; indeed in these the inscription seems less out of place, because all these mosaics are very plain, without any of the decorative subjects which we admire in the fragment here reproduced.

We did, indeed, make a copy of another Armenian inscription in seven lines, in a cave not far from this spot, on the south-east side. Here again I am indebted to my friend Garrez for the translation, which he made from the faithful copy executed by M. Lecomte: "Having for my intercessor with God Saint Isaiah and my (*or* the) holy fathers, I, Valan (*or* Vaghan) have made this monument to (win) pardon for my sins."*

Near this there is a third Armenian inscription, in three lines, which either escaped our notice or had not been uncovered till after 1874. According to Messrs. Riess and Vetter it runs thus (*l.c.*):

"For prayer and for the salvation of Theuas (?) Abas (? 'Abbot' ? this word is usually spelt 'Abbaji') and Murvan." The formula seems to me to be modelled upon the well-known Greek one, *ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσεως* (or *σωτηρίας*?). It should be noted that we find this very formula in a mosaic bearing a Greek inscription which also was discovered at no great distance from this spot, on the Mount of Olives, the mosaic of Kallistratos, about which I shall speak presently.

OTHER MOSAICS.—Quite near this fine mosaic there was discovered in 1893, another which displays a remarkable likeness to it, as far as one can judge from the imperfect reproductions of it which have been published.† This latter one, which is in good preservation, forms a great rectangle, measuring 3^m·50 × 3^m·20, and is divided into thirty-five medallions, alternately square and round. Each medallion contains a separate subject: birds, four-footed animals, groups of fruit, etc. The birds are the most numerous,

* This translation agrees exactly with those which have been subsequently published by various learned Armenians and European students of Armenian literature, and quoted by the writers already mentioned.

† See *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 139; *Revue Biblique*, 1893, pp. 241, 242; *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 51.

and some of them are singularly like those of the first mosaic; the turns of the cable which is twined round about the medallion, and, above all, the plaited border which forms the frame of the whole composition, is also exactly in the same style. It is probable that both these mosaics were executed at the same period, and perhaps even by the same workmen. In this second example there is no appearance of any Armenian inscription.

Close by this great mosaic, which must have formed the pavement of a little chapel, two other smaller ones have been found, of much simpler workmanship. One of these consists of a geometrical pattern of lozenges with little crosses in the centre, exactly the same as that which I discovered in my excavation in the ground of Hammâm es Sultân, inside Jerusalem, reproduced above, page 80. It is also exactly the same as those mosaics which have since been discovered, one near Jeremiah's grotto, north of Jerusalem, the other below and quite close to the sanctuary of the Pater Noster.*

This one is accompanied by an Armenian inscription of four lines, which has been thus translated: "This monument has been erected at the prayer of His Beatitude James, Chief of the first Elects."† It has been conjectured that the personage in question was an Armenian Bishop of this name who lived at Jerusalem about the year A.D. 614. I have grave doubts on this subject; I think that this last mosaic, which is quite different in style and far inferior in workmanship to the other two, is of a much later date than they. Its very position relative to the principal one shows plainly that it is the result of a subsequent addition to the building.

Taking a general view of the facts which I have set forth, I should never have hesitated to regard the whole of this group of Armenian inscriptions on the mosaics, not excepting Susanna's epitaph, as belonging to quite a different period to that of the fine decorated mosaic which the latter accompanies, and also to that of the second mosaic, of the same character,

* *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 118 (compare a better engraving in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 191), and 1896, p. 275. The mosaic near the Pater Noster is in three colours, white, black, and two shades of red. The pavement, a square one, is complete; it measures 5^m·50 along its side, and traces out the plan of a little apse corresponding to that of a building to the east of it, which was probably a little funerary chapel. In the centre of this little apse there is a large cross *pattée*, on a ground *semée* with eight little crosses, four of which are on the four quarters of the large cross.

† It has been translated otherwise (*Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 51, "Dies ist das Denkmal des Herrn Jacob, das auf (seine) Bitte gemacht wurde."

similarly decorated with birds, flowers, etc., but without any inscription, if, subsequently, a new factor had not been introduced into the question, one which cannot be overlooked, and which renders all uncertain again. I mean, the superb and almost perfect mosaic* which was discovered in 1894, on the north side of Jerusalem, about a hundred yards to the west of the new church of St. Stephen. The resemblance between this mosaic and the beautiful fragment, and also the better preserved one on the Mount of Olives, strikes one directly, and has struck everybody who has seen them. These three mosaics must all be contemporary, whatever their true date may be. In all three we find the same style of workmanship, the same scheme of decoration, with birds and flowers, etc., and the same plaited border serving as a frame to the great central panel. A circumstance which completes the connection between the great fragment on the Mount of Olives and the mosaic near the Damascus Gate, and at the same time redoubles our perplexity as to the period to which we ought to attribute these works of art, is that the latter bears an Armenian inscription, whose commonplace character, by the way, affords us but little information.† In this latter case one cannot say that the inscription is placed as an excrescence, so to speak, on the edge of the frame; it is on the inner side of a homogeneous border at the upper part of the pavement, in a frame shaped like a panel, with triangular tabs at the ends; even above the panel there is an important piece of ornament, in the same style as the main portion of the pavement; it consists of an elegant gadrooned vase, flanked by two birds. Everything therefore seems, *a priori*, to show that in this instance the Armenian inscription is really an integral part of the original mosaic. Nevertheless, I question, in spite of all this, whether this inscription, which seems to fit so well into its place, is really of

* *Quarterly Statement*, 1894, p. 257 (compare *Q.S.*, 1893, p. 298, and 1895, p. 126); *Revue Biblique*, 1894, p. 628; *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1895 (Vol. XVIII), p. 88.

† "In remembrance of and for the repose of the souls of all those Armenians whose names the Lord knows." The formula is based upon a well known Greek one: *ἕν ὁ κύριος γηγνώσκει τὰ ὀνόματα*. Near this mosaic has been found a broken marble urn which also bears an Armenian inscription, but again of the same infuriatingly common-place character: "Petros who made this cross, and John who caused it to be made." An attempt has been made (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*) to identify the spot with a certain convent of St. Polyeuctus, founded on the north side of Jerusalem, according to pseudo-Anastasius, by Archelaios, a Tetrarch of Armenia. This is a pure conjecture, and one which in itself is exceedingly improbable; we must not forget, in any case, as I have already pointed out, that the document here referred to belongs to a far later date than that implied by its misleading title.

the same age as the mosaic. The descriptions and reproductions of it which have been published are not sufficient to enable me to declare that there are no traces of joining in the cubework, and that an Armenian inscription may not at some period have been substituted for the original Greek one.

This point—a matter of fact which does not appear to have attracted any one's attention, should be examined carefully, as it is of vital interest. Until this has been done, for my own part I reserve my final decision. Unfortunately the mosaic has, so to speak, only been glanced at for a moment, and was almost instantly covered up again by official orders. We must allow that the presence of Armenian inscriptions upon these two sister mosaics, found at a considerable distance from one another, is a strong argument in favour of the inscriptions and mosaics both belonging to the same date. Yet, on the other hand, I do not see how to reconcile the discrepancy which seems to exist between the apparent age of the mosaics and that of the Armenian letters; if they are really contemporaneous, we must either admit that the Byzantine school of mosaic-workers retained the best traditions of the art down to a very late period, or else that the Armenian alphabet came into common use almost as soon as it was invented, and has undergone very little change in the course of centuries.

GREEK CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

On the same ground belonging to the Russian monastic establishment, there was discovered in an old pavement a large slab of white marble, measuring in its present condition 0^m·6 × 0^m·45, and bearing a long Greek inscription in letters of a comparatively late period, but finely shaped and very carefully engraved.* Unfortunately it is only a fragment, representing to all appearance about half the original inscription; the whole of the left hand side of it has disappeared. The text consists of ten lines. At the bottom is carved a little cross, which must have stood at about the middle of the original slab, and thus enables us to make a guess at the extent of the part which is lost. This part is very considerable, and makes it very difficult to interpret that which remains.

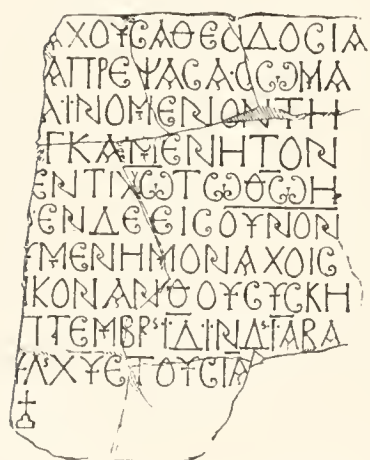
It will be noticed that the cross stands upon a sort of trefoiled base

* The accompanying reproduction has been executed from a squeeze, which I took of it in 1874.

which I have already noted in the Christian inscription at Gaza, and in which I have proposed to recognise a symbolical representation of Golgotha.* Two of these Gaza inscriptions were dated with the greatest precision, from the years A.D. 541 and A.D. 563 respectively, and one might perhaps derive from the presence of this characteristic symbol, some evidence towards determining the period of our inscription, in which unfortunately the date is mutilated.

The palæography of the letters, decorated with flouriations, would agree well enough with this archæological evidence, which, if it really has any meaning, would bring us down to the end of the sixth century, perhaps even a little later. It should also be noted that in several cases the *iotas* have a dot on either side of their upper part. I lay some stress upon this palæographical detail, because I find it in the Greek inscription which appears upon a mosaic discovered in 1894, on this same Mount of Olives, on the south side of the Russian monastic establishment a little to the east of the Pater Noster.†

It is not without considerable hesitation that I venture to put forth the following translation:—

	<p>1. α]χοῦσα Θεοδοσία</p> <p>2. μετα οἱ ? δι]απρέψασα, σῶμα</p> <p>3. ? φα]ινόμενον τῆ</p> <p>4. [γῆ] ? ? ἐνε]γκαμένη τὸν</p> <p>5. σταυρωθ]έντι Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῷ Θ(ε)ῶ η</p> <p>6. ἀνήλθ]εν δὲ εἰς οὐ(ρα)νὸν</p> <p>7. ?φιλου]μένη μοναχοῖς</p> <p>8. ? ο] ? ικον ἀνθουσουσκη</p> <p>9. σεπ]τεμβρ(ίου) ιδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια', βα-</p> <p>10. [σιλεύοντος . . . ?δου]λ(ου) Χ(ριστο)ῦ, ἔτους ια' . . .</p> <p style="text-align: center;">✠</p>
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I shall not enter into the question of the various ways in which one might try to fill up the gaps. I shall confine myself to pointing out some of them. In line 5, perhaps [τῶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σταυρωθ]έντι Χριστῶ,‡ which seems

* See Vol. II of these *Researches*, pp. 407. 409. 410, 416, Nos. 8, 11, 13, 24.

† *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 92, compare p. 437. The pattern of this mosaic is very simple and purely geometrical. The inscription contains the names of several personages, priests, deacons, and monks.

‡ In A.D. 512, by order of Anastasius, the words "crucified for us" were added to the *Trisagion*. (De Muralt, *Essai de Chronologie Byzantine*, p. 125.)

to me a preferable reading to *σαρκωθέντι*, "incarnate," of which I thought at first. In line 8, I do not exactly know how to divide the words, [ρ ο]ἶκον ἄνθους would do well enough, but then what is one to make of the group *υσκη*? If we read $\Theta(\epsilon)\omicron\upsilon$ *συσκη*, we should get the beginning of *συσκηνηέν, συσκηγία, σύσκηνος*, taken in an eschatological sense, but the three letters **ΘΟΥ** are not surmounted by the line signifying abbreviation.

The inscription is evidently the epitaph of a pious lady named Theodosia, and one of sufficiently high rank, judging from the length of the inscription and the care with which it has been engraved, and also from a comparison which I shall shortly make.

The essential point is to make out the date, which is contained in the last two lines. The elements are: A, the fourteenth of September; B, "the XIth indiction;" and C, some year 11, reckoned in some chronological system which remains unknown because of the lacuna. I propose to see in the two letters BA at the end of line 9, the beginning of the word *Βασιλεύοντος*, "in the reign of." One might at first think of the kingdom of Christ, and consequently of the use of the Christian era, taking as a precedent an inscription found in the Hauran,* where the mention of the year 536 is accompanied by the words *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλεύοντος*, which somewhat reminds one of the tenor of our date. M. Waddington, however, has very satisfactorily proved that M. Wetzstein's opinion is untenable; that there are no instances in Syria of the use of the Christian era in the seventh century; that the era employed in the aforesaid inscription is merely the era of Bostra, in common use throughout the province of Arabia; and finally, that the words in question allude merely, without any computation, to the spiritual reign of Christ, as opposed to the Mussulman supremacy which had been established in that district at the time when the inscription was engraved (A.D. 641). Moreover, in the inscription of the Mount of Olives the date of the year 11 is complete, $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$; although the lacuna begins immediately after the numeral *alpha*, it is certain that this letter was not followed by another numeral letter, because the horizontal line, the mark of abbreviation, is in perfect preservation and only covers the two letters $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$, without extending farther. It follows from this that so low a number as eleven can only refer to the reign of some temporal sovereign, and in the present case of a Byzantine emperor. The formula in this case should be compared with that which

* Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie*, No. 2413a.

appears in another inscription from the Hauran,* *Βασιλεύοντος Ἰουστινιανού, τῷ ια' ἔτει*, "in the eleventh year of the reign of Justinian." Unfortunately, in our inscription, the name of the emperor has disappeared. Nevertheless the problem is not insoluble, if we take into account on one hand the character of the writing considered palæographically, and the type of the cross standing upon Golgotha, pieces of evidence which take us back to the end of the sixth century, an epoch which cannot be earlier than Justinian's reign (527-565), nor yet much later than the Arab conquest (about 636). On the other hand, if we adopt the chronological concordance furnished by the inscription, that is to say, that the reign of this unknown emperor coincided with the eleventh indiction, we arrive at the following results: 1. The emperors belonging to this period who reigned for more than eleven years, and from whom we must choose, are, Justinian, Justin II, Maurice, Heraclius, and, but far too late for our purpose, Constans II (641-668); of these five emperors only one fulfils the required condition of perfect agreement between the years of his reign and the years of the indiction, this is Maurice (582-602), whose eleventh year does exactly coincide with the eleventh indiction.† It is his name, therefore, which I propose to restore in our inscription, until I am proved to be wrong, and this would make the date exactly September 14, A.D. 592.‡

I am inclined to think that this Theodosia, or at all events a namesake of hers, is mentioned in another fragment of an inscription in mosaic, which was found on the same spot on the Mount of Olives. In this case the inscription is not in Armenian but in Greek. This fragment has been drawn by M. Schick, and studied by M. Schultze.

The text consists of six or seven horizontal lines inscribed within a circle, and consequently of very unequal length. The lower part alone has been preserved, M. Schultze transcribes it as follows: **CIMOIH**C

* Waddington, *op. c.*, No. 2412b.

† See De Murali, *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine* (règne de Maurice), pp. 243 and 253.

‡ With regard to the title of "Servant of Christ" given to the emperor, I do not know at what period it first appears in the official style of the Byzantine emperors. This question will be better answered by specialists than by me. I can only at this moment remember the "servus Christi" on the coins of Justinian II (685-695 and 705-711). I must add that Father Germer-Durand, who has given a transcript of this inscription in the *Revue Biblique* (1892, p. 572), has arrived independently at the same chronological conclusion. His restorations also agree with mine on certain points.

ΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΗΣ ΚΒΒΙΚΒΛΛΑΡΙΑΣ.* Ἐνδοξοτάτης κουβικουλαρίας is certain. We have therefore to do with a lady of distinction, who bore the title of *cubicularia* at the Byzantine court.

The seven preceding letters are very puzzling. M. Schultze would see in them the termination of some adjective, or rather of some proper name. But this reading leads to no satisfactory result on those lines. I greatly doubt whether the damaged character which M. Schultze takes for a *mu*, is really that letter; at the period to which this inscription belongs it would have been formed quite differently. I am more inclined to make it out to be **Α**, with its upper part lost by the breaking of the mosaic, and I should propose to read the whole word . . . **ΚΙΑCTHC**, instead of **ΚΙΜΟΙHC**, understanding: [Θεοδο]σίας τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης κουβικουλαρίας.† In this case we should have the name Theodosia, the same as that in our inscription on the marble slab, and we should have some grounds for considering them to apply to the same personage. This renders it all the more regrettable that the date engraved on the marble slab remains somewhat doubtful, owing to the disappearance of the name of the emperor; otherwise we should perhaps have found in it a precious piece of evidence to help us in unravelling this question, still so obscure, of the period to which all this group of mosaics on the Mount of Olives really belongs.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

The *Life of Peter the Iberian*,‡ a Syriac work of the fifth century of our era, contains some extremely interesting information as to the origin and the then condition of the various sanctuaries and religious establishments on the

* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1881, IV, p. 1-17, and pl. I. The same plate reproduces another mosaic discovered a little lower down, towards the Tomb of the Prophets, which contains an inscription in perfect preservation. It is the epitaph of a sub-deacon of the Church of the Resurrection, who, according to M. Schultze and Professor Piper of Berlin, would be named *Kanstratos* or *Kanstraios*. I long ago pointed out that the extraordinary-looking name was a purely imaginary one, in spite of all the efforts made to justify it, and that we ought to replace it by the well known name of *Kallistratos*, by simply reading **ΚΑΛ(Λ)ICTPATOY** the wrong transcription **ΚΑΝCTPATO** in M. Schick's copy.

† This reading, which was merely conjectural, has since been confirmed by Father Germer-Durand, who speaks of the inscription *de visu* (*op. c.*, p. 673).

‡ Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*. Compare my *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 1-22, and the painstaking analysis of it by the Abbé Chabot in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. III, pp. 367-397.

Mount of Olives. These pieces of information, which are entirely new, have not hitherto been made use of by the scholars who have turned their attention to this question. They may throw a little light upon some of the points which I have been discussing. This work tells us how a noble Roman lady of senatorial family, related to the Byzantine emperor, whose name was Melania, the daughter of Pinianus and Albina, and who must not be confounded with her more celebrated namesake, the classical Melania, came to live at Jerusalem, where she died in 439.* Together with her parents, she founded two convents, one for men and one for women, on the Mount of Olives. These establishments had at that time for their superior the monophysite abbot Gerontios, who bore the title of "Superior of the Monastery of the Mount of Olives and of the convents in that place." These establishments, three in number, consisted of the two convents for men and for women, and the "Monastery of the Mount." This last apparently formed part of the sanctuary of the Ascension; and with regard to this, the book assures us that the church of the Mount of the Ascension, and the surrounding buildings, had been built before the time of Melania by another devout woman named *Pocmenia*, *Pomonía*, or *Pomniá*.† Gerontios's convent was already at that date in possession of the relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, *in Armenia*. Peter the Iberian added to these the relics of two Persian martyrs, which he brought thither with him. The solemn consecration of these relics was celebrated by St. Cyril of Alexandria, shortly after the consecration, also by him, of the relics of St. Stephen in the famous Basilica of Eudoxia.

THE SANCTUARY OF THE PATER NOSTER.

The name of the spot whereon the sanctuary of the Pater Noster now stands was *El Batthaniyeh*, according to native traditions, and once, the

* She was already known to us from other Greek ecclesiastical works.

† This Pomniá is not otherwise known to us. The Syriac document adds a very curious circumstance, namely, that it was she who destroyed the idol which the Samaritans, even as late as this, used to worship on Mount Gerizim. We may be permitted to ask whether the Syriac text correctly reproduces the name of this personage, and whether there does not lurk in this reading some other name, more or less altered. Knowing the peculiarities of the Syriac alphabet as we do, one might guess it to be an incorrect transcript of *Paulina*, or of *Pompeia* (compare the *Pompeia* Lucilia who dedicated the marble foot as an *ex voto* offering at the Bethesda of the Sheep Pool, about which I have published an essay, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, October 29, 1868). As for the Samaritan idol on Mount Gerizim, can this be a confusion with the idolatrous sanctuaries on the Mount of Offence?

same authority assures us, there was a church and a convent there, a statement which agrees perfectly with the information which we receive from ancient written sources.

During the building operations undertaken in 1869 a good many fragments of ancient stonework were found, which unfortunately were not collected as carefully as could have been wished. Here are some of them, which M. Lecomte had an opportunity of taking squeezes of and drawing.

1. A fragment of a slab of marble with remains of a Byzantine inscription. Height of the great Y: 0^m.09.

[X]ρ[σ]τ[ός]? The marks on the left-hand side of the great Y



perhaps do not form part of a letter but of an emblem, such as an anchor.



2. Fragment of a paving stone (of marble or calcareous stone), 0^m.76 by 0^m.12, with remains of three lines of letters of the Byzantine period.

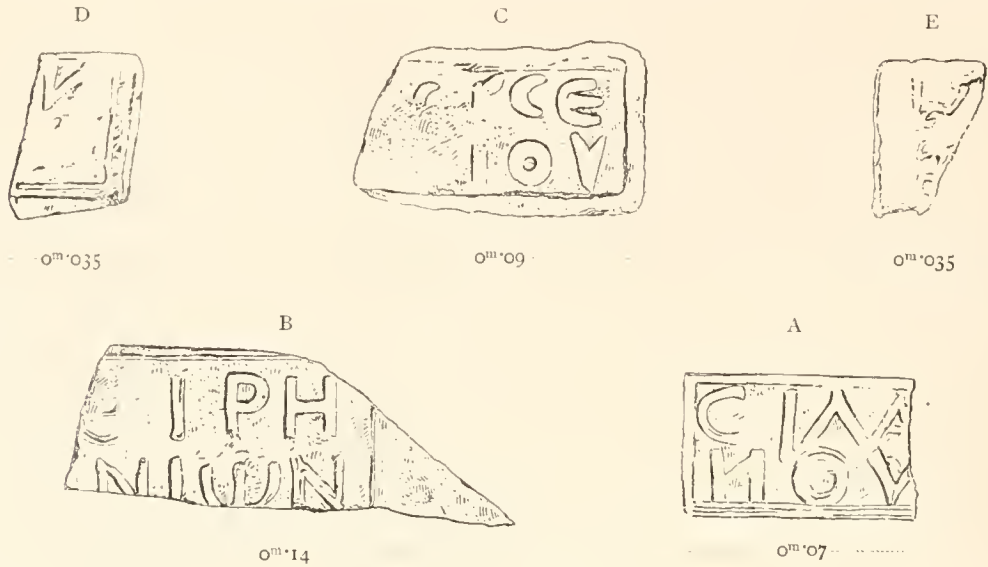
Perhaps this beautifully carved piece of a capital which was dug up in the same region, belongs to the same period.



FRAGMENT OF A CAPITAL FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

3. A, B, C, D, E are five pieces of bricks or tiles of terra-cotta, bearing stamps with Greek letters in relief, in more or less good preservation, belonging, as far as one can decide, to the Byzantine period.

These stamps prove at any rate that before the Arab conquest there must have been on this spot a church, probably enshrining the tradition of the Pater Noster, or perhaps of the Creed. Eusebius* states that besides



- A. Σιλανῶ, "of Silanus," probably the name of a potter of Roman origin.
 B. Ἐιρηνίων, "Irenion." Observe that this name is not in the genitive case like the preceding and following ones.
 C. . . . ε . . . ιου. A mutilated name in the genitive case, which seems to me to be [Ἐὐ]σε[β]ίου, "of Eusebius."
 D. A fragment containing only one letter—indecipherable—perhaps the remains of a kappa.
 E. A fragment with the remains of two letters stamped upon it; altogether perished.

the Church of the Ascension, St. Helena caused another church to be built on the Mount of Olives on the spot where Jesus initiated his disciples into the mysteries of the faith. It seems not impossible, from a palæographical point of view, that these fragments should date from that period.

EL MANSÛRIYEH.

On the slope of the Mount of Olives, at the place where, according to tradition, Jesus wept over Jerusalem, there is a ruined Mussulman oratory called *El Mansûriyeh*. In a chamber near the *mikrâb* I noticed the mouth of a tomb (or of a cistern) hewn in the rock. The place

* *Vita Constantini*, III, 42.

is not far distant from the sanctuary of the Pater Noster, on the other side of the road.

TOMBS OF THE PROPHETS.

Both in 1870 and 1874 I systematically explored this remarkable catacomb, discovering many facts and inscriptions which I think ought to throw much light upon the vexed question of its origin, and the period to which it should be assigned. These researches, as we shall see, clearly prove that it cannot be "the rock Peristereon" mentioned by Josephus, and *a fortiori* that it cannot be the "Tombs of the Prophets" mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. xxiii, 29; Luke xi, 47). Still less can it be the tombs of the Prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, which are placed there by Jewish tradition.*

This last tradition dates from the Middle Ages at the earliest. The first mention which I have been able to find of the existence of a *Tomb of the Prophets* on the Mount of Olives is in the history of Mujir ed Din,† the Arab chronicler of Jerusalem, who declares that in a marginal note written by some learned man he has read that John (*Yahya*, John the Baptist) and Zechariah were buried at the *foot* of the Mount of Olives in the "Tomb of the Prophets" (*Makâber el Anbiâ*). The expression certainly very closely resembles the present name (*Kobûr el Anbiâ*). But from the position assigned to the tomb, and from what Mujir ed Din himself adds,‡ one would rather be inclined to think that these *makâber* of the prophets must be what are now called the tombs of Absalom and Zechariah, which stand lower down at the bottom of the Kedron valley. The transference of the name to these ancient monuments may perhaps be due to yet another mistake. Be this as it may, the passage proves that Muslim tradition, even in the fifteenth century, was aware of the existence of certain *Tombs of the Prophets* on the Mount of Olives.

I think that it is this same group of ancient buildings, called at that day the Tombs of Absalom, of St. James, and Zechariah, to which Antoninus§

* Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 441; Schwarz, *Das Heilige Land*, p. 220.

† P. 412 of the Arabic text of Cairo.

‡ "They say that the *Tartûr* of Pharaoh (Absalom's tomb) is the tomb of Zechariah and that the *Kubbeh* of Pharaoh's wife (Zechariah's tomb) is that of John."

§ VIth century. *Itinerarium Antonini*, Ch. XVI.

alludes in the passage, "in ipso monte jacet Jacobus Zebedæ et Cleophas et multa corpora sanctorum," although Tobler* is disposed to make this passage refer to the *Tombs of the Prophets*.

The Jewish and Muslim legends may be derived more or less directly from a mistaken interpretation of a passage of St. Epiphanius,† where it is stated that the Prophets Haggai and Zechariah were buried in "the sepulchre of the priests," near the tombs of the Kings and the tomb of Isaiah. It cannot be believed that St. Epiphanius really meant our "Tombs of the Prophets," for about this very time these tombs, as I shall presently prove, were being used to receive the bodies of certain Christians who died at Jerusalem.

M. de Saulcy declares that a Jewish tradition known at Jerusalem regards these tombs as those of several kings who were not buried in the sepulchre of David; he does not distinctly remember which they were, whether King Uzziah the leper or Ammon and Manasseh.‡

I conclude from an engraving printed in the Dutch edition of Van Kootwyck's book, that the Tombs of the Prophets were shown at the end of the sixteenth century as those of Martha and Mary.

Without treating these various legendary localisations seriously, archæologists have generally agreed in regarding the Tombs of the Prophets as an ancient sepulchre of Jewish origin, which may later on have been used over again.§

The particulars which I observed therein and which seem to have escaped the notice of my predecessors, does not favour this hypothesis. I am rather inclined to think that this great catacomb was hewn out from the beginning for the special sepulchral purpose, of which I have found a series of irrefragable proofs taking us back to the first centuries of the Christian era.

I do not wish, after it has been done so often by others, to write a new description of this very complicated sepulchre; nevertheless it is absolutely necessary, for the proper understanding of what follows, that I should give some idea of its arrangement. Plans of it have been made by Tobler,||

* *Die Siloahquelle*, p. 262.

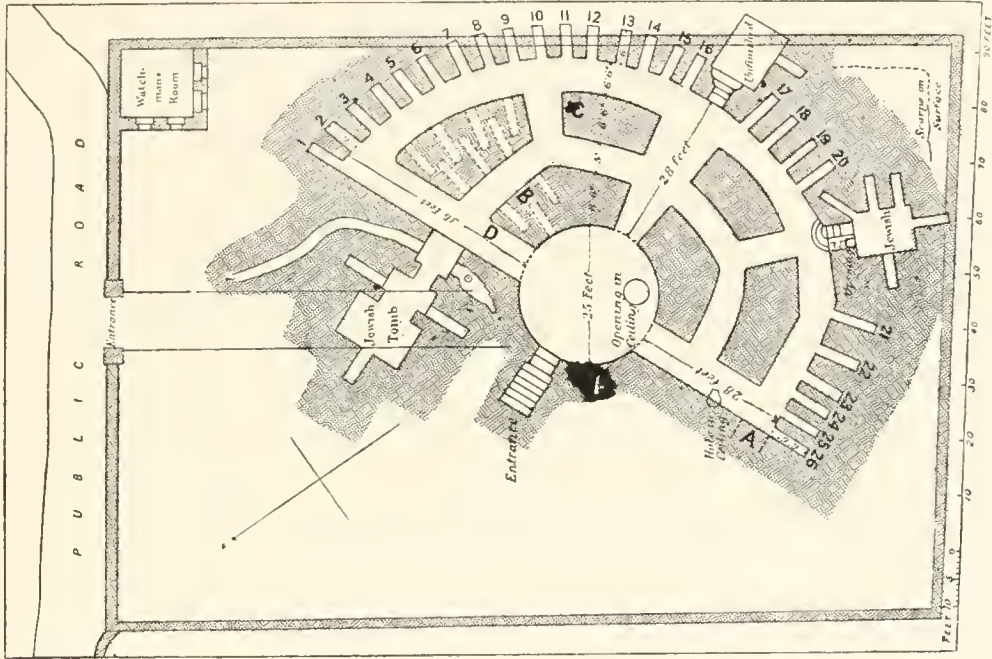
† *Contra Haeres.*, 580.

‡ *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, II, 287; cf. *Histoire de l'Art Judaique*, 273.

§ *Memoirs*, Jerusalem Volume, p. 404; see also Baedeker, *Syria and Palestine*, p. 96. etc. This erroneous idea is still maintained in the second edition of 1893 (French text), on the same page.

|| Reproduced by Robinson in his *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 253.

De Saulcy,* Sepp,† and Pierotti,‡ These plans differ from one another, and probably none of them are correct. Quite recently Herr C. Schick has published§ a plan of it which inspires more confidence, considering its author's well known reputation for accurate work. I shall reproduce it here, adding some numbers and letters referring to the observations which I have to make about it.



PLAN OF THE SO-CALLED "TOMBS OF THE PROPHETS."

After having descended the few steps of the entrance passage, one comes out into a large round chamber with a very high roof, lighted at the top by a large opening like the mouth of a cistern. This chamber, which originally, perhaps, was really a cistern, is like all the rest of the catacomb hewn out of the soft calcareous rock which forms the core of the mount. From this round entrance hall four passages radiate crosswise at right angles to one another: the first is the very one by which one enters; the three others lead into a series of galleries which form a kind of labyrinth, complicated enough to look

* *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, pl. XXXVI.

† *Das Heilige Land*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 286. On p. 695 there is a picturesque view of the interior; it is, however, very poorly executed.

‡ In the marginal details of his plan of Jerusalem.

§ *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 129.

at, but the plan of which, generally speaking, may be considered to consist of two semicircular concentric galleries, whose ends join two of the passages which, running in the same straight line, form the diameter of the semicircle. These galleries and passages, as they meet one another at various angles in the thickness of the rock, leave solid isolated blocks of it between them, which serve as so many massive piers to support the roof of the crypt.

The most important gallery is the east, the outer one. Throughout its entire length it is honeycombed with sepulchral *loculi*, cut perpendicular to the face of the wall, and radiating fanwise. These *loculi* belong to the well-known type of oven-shaped cells, or *kôkîm*.* Two of these openings—one in the main axis of the building, and the other a little to the right of it—are not the ordinary cells, but two short passages leading up a few steps into two little sepulchral chambers, of square form, and containing *kôkîm* like the others.

On the left another gallery branches out toward the north beyond the line of the semicircle. This gallery leads to some more little unfinished caves, from which an exceedingly low and narrow passage plunges at random into the side of the mount. After going a long way, much further than is shown on Herr Schick's plan, this stifling tunnel stops short; a complete "no thoroughfare," which is extremely unpleasant and even dangerous to explore. I have satisfied myself that this blind alley contains nothing of any interest.

At the right-hand end, at the point which I have marked A in the plan, I noted the beginning of a gallery which has escaped the attention of previous and indeed of later explorers. It is quite full of earth, and forms a prolongation of the outer semicircle. It would be interesting to clear it out; perhaps it is a branch continuing the semicircle beyond the diameter, and tending to give the entire plan a symmetrical circular form. We may also ask whether this unexplored gallery may not contain *kôkîm* like that of which it is the continuation, and whether we might not perhaps find in it unopened tombs.

All the walls of this catacomb are covered with a thick coat of plaster or cement, embedded in which are a great number of fragments, some of them very large, of ancient pottery. This ware is of close texture, well baked, and either smooth or fluted. I have collected some specimens, and I especially beg future explorers to collect more, because among them all one might find

* The plan and section of one of the *loculi* of the Tomb of the Prophets will be found in the *Ordnance Survey*, by Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., pl. XXIV, Nos. 6 and 7.

some which would give an idea of the period to which this plaster belongs. For my own part, I am disposed to think, contrary to the general opinion, that this plaster dates from the time when the crypt itself was made. I noticed that the galleries, passages, and *kôkîm* are all hewn out of the rock with a certain amount of carelessness, and I have drawn the inference that the reason for this slovenly workmanship was that they looked to the coat of stucco to cover all the irregularities, which can be seen at this day in places where the plaster has fallen off.

Herr Schick's plan shows in dotted lines several *kôkîm* made in the thickness of two of the piers on the left hand. This drawing is, as he himself warns us, purely conjectural. I do not know whether it is supported by any discoveries made in consequence of diggings by the Russians, who have lately obtained possession of this remarkable catacomb. All that I can say is that when I explored the catacombs these *kôkîm* were not there, or at any rate were not visible. They were the less likely to have escaped my notice, because my attention was specially directed to the walls of one of these two blocks (that which I have marked B) by a most important peculiarity, of which I shall speak hereafter, and which was such as to cause me to suspect the presence of a cell at least in this place.

By way of finishing the outward description of the place, I shall remind the reader that Tobler assures us* that shortly after his first visit to Jerusalem, in 1846, another cave was discovered a little way further up the hill, which might have been a continuation of the Tombs of the Prophets. They are said to have found in that hitherto unopened chamber three "stone sarcophagi," each containing a skeleton, which fell into dust as soon as it was touched. We may be permitted to doubt whether this report, which rests only on hearsay, is quite accurate; perhaps it only refers to an ordinary rock-cut sepulchre standing by itself, with no connection whatever with the Tombs of the Prophets beyond standing near them. The "sarcophagi" in question were probably common little ossuaries made in the shape of stone boxes, such as we find in so many Jewish sepulchres in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and especially on the Mount of Olives.

GREEK EPITAPHS.

In 1862 M. Waddington noticed and copied a short Greek inscription which is scratched on the plaster which coats the walls of the catacomb

* *Die Siloahquelle*, p. 265.

(at the spot which I have marked No. 8 in the plan). He reads it Φλωριανὸς Ἄστα[τ]ός, marking the τ as doubtful.* He looked upon it as a *graffito* written by one Florianus, who had been a *hastatus* of the Roman legion quartered at Jerusalem (perhaps the Xth Fretensis, of which I was the first to find authentic traces in the Holy City).

M. de Vogüé, who visited Jerusalem in company with M. Waddington, also gives a copy of this inscription.† He regards it as the name of a Græco-Roman pilgrim, who visited this holy crypt, and wrote it out of piety. He takes the doubtful letter of the second word to be a *gamma* instead of an *iota*, which would give us a very strange form of proper name, Ἄσταγος. Whichever is the true reading, I shall presently prove that we have not here, as these two learned antiquaries have supposed, a mere pious inscription of the name of a soldier quartered at Jerusalem, or of a passing pilgrim, but an actual epitaph, the name of one of the occupants of the sepulchre, of the very man buried in the cell above which it is written.

The fact is that, after careful examination, I discovered, above almost every one of the cells, Greek epitaphs of the same kind and the same date; some entire, and some more or less damaged, accompanied by crosses or Christian symbols, and in many cases by formulæ which leave no doubt as to their sepulchral character. These inscriptions are of course very difficult to make out, seeing that all of them, save that which I have just mentioned, have remained undiscovered to this day by the numerous travellers who never miss making the regulation visit to the Tombs of the Prophets. They are very lightly scratched on the plaster with a rather blunt-pointed tool. The letters are large, and boldly formed, but made with exceedingly fine strokes, sometimes, however, a trifle thicker, according to the sort of tool used to make them. What helps one a little to distinguish them from the mass of names of tourists of all ages is their peculiar colour. The ancient letters have acquired a uniform *patina*, which prevents their being mistaken for those of the parasitic inscriptions.‡ In order to make them out it is necessary to place a lighted candle in contact with the wall so as to throw a

* *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, No. 1903a.

† *The Temple at Jerusalem*, p. 132; cf. pl. XXXVIII, 2. He has also found the Hebrew word רַאִי, which he thinks is written in tolerably ancient characters. As for the name of a priest of Rā in cursive Demotic, which M. de Sauley thought that he saw there (*Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, II, p. 287), I need not say that it is mere fancy.

‡ In many cases some of the ancient letters have their horizontal strokes made into a cross by an upright stroke added by some pilgrim.

very oblique light upon them : the ancient letters then stand out plainly enough to be recognised. Nevertheless, it is no easy matter to read and decipher these little texts. Some of them have defied all my efforts to the very last ; others which at first entirely escaped my notice, only revealed their existence on my later visits. I have had to pass whole days in this crypt to collect the inscriptions which I am about to reproduce and explain from squeezes and copies made on the spot.

I can affirm that in theory every single cell must have originally been surmounted by an inscription. Many of these have disappeared in consequence of the injury to the plaster caused by water having soaked into the stone in some places more than in others, but even where I have not been able to recover the entire inscription, I have almost always noticed traces of it. This fact alone would suffice to show, *a priori*, that these inscriptions can be nothing but epitaphs, and this inference, we shall see, is abundantly confirmed by the substance of the texts.

Moreover, the existence of epitaphs consisting of mere *graffiti* scratched on the plaster which covers the inner walls of ancient sepulchres is not confined to this single instance ; there are other examples of it in Syria, especially in the burial ground at Sidon.* I have also noticed it in a Christian underground burial place situated to the east of 'Amwâs.†

Here, then, are these inscriptions, which I give in their order, one by one, counting along the twenty-six or twenty-seven *kôkîm* of the great outer gallery. Herr Schick's plan reckons twenty-six *kôkîm* ; I have counted twenty-seven, but I may have been misled by the old imperfect plans which I used to mark the inscriptions on as I discovered each one. From No. 1 up to No. 16, that is, up to the opening that leads into the little central chamber, I am in agreement with the plan here given ; beyond this, from No. 17 to No. 26, it must be remembered, in order to fit the inscriptions I speak of to the various cells to which they belong, that our numbers differ by one.‡ I mention this in order to help future explorers who may wish to check on the spot the discoveries which I am about to describe. If they do not find

* See Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 492.

† See *Archæol. Res.*, Vol. II, p. 97.

‡ There is nothing surprising in this disagreement : the numbers of the cells given by every explorer down to the present day are all different. In the *Memoirs* of the Ordnance Survey, quoted above, they are reckoned as 24 ; Tobler counts 26 ; De Saulcy, 27 ; other older writers count 30, 32, and even 44.

the right inscription over the cell to which its number refers, they will always be sure to find it on the next cell.

CELL NO. 1.

No visible inscription, but above the cell a cross which looks ancient.

CELL NO. 2.

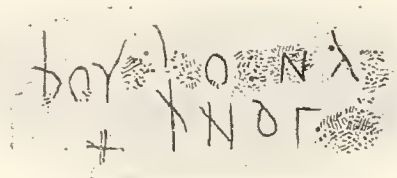
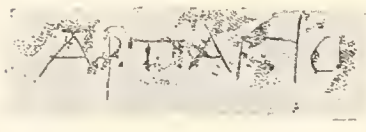
An inscription $\sigma^m 40$ long. I took a squeeze and copies. One of my note books marks a cross above it, but as this does not appear in my other sketches, I do not vouch for it.

Ἄρπάγισ, *Harpagios*. The *iota* is joined to the *gamma*, but as it was very long, it is easily distinguished from it, which is why I do not take the whole for the letter *pi*. The *alphas* have the cross stroke drawn straight across, whereas in the other inscriptions belonging to this group the *alphas* have this stroke either broken or with the curve which gives this letter quite a cursive form. Ἄρπάγισ is for Ἄρπάγιος, the terminations *ιος* and *ιον* being very often contracted into *ις* and *ις*, especially in Syria. In one of the Greek epitaphs at Jaffa* we have ENFONIN for ENFONION; Ἄλκιος, Δημήτριος, etc., become regularly Ἄλκις, Δημήτρις in Greek, and the Palmyra inscriptions, which have $\Delta\iota$ as the transcript of Græco-Roman names ending in *ιος* and *ις*, show that these contracted forms were common in Syria.

The name *Harpagios*, however, is very rare in Greek, although it is quite normally formed: we find it in Sulpicius Severus† in the form *Harpagius*.

We might also suppose this to be one of the numerous class of female proper names ending in *ίς*, but this is less probable, although we shall presently meet with two names at least which seem certainly to belong to women.

Between cells 2 and 3 there are indistinct traces of two lines of Greek letters, much smaller than the preceding ones, with a cross. I can make nothing of them.

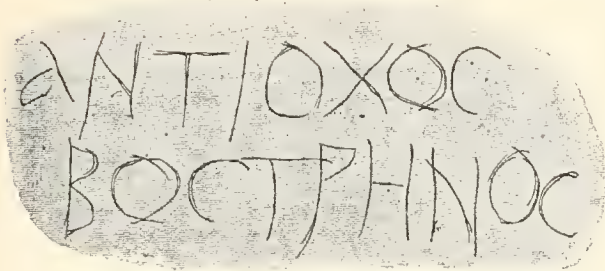


* Vol. II, p. 137.

† *Dialogues*, 3, K, where it appears as the name of a priest.

CELL, No. 3.

An inscription in two lines 1^m·25 and 1^m·35 long respectively; the one forming the first line consisting of only nine, and the second of only eight letters, which shows how large they are; the letters are cursive, boldly drawn with long strokes of a pointed tool. Here are copies of them.



Ἀντίοχος Βοστρηνός.
Antiochus of Bostra.

On my first attempts I only discovered the second line; it was not till I had re-visited the place that I made out, just above it, the first line, whose presence I had before overlooked. Just to the left of the word *Βοστρηνός* I noticed the remains of an inscription in very small letters . . . Ν (?) ΟΓ . . . perhaps belonging to the two lines reproduced above (between cells 2 and 3).

The ethnic name *Βοστρηνός* was known as early as the time of Stephanus of Byzantium,* with the variants *Βοστρανός* and *Βοστραῖος*. The form *Βοστρηνός* occurs in *Dionysius Periegetes*† as the name of a river in Phœnicia, near Sidon, which modern geographers suppose to be the *Nahr el-Auwali* (or *Awwali*) of the present day.‡

Beside *Βοστρηνός* we find in inscriptions the form *Βοσρηνός*.§

This is not the place to discuss the various theories connected with the

* It is also found in inscriptions in Syria; Waddington, *op. cit.*, 2302, 2462.

† *Dionysius Periegetes*, 913, 914: ἐφ' ἧσασι Βοστρηνοῖο. Compare his translators, Festus Avienus and Priscian.

‡ According to Brocchi (*Giornale*, III, p. 239, 240) this river above the bridge of *Jisr el Merdj* takes the name of *Nahr Beseri*, which seems to be derived from the name of the village of *Bisri*, or *Bisreh*, near that place; although Robinson spells it *بسرّة*, it seems as if we had here the origin of this strange name, "the river of Bosra." (The name Bosra is written in Arabic *بصري*.)

§ Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, No. 2229. (This form represented more nearly the original Semitic name of the town.)

origin of Bostra, the modern Bosra, a city of the ancient Nabathæa, and the capital of the first province of Arabia. Suffice it to say that the birthplace of our Antiochus was an important Christian centre; the bishopric of which it was the seat was afterwards made into an archbishopric, with jurisdiction over a great number of adjacent bishoprics. Among the names of the bishops mentioned in the *Acta Conciliorum* I find one namesake of our inmate of the Tombs of the Prophets, *Antiochus, Bishop of Bostra*, who figures at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431. This hint shows that at any rate it is not rash, in the absence of further proof, to assume the existence of a Christian of Bostra bearing the name of Antiochus,* a heathen name, but one which was very common in Syria.

This, the very first interpreted inscription, at once begins to unveil the mystery of the Tombs of the Prophets. We shall see that its testimony is entirely confirmed by the other inscriptions, among which we shall find other ethnic names referring to the ancient district of Nabathæa.

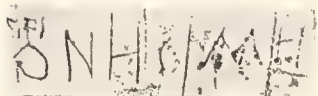
CELLS NOS. 4 and 5.

Indistinct traces of Greek letters of the same kind as the preceding ones, belonging to epitaphs which have perished. Crosses of various dates.

CELL No. 6.

Above this cell there are three crosses close together, of uncertain date. Below them is a larger cross (?). Above this cross there is an inscription in one line, 0^m·34 long. I have taken a squeeze and copies.

We might be tempted here to read **ONHCIALΛH**, taking the figure **Λ** for two *lambdas* side by side, instead of a *mu*; but the name is an improbable one, it does not occur in Greek, and the fabulous *Ἵονήσιλος* is not



enough to prove its existence. On the other hand the female proper name *Onesime* is very common; we find dozens of examples of it in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*.

* The name of Antiochus also appears in several Greek inscriptions in the ancient province of Nabathæa. See Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2216, at el Mushennef (Nela of Batanæa) is an Antiochus, surnamed *Σάμθος*, who belonged to a senatorial family at Kanatha; No. 2340 gives another at Kanatha itself; Nos. 2401, 2403, two others at Mejdél in the Haurân, etc.

The masculine form Ὀνήσιμος was borne by some undoubtedly Christian* personages, for example by Philemon's runaway slave who is mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the latter (verse 10, *cf.* Coloss. iv, 9). Ecclesiastical tradition tells us that this Onesimus became bishop of Berea in Macedonia, and was martyred (Constit. Apost. VII, 46); perhaps it is not Berea in Macedonia, but Berea in Syria which is meant, that is, Aleppo. I shall also quote the name of the Onesimus, bishop of Ephesus, who is mentioned in the first Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians,† who should not be confounded with St. Paul's Onesimus.

I fully believe that we have here the feminine form Ὀνησίμη; still the final *eta* is rather doubtful, and it may be asked whether it might not be a fragment of the name Ὀνησιμ[ιανός], which occurs in inscriptions (*Corpus Inscr. Gr.*, Nos. 3702, 9803; *cf.* Orelli, No. 1480). But I do not think so.

Below the name of Onesime there are some traces of ancient letters, but indistinct and perished. I have made out an Ν. They are perhaps the remains of an ethnic belonging to the name, as on cell 3, and others which we shall find hereafter.

CELL NO. 7.

Above the cell is a line measuring 0^m.30 in length, consisting of six visible letters. My note book makes no mention of a cross. I have taken a squeeze and copies.



Γελάσι . . . *Gelasius*.

The name has evidently lost its last letters, probably in consequence of some damage to the plaster. Nevertheless my notes say nothing about erosion. We must, apparently, complete the name thus, Γελάσι[ος] (or thus, Γελάσι[ς],‡ according to what has been already said concerning the name Ἀρπάγισ = Ἀρπάγιος), a name which we shall presently find

* Among other places I find the name in one of the epitaphs recently discovered at Rome in one of the galleries which encircle the catacomb of the Acilii (*Bolletino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1893, p. 58).

† Ep. ad Ephes. i, 6; *cf.* Hefele, *Patrum Apost.*, Opp., p. 152.

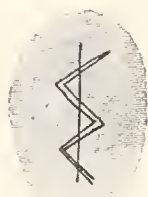
‡ Γελάσις occurs in an inscription at Rome (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, No. 6191).

written at full length (cell No. 21). One might also suggest the restoration Γελασι[μος],* but it is a far less probable one.

The important remarks which I have to make on the subject of the name of this Gelasios will be found further on, in my discussion of his namesake, the spelling of whose name admits of no doubt. The name that we have here was probably followed by an ethnic, of which nothing remains beyond some undecipherable strokes in the second line of which I have already made mention.

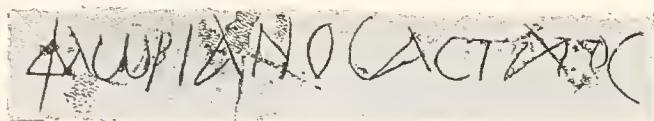
CELL NO. 8.

An inscription 0^m·78 long. Above it, a symbol shaped thus:—
below it, a cross. I took a squeeze and copies.



As I have just said, one cannot agree with Messrs. Waddington and De Vogüé in regarding this inscription as having been written by a pilgrim on visiting this holy place; it is a regular epitaph, like the rest; the epitaph of the occupant of cell No. 8.

The name Florianus is certain; it is, strictly speaking, a *cognomen*, which has been assumed as a name by some Syrian, a common habit in



Φλωριανὸς Ἀσταρῶς, *Florianus*

the East. As a rule, *cognomina* ending in *ianus* are of comparatively recent formation. A curious Roman† inscription has been found at Bosra; it is a dedication addressed by the soldiers of the native camel corps of the army of Arabia to the legate M. Cæcilius Creperianus *Florianus*. We may suppose that this legate's name became popular in this district of Arabia, and that, as was often the case, it was given a place in the nomenclature of the natives, chiefly, of course, by those under his direct command, or the members of their families. This fact

* The name of a parasite in Plautus's *Stichus*.

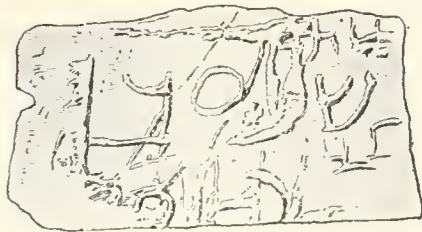
† Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1946.

argues that our Florianus, like most of his companions in the tomb, must have belonged to Nabathaea, the modern Haurân.

The reading of the word which accompanies the name of Florianus is uncertain: M. Waddington's reading $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma = hastatus$ is very attractive, and agrees very well with what I have just suggested as to the manner in which the name of Florianus became popular among the native soldiery of the Roman army of Arabia. But the second *tau* is doubtful; M. de Vogüé takes it for a *gamma*, and supposes it to be a second name, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. The objection to this name is that it is unknown, and hard to explain; I would incline rather to adopt M. Waddington's reading.

But, I ask myself, this doubtful letter, disfigured as it is by several possibly accidental strokes, may it not be an *iota*? We should then have $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$. What the analogy of the previous and subsequent texts would lead us to see in the second word is an ethnic. Now, ethnics terminating in *aios* are common enough. It is true that if it be so, I do not see what town's name can underlie $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, unless we are prepared to see in it the town of *Hasta*, mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum Imperii Romani* as being under the jurisdiction of the *Dux* of Palestine, and having as its garrison the *Ala Prima Milliaria*. Unluckily the site of this *Hasta* is unknown.* I think it prudent to leave the question undecided.†

In the copy made by M. de Vogüé, and reproduced just as it stands in the Palestine Survey,‡ there is wrongly attached to the Greek writing, as though it was a part of it, a little *graffito*, in square Hebrew letters of rather late date. This *graffito* has nothing to do with our epitaph; in reality it is written a long way off cell No. 8, on one of the side walls of the little chamber marked "Jewish" in the plan, whose entrance is between cell No. 20 and cell No. 21. Here is a drawing of it made from my squeeze.



I read it . . . שָׁלּוּם בֶּן , "Shallum, the son of . . ." and think it to be one of the countless names of mediæval Jewish pilgrims written in the holy places, out of piety, which cover the walls of this catacomb. The

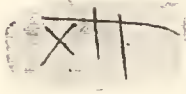
* I doubt whether, as Reland (*Palestina*, p. 230) suggests, we ought to identify it with the *Asta* which the *Onomasticon* places between Ashdod and Ascalon.

† Some further remarks will be found in my comments on the epitaph on cell No. 24.

‡ *Jerusalem*, p. 403.

presence of the בן , "son of," which follows the שלום , proves that we must see in this latter word a proper name, not the sepulchral invocation "Peace!"

CELL No. 9.



Cross above the cell, and above the cross traces of an inscription, only a few strokes of which remain. Among them I think I can make out an A with a slanting cross bar.

CELL No. 10.

Cross and remains of inscription.

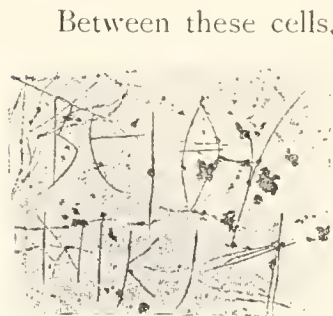
CELL No. 11.

An inscription in small letters, nature and date uncertain. Perhaps the three first letters are ΧΜΓ , symbols which we meet with pretty often in Syria on Christian buildings of the Vth and VIth centuries, especially in Batanaea, Nabathaea, Casiotis and Apamene.* It is thought to be an abbreviation of the formula $\text{Χ}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)$, $\text{Μ}(\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda)$, $\Gamma(\alpha\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda)$, or of the formula $\text{Χ}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \omicron \epsilon\kappa) \text{Μ}(\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma) \Gamma(\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma)$.



Below the cell the plaster has been removed; perhaps it contained an ancient inscription.

CELLS NOS. 11 AND 12.



Βειθνικ(?)

Between these cells, or above the second of them (I have some doubts on this point owing to the confusion of my notes), there are two lines of inscriptions in large letters, $\text{om} 37$ long. I have taken a squeeze and copies.

There is some doubt as to the letter which follows the *kappa*. According to my copies it must be an *omicron* (followed perhaps by a carelessly drawn cross); but according to the squeeze which I have before me it would be an *eta* or an *iota*. We have then the alternative forms Βειθνικό(s) or Βειθνική , a masculine

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 2145, and *passim*.

or a feminine name, meaning "the man or the woman of Bithynia." The spelling *ci* for *i* need not cause us to hesitate for a moment; this iotacism is common in the Greek inscriptions of Syria, and moreover we know of the alternative form Βείθvs as well as Βίθvs as a man's proper name (Ross., *Dem. Att.*, 7). There are many examples of ethnics used as true proper names; we find indeed Βιθυνικός itself so used (Cic. *Ad Diversos*, vi, 16). In the Græco-Roman world this class of names usually implied a servile origin; when we come to the Syrian, the Jewish and Judæo-Christian communities (and the latter is pretty much the case here), we find that these ethnic names are often used to designate proselytes, especially when they were women: the woman of Damascus, of Batanaea, of the Haurân,* etc. The same thing must have happened in purely Christian societies in the case of converts made by the new religion in the Eastern provinces, especially among the lower classes. We just now found a woman's name which seemed to mean "the woman of Lydia." This would agree perfectly with the presence in our catacomb of another called "the woman of Bithynia," *Bithynike*; that is, supposing the name to be feminine instead of masculine. I will add that this ethnic seems to occur in the Talmud† in the forms ביתנייקי, ותנייקי, and בית אונייקי, transliterated from the Greek, the last of them with an alteration made to suit the popular etymology, which wanted to find the Hebrew word בית, "house," in Βειθ, or βιθ, the first syllable of the Greek word.

CELLS NOS. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Plaster gone in most cases. Here and there traces of crosses and ancient letters, especially above cell No. 15 or 16, where I have made out a very distinct Π, the remains of a lost inscription.

CELL NO. 21 (?).‡

This is the first cell after passing the entrance to the second chamber

* These names appear in the Talmud as those of the mothers of certain Jewish doctors of the first century of our era. Cf. Derenbourg's *Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine*, p. 223.

† Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* s.v.v. :—cf. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 263 and 422.

‡ Here begins the doubt about the numbering of the cells which I have already mentioned. I cannot be certain about them within one or two.

(the high chamber). Above it is an inscription 0^m.97 long; the letters slope noticeably, especially towards the end. I have taken only copies of it.

The fourth letter looks at first very obscure and hard to make out; it consists of a number of strokes, among which we find at once the material for a Π and for an Α. The latter is undoubtedly the right one;* the remainder of the strokes (I traced them with dotted lines) are parasitic marks belonging to *graffiti* of more modern date. The *omicron* consists of two arcs of circles which cross above and below, showing plainly how the tool with which these inscriptions were traced must have been handled. The last letter looks very like an *upsilon*.

I read the whole inscription Γελασιόν. Here again we find the name of *Gelasios*, which we saw before on cell No. 7, but this time it is in the genitive. Hitherto all the proper names that we have met with have been in the nominative; those which follow will also be found to be in the nominative. We are therefore forced to ask, why this anomaly at cell No. 21, the only exception to this rule? Does not this mean that we have here not the name but the patronymic of the person buried in this cell? In the epitaphs of the Tombs of the Prophets we usually find the deceased person's name, followed by the ethnic which tells us to what country he belonged. Here the ethnic is wanting, and the patronymic seems to take its place. If this be so, then Γελασιόν must be the name of the deceased's father, and not the deceased himself, which latter must have been written above it, and have formed a separate line which has perished.† If, on the other hand, we remember that this peculiarity applies just to the very name which appears twice in the catacomb, we are pretty well justified in supposing that it may have been due to the occupant of cell No. 21 having been the son of the occupant of cell No. 7. If the father and the son were both buried in the same sepulchre, there was a peculiar interest in pointing out their relationship. We are thus indirectly led to conclude that this relationship, which is here so specially noted, did not exist between the others, whose names appear without patronymics. This puts an end to the theory of its being a family sepulchre.

* Moreover, a ρι would be vertical, which would contrast inadmissibly with the slope of the other letters.

† The fact is that I have noticed above this word several ancient strokes, possibly forming part of this name, which now is lost like so many others. We must not forget, in any case, that this lost name may be a woman's name, as is that of the next cell.

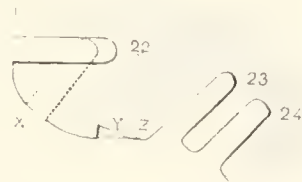
If, then, we connect this inference with that which is continually corroborated by the occurrence of the ethnics, have we not grounds for supposing that the numerous inmates of this great sepulchre were connected by a common extraction or social position, rather than by ties of blood?

As for the name Gelasios, it is common enough in Greek after a certain date.* It is particularly interesting for us to find that it was borne by a personage who distinctly belonged to the district to which most of the epitaphs in our catacombs point, especially that of Antiochus of Bostra. A Greek metrical inscription at Jimirrin, a village which stands half an hour's journey north of Bostra (and which may almost be regarded as a suburb of that town), speaks of several buildings erected for the good of his soul and the remission of his sins by one Gelasios, during the episcopate of Dorotheus, Bishop of Bostra.† This inscription, which is built into the arch of a little bridge on the track of the old Roman road from Bostra to Damascus, is not in its original place, so that we cannot now tell exactly what buildings are meant by it. But this matters little; it is sufficient for the inference which I propose presently to make, to show that this Gelasios of Bostra might have belonged to a family rich enough for one of its members of the same name to be able to afford himself the luxury of being buried, perhaps together with one of his children, on the Mount of Olives over against the Holy City.

Other evidence proves almost to demonstration that this name of Gelasios was popular among the people of Nabathaea; it occurs again very clearly written in a Nabathæan inscription at El Hejr (*Corpus Inscr. Semit., Aram., No. 295*). מלכו בר גלסי, "Malku, son of Gelasi(os)."

Cells Nos. 22 and 23 (?).

Between the openings of cells 22 and 23 the wall of the gallery forms a salient angle, of obtuse and rounded form, with a much greater space of dead wall than is usual between the mouths of the cells. This peculiarity is not marked on Herr Schick's plan; I give here a special sketch of it.



At this spot the gallery seems inclined to resume its normal semicircular course, from which it had swerved at about cell

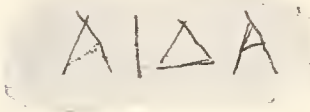
* Photius, pp. 66, 36, etc. . . . Fabricius, *Biblioth.*, IX. 290; *Corpus Inscr. Gr.*, No. 9244.

† Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran*, No. 88; Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1959a.

‡ גלסי, *Gelasi*, represents the Greek vocative, or else a form of the nominative, cut short in colloquial speech.

22. making a sharp turn at almost a right angle. It is difficult to explain the reason for this change of direction, and the elbow produced by it. Was it made for fear that the cells in the gallery would break through into the little neighbouring chamber, whose entrance lies between cell 21 and cell 22? * In this case we must admit that the chamber was hewn out before cell 22, and so on. Or was it merely to avoid some obstacle met with in the solid rock, some calcareous kernel too hard to deal with? I cannot tell.

Be this as it may, while carefully examining this long piece of dead wall, at the spot marked x, very low down, much lower than that of the other inscriptions, almost level with the floor itself, I found another ancient inscription consisting of four large letters, forming a line 0^m.32 long. I could find no trace of a cross. Here is a copy—



The first letter is uncertain; it may be a *lambda* or an *alpha*; the cross stroke can scarcely be made out. *Λίδα* would not give any satisfactory name; there is indeed a Greek proper name *Λίδας* or *Λίδης*, but it is unlikely that this very rare form should have found a place in the popular nomenclature of the Hellenistic Syrians. I am more inclined to think that we ought to read *Λίδα*, and to regard it as a woman's name. I do not think that it is in any way connected with the name *Λήδα*; the change of *η* into *ι* by iotacism offers no difficulty, but *Leda* is a purely mythological name. We might also think of the masculine proper name *Λήδας*, which is quoted by the *Etymologicum Magnum* (465, 13). I am rather disposed to suppose that *Λίδα* is for *Λύδα* = *Λίδη*, "the woman of Lydia." This, like "Bithynike" a few pages back, would be one of the ethnic names which became proper names of men, and especially of women. The names *Λύδη* † and *Λυδία* ‡ for women, and *Λυδῖς* and *Λυδίος* for men, are common enough in Greek nomenclature.

The existence of this inscription, which according to all we have hitherto seen, and shall see hereafter, should be an epitaph, and the quite exceptional length of dead wall between cells 22 and 23, makes one ask oneself whether there is not some cell concealed here. This large blank interval has already attracted the attention of some *Moghrebî* (African) treasure hunters, for not

* Corresponding to the cells marked 20 and 21 on Herr Schick's plan (?).

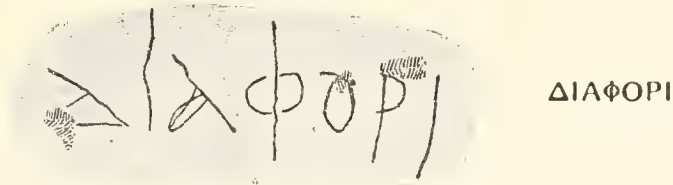
† Compare *Lydia*, the rich purple seller, a native of the *Lydian* town of Thyatira, who was converted by St. Paul (Acts xvi).

‡ *Λύδα* occurs in an inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Gr.*, No. 2542), and the question has there been raised whether it was a woman's name or simply a feminine ethnic.

far from this place I noticed a cutting in the rock, which shows that the wall has been sounded (see ν in the special sketch).* The Moghrebi was a long way out in his calculations. The cell, if there be one, must be below the inscription; and as the inscription is placed very low, one ought to begin by digging into the made earth of the floor. I did begin a little digging, but could not carry it very far, so I commend the task to the attention of future explorers. Possibly they cut this cell so low for fear of encountering cell 22, as may be seen in the crossing lines in my sketch; these two cells being almost at right angles to each other, it was necessary, to avoid their running into one another, that the second should pass below the first. I still think that there is something to be discovered here. The preceding cell has its epitaph (Gelasios); the following one has, as we shall see, its own epitaph likewise; how is it possible that the epitaph $\Lambda\Delta\Delta$ should stand between the two with no cell belonging to it? The exploration would be all the more interesting because it would enable us to see in which direction they proceeded when making the cells; if my theory is correct, it must have been from left to right; that is to say, in the order which I follow in my description of them.

CELL NO. 23A.

To the left of the cell, at the spot marked z in the special sketch, there are seven Greek letters which form a line 0^m.35 long. Here are copies.



The last letter is perished, and the upright stroke of which it consists may quite possibly form part of some mutilated letter, an *êta*, for example: possibly also the name may have lost some part of its termination. I do not know any Greek name which would suit these letters: at least I have not met with any analogous form in Pape's *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigen-*

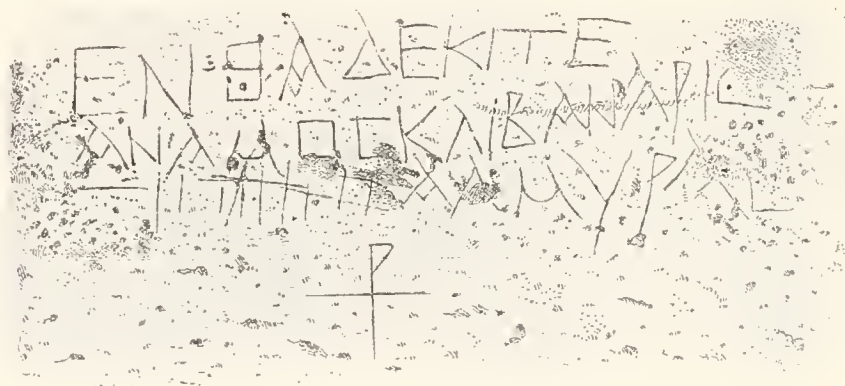
* The treasure seekers have plied their trade on several other walls of the catacombs. For instance, I have noticed unmistakable traces at the point marked c in the general plan. M. de Saulcy was wrong in supposing this to be a sepulchral cell, it is merely a hole cut at a later period.

namen. Still, one can easily see the likelihood of a proper name being derived from the words *διαφορά*, "superiority, advantage," and *διαφορός*, "excellent, convenient, advantageous." If the *omicron* were not certain, we might think that we had to do with the verb *διαφέρειν*, so common in Syrian epitaphs, and especially in those at Jerusalem, in the sense of "belonging to" in speaking of tombs. In this case it would not be a proper name, but the remains of a mutilated funeral inscription, "Tomb belonging to so and so."

We may also ask whether this epitaph, or whatever it is, really belongs to cell No. 23. Its position on the left hand side of that cell would rather argue that it belonged to the long blank wall on which the name **ΛΙΔΑ** is already written, so that there remains not one cell only, but two to be discovered in this wall. The wall has quite space enough for that. What to a certain extent confirms this hypothesis, is that just above cell No. 23 we have a long inscription which looks quite as if it belonged to it, and that the word **ΔΙΑΦΟΡΙ** . . . is quite separate from it, as the next drawing shows.

CELL NO. 23B.

1^m·30 above the mouth of the cell, near the spring of the vault of the gallery, there is an inscription in three lines of unequal length (0^m·55, 0^m·72, and 0^m·70). The letters of the second line are somewhat smaller and less deeply cut than the others. It is very hard to decipher.



Ἐνθάδε κίτε Ἀναμος κλιβανάρης (?) τρίτος (?) Παλμύρας
 "Here lies Anamos, *clibanarius tertius*, or *triarius* (?), 'of Palmyra.'"

The *epsilon*, *omicron*, and *sigma* are square. The *alpha* with its broken cross bar also belongs to a better period, or it may be a less cursive handwriting than the *alphas* of the other inscriptions with their crooked cross bar.

The formulæ *ἐνθάδε κίτε* (*κείται*), "Here lies," puts an end to any doubts

that may have lingered in our minds as to the sepulchral character of all these inscriptions.

The discovery of the male proper name ^ὁἈναμος, which may be read quite plainly, is very interesting, because it also tends to support the theory which I have formed about the extraction of the persons buried in the Tombs of the Prophets. *Anamos* is a well known name, of non-Hellenic origin, and indeed belongs specially to the onomastics of the Haurân. It is certainly a Semitic name Hellenised, for we find it often accompanied by names of a distinctly Semitic appearance. We find it, first, in two inscriptions at El Mushennef,* the ancient Neeila of Bathanaea, a town which, as we shall see hereafter, was the birthplace of another of the inmates of our catacomb. One of these inscriptions mentions a Ταίβαθης, the daughter of Anamos; in the other an Anamos figures in company with persons named *Camoselos*, *Noephatos*, and *Soaos* (all of them names of Semitic character): he probably belonged, like their "syndikos," to the tribe of Ἄουδρηνοί, or Ἄουορηνοί.†

At Salkhad, quite close to this place, we find the name of Anamos, the son of *Thasamos*, in an inscription dated A.D. 322 (*op. c.*, No. 1998).

At B'theineh, to the north-west of Neeila, an Anamos, the son of Gautos, appears together with *Ocnos*, *Abibos*, *Zobedos*, and *Natamelos* (*op. c.*, No. 2127).

At Ezra', the ancient Zorava, in Trachonitis, there occurs an Anamos, the father of *Ababaic*, who was also called *Somaidathic*, and another who was the father of *Ouaelos* (*op. c.*, Nos. 2495 and 2496).

Lastly, in an inscription at Shakka, the ancient *Eaccæa*, or rather *Saccæa*, in Bathanaea (*op. c.*, No. 2147), an Anamos is found in the company of a lady named Ὀδενάθη, whose name suggests that she was connected with Palmyra.‡ I am noting this last fact for future use, because of the last line of our inscription.

Anamos seems to be a transcript, letter for letter, of the name ענבני, 'Anamou, which is often found in Nabathæan inscriptions.§

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2231 and 2220.

† M. Waddington gives both forms, the true reading being uncertain.

‡ For the Palmyrene name of *Odenath*, see De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 23. This name also occurs several times in purely Nabathæan inscriptions.

§ For example, in Nos. 524a, 424, 413, 313, 260a, 260 of M. Euting's collection of Sinitic inscriptions, and Nos. 15 and 55 of his collection of Nabathæan inscriptions; the author seems inclined to connect it with the Arabic root غنم, but it is permissible to doubt whether the y had the force of the Arabic *ghain*. Compare in another Nabathæan inscription at Zahwet el Khidr, near Salkhad, the name written אענב (Corpus. Inscr. Sem., aram. No. 191). We also find the form Ἄναμος (Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2053d, 2412f, 2412h), which likewise is accompanied by distinctly Semitic and even Palmyrene names (*Βαυδάτης Ὀϊκώθου* = בולנא אדינת).

The next part of the inscription is very obscure. At the end of the second line, after Ἄναμος, it seems that we ought to read ΚΛΙΒΑΝΑΡΙΟC. Κλιβανάριος, for κλιβανάριος (following the rule *ιος* = *ις*, which has already been explained), can be nothing else than the transcript of the Latin *clibanarius*. *Clibanarii* was the name given to horse soldiers who wore the *clibanus*, the "cuirass," or rather the Persian "coat of mail." There was in the Roman army, serving perhaps as auxiliaries, a *schola scutariorum clibanariorum*,* some *comites clibanarii*, *equites clibanarii*, and *equites sagittarii clibanarii*.†

A workshop where the cuirasses were made was called *clibanaria fabrica*; some of those in Syria and Asia Minor were famous (*clibanaria Antiochae*, *clibanaria Cæsareae*, *Cappadociae*).‡

Was Anamos the *clibanarius* a maker of cuirasses, or was he a cuirassier belonging to the Roman army? If the latter, the fact tends to support the reading ἄστατός = *hastatus*, for the word which follows the name of Florianus in the epitaph on cell No. 8. We should thus find the tombs of two soldiers of different classes serving in the Roman army.

The third line certainly ends with the word Παλμύρας, "of Palmyra," which goes back to the usual rule of our epitaphs to mention the extraction of the person, or it may be his dwelling place. Palmyra once again brings us back to a district of Syria bordering upon those which we have already met with, and shall hereafter meet with. Let us also remember the Anamos, whose name we have just met with in company with the essentially Palmyrene name of Odenathe. The genitive Παλμύρας is, perhaps, explained by the word which precedes it. Unfortunately, the letters of this word have been greatly damaged. I have sometimes fancied that the word was τρίτος, "the third," but I am far from positive.§ Can Κλιβανάριος τρίτος, *clibanarius tertius*, show the place which the cuirassier held in the line of battle, and correspond to *triarius* in the infantry? I merely suggest this conjecture without attaching too much weight to it, for after all it depends entirely upon

* Forcellini, *Thesaurus*, s.v.; cf. Saglio and Daremberg's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v.

† They were stationed in Africa in the fifth century, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani*.

‡ The derivation of the Greek word κλίβανος, "cuirass," is a puzzle. In Greek, κλίβανος properly signifies "an oven." It has been ingeniously remarked that κλίβανος seems to be the exact translation of the word *tannûr*, *tanûr*, which in Aramaic means "oven," and in Persian means "cuirass." The hybrid word must have come from the mixture of Aramaic and Iranian spoken during the time of the Sassanian dynasty, of which we have a perfect specimen in the Pehlvi. For this subject see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 164, note.

§ Can it be . . . τῆς?

a reading which is not certain. However, we have plenty of evidence to prove that the people of Palmyra* supplied the Roman Empire with many soldiers, while, on the other hand, their continual connection with Persia, both in peace and war, must have rendered them familiar with the weapons and mode of fighting of the latter.† The *Notitia Dign.* mentions expressly a *cuneus equitum secundorum clibanariorum Palmirenorum (sic)*, a notice which seems to me to account for all the particulars of our inscription.

An important detail is that directly below the inscription, almost touching the letters in the lowest line, there is drawn by the same hand a monogrammatic cross formed by P with a crossbar, thus $\overline{\text{P}}$. This symbol, which is older than the plain cross, appears as we know on several of the Christian monuments at Rome between the years 335 and 565, and in Gaul towards the year 400. But the chronological rules which apply to the West do not always hold good in the East, as we know from both architecture and palæography; and the same thing must happen in matters of archæology. Anyhow, whatever the period was at which Anamos lived, he was certainly a Christian, like all the other inmates of the Tombs of the Prophets.

CELL NO. 24.

Above the cell is an inscription in two lines, the first of which is 0^m·65, and the second 0^m·70 long. I took a squeeze and copies.



θάρσι, Εὐθήρι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.

“Be of good cheer, Eutherios! no one is immortal.”

Observe the iotacism *θάρσι* for *θάρσει*, and also the form of the *eta*, which is the same as that which I have noticed on the Jewish ossuaries at

* It should be borne in mind that Justinian ordered Palmyra to be built and garrisoned for the defence of the frontier of the Empire. See Malalas, Procopius, and other writers quoted in the *Itinera* of the *Orient Latin*. Vol. III, 1, p. 206.

† The clibanarii were also called “catafractarii.” Now we find an *ala nova catafractariorum, Philippiana* mentioned in an inscription at Jimirrin, in Nabathæa (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1951).

Jerusalem, and which we also find in Græco-Egyptian cursive inscriptions. *Εὐθήρι* is a vulgar form of the vocative, which bears the same relation to the regular *Εὐθήριε* which *Ευθήρις*, the vulgar form of the nominative, does to the regular form *Ευθήριος*.* The name *Εὐθήριος* is known, but the form *Ἐϋθήριος* appears more commonly.

Here again we meet with a formula which puts an end to any lingering doubts that we may have had about the sepulchral character of this group of inscriptions. It is a very current one in epigraphy, and what is interesting to us, it appears frequently, like the precedent one (*ἐνθάδε κεῖται*), in the inscriptions of the Haurân, either entire or in part, and more or less correctly spelt: for example, at Migdala, at Sammat el Berdan, at 'Amwas, at Radeimeh (Batanaea), etc. . . .† It is certainly of Eastern origin,‡ and we find it alike in heathen, in Jewish, and even in Christian epitaphs, although it expresses a feeling about death which is far from agreeing with the Christian view on eschatology.§ It would therefore be a mistake to argue from this that *Eutherios* was not a Christian like the other inmates of this sepulchre. Though I have not noticed any cross accompanying this epitaph, yet I have no doubt that our *Eutherios* was of the same religion as his funerary neighbours.

I may remind my readers that a few hundred yards from this place one used some years ago to be able to see the same formula cut on the wall of what is called St. Pelagia's cave. This cave stands below the Church of the Ascension, and in it there is a large ancient stone coffin. The epitaph reads thus: *Θάρσι, Δομετίλα, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.*||

* See what I have said already on the subject of the substitution of *es* for *ios* at the end of words.

† Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2032, 2039, 2049, 2050, 2193, etc.

‡ It is a mistake to suppose (as does M. Perrot, *Revue Archéologique*, 1877) that it is confined to Cyprus.

§ See the excellent remarks of my learned colleague, M. Le Blant, on this subject in Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 369.

|| De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, II, p. 282. I carefully explored St. Pelagia's cave in the year 1870. At that time the wall, which the Muslims had entirely covered with thick plaster, no longer showed any trace of the inscription which M. de Saulcy copied. It has been proposed of late (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 178) to identify this Dometila with Flavia Domitilla, a contemporary and probably a niece of the Emperor Domitian, who is mentioned by St. Jerome in his *Pilgrimage of St. Paula*, as having undergone a long martyrdom in the isle of Pontia, whither she had been banished because of her religion. It is hardly likely. Flavia Domitilla must have died in her place of banishment, or at any rate in Italy (compare the Catacomb of Domitilla at Rome); moreover, the style of writing of the inscription in the cave on the Mount of Olives renders it absolutely impossible for it to belong to the year A.D. 93; and,

I may compare with this formula the Muslim formula borrowed from the Koran,* which expresses exactly the same thought in happier language :—

كل نفس ذائقة الموت, “Every soul must taste of Death.” What makes the parallel complete is that the Arabs often carved it on their tombstones as a graveyard text.† We see from this that the Greek formula is quite Semitic in feeling, and it is very probable that it really came from the East, and from thence spread over a considerable part of the ancient world.

CELL NO. 25.

Above the cell there is a mutilated inscription 0^m.32 long. The plaster with which the wall is covered has disappeared below the inscription, and perhaps contained a second line. I have found no trace of a cross. I took a squeeze and copies.



Several letters are quite recognisable, but others are altogether hopeless

lastly, the writer would certainly not have omitted her family name of Flavia. For the present, therefore, the Dometila of the Mount of Olives must remain absolutely unknown. I may here note an interesting fact ; it is, that the local legend has in all ages, though under divers forms, invariably connected the sepulchre occupied by this Dometila with the memory of a woman. The Jews called it the tomb of the prophetess Huldah, the Christians called it the cave and tomb of St. Pelagia. In an unpublished Christian Arabic MS. of the XIIth century we are told that it is the tomb of Mary the Sinner (Mary of Egypt, or rather Mary Magdalen?). This same work, confirmed on this point by the local tradition and by Mujir ed Din (*op. cit.*, p. 258), informs us that, according to the Muslims, this was the tomb of the celebrated Râbe'a (surnamed Umm el-Kheir, el'Adawiye), daughter of Ismâ'il, who died in the year 135 or 185 of the Hegira). Compare the critical remarks of Yâkût, *Môjem*, vol. IV, p. 602.

The local legend which I have learned from the lips of the fellahin of Jebel Tûr has curious details. They call the cave *Kabër Sitt-na Râb'a*; she was, they declare, a female prophet, who cast herself into the sea, but was brought out of it alive by the almighty power of God. She was of Israelitish origin (of the *beni Isrâ'în*), of the family (*dâr*), of *Zannoûn* (Zenon? ; compare the Byzantine Emperor of that name). She lived the life of an anchorite, and worked miracles. I imagine that the odd detail of the woman pulled out of the sea must have found its way into the local legend from remembrance of the name of St. *Pelagia* (Πελαγία, from πέλαγος, the sea; when in the world she was called Margarita, “pearl”). The Muslim saint seems to have been confused both with the Christian saint and with the Jewish prophetess Huldah. The ancient sarcophagus which exists at this day in the grotto of St. Pelagia, is the same which was seen therein by the pilgrim Phocas in the period of the Crusades, and was believed by him to be that of the holy woman herself (τὸ ὄμιον αὐτῆς σῶμα ἐν λάρνακι λιθίνῳ κατέκειται. § XV).

* Koran iii, 182 ; xxi, 36 ; xxix, 57.

† For an example, see p. 235.

I can make nothing satisfactory out of it;* and besides, the inscription is perhaps incomplete.

CELL No. 26.

The plaster is gone. Nothing to be seen.

CELL No. 27 (?).

The plaster is gone. There is a large cross chopped out with a pick. It does not look ancient.

We have now completed our survey of the cells in the great gallery, that is, the outer half circle, and have gathered there a plenteous harvest of inscriptions. I have yet another text to add to this group, and it is not the least interesting one, as will be seen.

INSCRIPTION B.

On a careful examination of the walls of the other passages and galleries, I found a new inscription of the same kind, cut along the wall of the little semicircular gallery that runs within the great gallery, at the point marked B in the plan. The cells which Dr. Schick points out as being hewn out of this block are, as I have already remarked, purely imaginary; their existence certainly would not have escaped me, for the presence of the inscription naturally implies that of a hidden cell, for which I have sought in vain. The inscription being cut not far above the ground, I imagine that the mouth of the cell must be hidden under accumulated earth which has raised the level of the floor.

The inscription consists of a single line, more than two mètres long. This unusual length led me to think that perhaps the opening of the cell ought to be looked for on the north side of the block, at the point marked D in the plan, and not on the east side where the inscription is. If this were so, then the inscription would run parallel with the cell. This conjecture, which is based upon an actual fact, does not agree with Dr. Schick's entirely unfounded guess, which assumes that the cells run at right angles to the gallery. Excavation alone can decide this question.

* Can it be a woman's name ending in NH? *Εἰρήνη*, written *Εἰρήνη*??

However this may be, the text is carved in large letters with very sharp strokes, and all the more difficult to read because the plaster is damaged here and there. Some letters appear to be wanting at the beginning. I took a squeeze and copies. It is more than two mètres in length.

I prefer "Zenodorus" to "Theodorus" as the restoration of the name, some of whose first letters are lost; one can still, however, make out an upright stroke which may have been part of the *eta*, and some part of the *nu*. Among other personages of Eastern Syria who have borne this name, was a Tetrarch of Trachonitis; it appears in many inscriptions in the Haurân.*

As for *Νεειληνός*, it is an ethnic which shows that our Zenodorus came from a town named *Neela*, whose geographical position is exactly settled by the addition of the genitive *Βατανέας*, "of Batanaea." *Βατανέας* is for *Βαταναίας*; *αι* is spelt *ε*, according to a very common habit in the common Syrian Greek (compare, for instance, *φένι*, for *φαίνει*, on the little terra-cotta lamps of Jerusalem). The mention of this town in Batanaea is doubly interesting; first, because it shows us yet another person who came from the same district as the former ones; and secondly, because it raises important questions of ancient geography.

Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, says of one of the towns in the territory of the tribe of Zabulon, *Nahalal*, or *Nahalol*:† *Νεελά, ἀπὸ ταύτης τοῦς ἀλλοφύλους οὐκ ἤξῆρε Ζαβουλῶν, κεῖται καὶ ἐν τῇ Βαταναίᾳ Ἐειλά (sic)*; which St. Jerome translates thus: "Neela, de hac alienigenas Zabulon non valuit expellere. Est hodieque in regione Batanaea viculus nomine Neila." We have here clearly the place mentioned in our inscription, the *viculus* in Batanaea which St. Jerome calls *Neila*. The text of Eusebius has certainly been altered here. *Ἐειλά* is a copyist's error; besides, one of the MSS. (that of Leiden) gives the reading

* Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1880, 2002, 2003, 20701, 2374c. (This inscription is at 'Atil, the ancient Athila, in Batanaea itself), 2413c, 2486.

† Joshua xxi, 35; xix, 15; Judges, i, 30.



[? Ζηνό]δωρος, Νεειληνός Βατανέας. "Zenodorus, of Neela in Batanaea."

Νειλά, agreeing with St. Jerome's reading. Another MS., that in the Vatican, reads: τῆ Βαταναίων instead of τῆ Βαταναία; this strange reading is valuable, and finally clears up the question, because it enables us to understand how the Ν of Νειλά must have dropped out. If we put together all these variants, each one of which has its own distinct *raison d'être*, we see that the original text in uncial letters and continuous script must have been ΒΑΤΑΝΑΙ[ΔΙ] ΝΕΕΙΛΑ, Βαταναία Νειλά; the group ΔΙ having been mistaken for an Ω, they wrote Βαταναίων 'Εειλά. Our inscription puts an end to all doubt and proves that we ought to read Νειλά, and not Νειλά, as has been hitherto supposed.

I need scarcely say that the Neeila of Batanaea cannot of course have anything to do with the Nahalol of the tribe of Zebulon, and that the connection between them in the *Onomasticon* is merely "onomastic."* Indeed, both Eusebius and St. Jerome knew well enough that the town of Batanaea, which they connected with the other by sound alone, never could have been in the territory of the tribe of Zebulon, seeing that that territory did not even reach as far as the Sea of Tiberias.†

As for the site of our Neeila, it seems as though we must fix it at el Mushennef, a ruined city in the very heart of the ancient Batanaea, in the district to the north-east of Bosra (north of Bûsân), which has yielded many interesting Greek inscriptions, among others one which mentions King Agrippa I. It is upon one of these inscriptions, No. 2217 in his *Recueil*, that M. Waddington relies for his identification of the Neeila of the *Onomasticon* as el Mushennef. The subject of this inscription is the repair of a portico by one Flavius Malchus Justus, οφεκκανοῦ (? *officialis*) τῆς Νηλκομίας. M. Waddington very justly compares this Νηλκομία with the Νιλακώμη which appears between Bostra and Adraa, in the list of the

* And probably wrong even from that point of view. The *Onomasticon* is often satisfied with very superficial jingles as grounds for connections of this kind.

† It is strange that neither of them should have thought of putting the true Nahalol in a place which is situated in the midst of the Zebulon country, and which agrees in every respect with what we know of it from the Bible—as has justly been remarked—I mean Ma'lûl, to the west of Nazareth. The Arabic 'ain is the normal representative of the Hebrew *he*, and the change of the initial *nun* into *mim*, a common enough change in Arabic, is justified by the form מלל, which appears in the Talmud. This identification seems to me preferable to that of 'Ain Mâhel, which has of late been proposed as a substitute for it (*Memoirs*, I, p. 365, *Names and Places*). What prevented the authors of the *Onomasticon* recognising *Nahalol* in *Ma'lûl* was perhaps the fact that at this period the initial 'n' had already been changed into an 'm,' as we see in the Talmud. There are even Hebrew MSS. of the Bible which read מלל instead of ללל.

episcopal cities of the province of Arabia given by Hierocles, and he identifies them both with the Neeila of the *Onomasticon*; he thinks that what is meant is a *μητροκομία*, the head-quarters of a district, rather than a town in the strict sense of the word. I may add, that the word *viculus* applied by St. Jerome to Neila, exactly expresses the final element of *Νηλ(κωμία)* and *Νιλα(κώμη)*. M. Waddington's other suggestions, that Neeila might be the *Νέλαξα* of Ptolemy, the *Νέγλα* of Stephanus of Byzantium (*πολίχμιον Ἀραβίας*), or the *πόλις Νεελῶν* mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon,* are not all, perhaps, of the same value.

El Mushennef must have been an important centre of Christian Syria. A proof of this is contained in another inscription which comes from the same quarter (No. 2235). This inscription bears the date A.D. 492, and mentions the name of a local bishop, one Diocles. So in the Vth century there must have been a numerous Christian population at Neeila, provided that el Mushennef really represents Neeila. Now, our Zenodorus of the Tombs of the Prophets, though I have not found any signs of Christianity in his epitaph, must have been a Christian like his neighbours in the sepulchre. Consequently he may then have belonged to this Christian population of el Mushennef, and the appearance of the letters of our inscription will enable us without much difficulty to assign it to some time near the date which I have just given.

When we speak of the Christians of Batanaea, we must not forget that this may mean some of the ancient Judæo-Christian sects which abounded in Eastern Palestine. St. Epiphanius† tells us that the earliest Christians, who were called Nazarenes, had their chief centres in Gilead and Bashan, that is, as has been clearly proved by Reland (*Palacstina*, p. 202), in Batanaea; in this district was Cochabe, their head-quarters.‡ Our Batanaean of the Tombs of the Prophets may have been one of the descendants of the Nazarenes or the Ebionites, for his Greek name must not conceal to us his Semitic extraction.

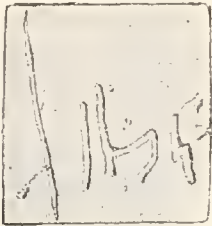
The addition, in our inscription, of *Βατανέας* to the ethnic *Νεεληνός*, was probably meant to avoid confusion with some other town of the same

* Subscribed by one Gautos, a native of this town, and one of the bishops of the province of Arabia. I may remark that this same name of *Γαῦτος* occurs in one of the inscriptions at el Mushennef (No. 2224), *Γαῦτος Νυτιμίου Φωσμάνιος*; besides which, it was very common in these parts of Syria. It is the exact transcript of *عوتو*, the Arabic *عوث*, which occurs several times in Nabathæan inscriptions.

† *Advers. Heres.*, p. 38; compare p. 123. See also Eusebius, *Hist Eccl.*, I, 7.

‡ The name Cochabe seems even to have been applied to the whole district.

name situated outside of Batanaea. Beside all the names of towns which I have already quoted, which, in spite of M. Waddington's opinion, may not all mean the same place as our Neeila and the Νηλά of el Mushennef, there was a Νηλος on the north-west of Hispania Tarraconensis (Plin., 4, 20, 34); in Egypt, Diodorus Siculus (I, 85), and Ptolemy (4, 5, 56) tell us of a Νεῖλος* or Νείλου πόλις; Ptolemy (ch. 18, *see* Reland, *op. cit.*, p. 463) places in Arabia Petraea a city named Νεκλα, whose name perhaps we ought to alter to Νεελα.† It was to avoid any possible mistake that Zenodorus specified that he was a native from the Neeila in Batanaea.



0^m10

I find among my papers the little squeeze figured below, which is labelled "*Tombs of the Prophets. (?)*" This mark of doubt makes me hesitate as to the place where these few Hebrew letters were found: they seem, in any case, to be a simple proscynema of some Jewish pilgrim שלום (?), "Peace."

CONCLUSIONS.

Now, with regard to the vexed question of the origin of this puzzling catacomb, what inferences ought we to draw from the presence of this group of inscriptions, which have passed unnoticed down to our own time, all but one, whose funeral character was itself misunderstood?

1. The inscriptions are, without doubt, epitaphs, the actual epitaphs of the people who were buried in this great sepulchre; every one of the cells has or had a dead man's name written above it.

2. The names are Greek, and sometimes are accompanied by Christian symbols.

3. These names for the most part belong to Græco-Syrian onomastics.

4. They are not accompanied by patronymics, except in one case, which moreover is not certain; but, on the other hand, they are often followed by ethnics; two of these even seem to be mere ethnics which have been turned into proper names (the woman of Lydia, the woman of Bithynia).

5. The appearance of the letters, the nature of the symbols, and the tenor of the sepulchral formulæ all point to a period belonging to about the IVth or Vth century of our era, speaking generally.

* The ethnic was Νελαῖος, but it might also have been Νελαγρός.

† Compare the Troglodytes of Arabia Petraea, whom Pliny (6, 29, 33) calls *Neli*.

The inmates of the sepulchre do not appear to have been connected by blood relationship. They were not related to one another, save in one exceptional instance, which has been already discussed. What, then, was the circumstance which could have caused them to be all buried together? One would at first sight be tempted to think that this must have been a burial crypt belonging to one of the numerous monasteries which stood on the Mount of Olives. But the mixture of men and women which seems to have existed in this sepulchre is against this conjecture. We should expect, in that case, to find some mention of the name of this hypothetical monastery, in the same way, for instance, as the name appears in the epitaphs of the monks of the convent of Sancta Sion which are to be found in certain parts of the cemetery of Jerusalem. Moreover, one of these persons seems to have belonged, by his trade (*clibanarius*), to the secular world, and possibly to the army, and perhaps we may say the same for another of them (*hastatus?*).

To sum up, all these deceased persons seem to have agreed only in one point: they none of them belonged to Jerusalem, they were *strangers*; and the only mention of their status which we find in their brief epitaphs is this very one, of their being strangers. Christians from Batanaea, the Haurân, and Palmyra seem to predominate among them; two of them are expressly mentioned as being natives of Neeila and of Bostra; a third is connected with Palmyra; a fourth bears a name (*Anamos*) which is peculiar to the Nabathæan onomastics of the Haurân; several other names of Hellenic form are found likewise in the onomastics of Arabia Petraea.

All these considerations lead me to think that the Tombs of the Prophets are nothing more than a great *polyandrion* intended for the common burial of strangers who might happen to die in the Holy City, for instance, during a pilgrimage, and who, having no family sepulchre, managed, probably for a pecuniary consideration, to be interred in this, which we might almost call a common cemetery.

This *polyandrion* seems to have been specially reserved for natives of the countries beyond Jordan. This arrangement clearly shows that these people formed naturally a distinct group in the floating population of Jerusalem, and were able to combine for their common interests. Now we know that in ancient times the question of burial was of the highest importance, and that one of the chief anxieties both of Christians and Heathens was to provide themselves during their lifetime with a suitable burial place.

Here we have the reason why this catacomb should have shown us names of persons all connected by a common extraction. We have here, in a word, a sort of Ἰκελδαμά, a ταφή τοῖς ξένοις (place to bury strangers in, Matt. xxvii, 7), of rather higher class than the common burial pit. We may remember that after a certain period in the Middle Ages the real Aceldama,* or at all events what passed for it in the local legend, was assigned, first to the English, and subsequently to the Armenians who might happen to die during pilgrimage.†

I have used the word *polyandrion* for the Tomb of the Prophets. Such is, in my opinion, the real title under which this sepulchre should henceforth be known. I offer here some observations which seem to me to be such as to completely confirm this view.

The word πολυάνδριον was at first applied to any place capable of containing a large number of men, as its obvious etymology shows. It soon came to have the special meaning of "common sepulchre": θάψαντες δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰργάσαντο κοινὸν πολυάνδριον, says Aelian, quoted by Suidas. These common burial places seem to have been especially intended for strangers, for those who, dying far from their native land, would not be buried in their own family tomb—which is precisely our case in the Tombs of the Prophets. Suidas says, s.v., Πολυάνδριον μνημα. τάφον (τάφος) τὸ θρυλλούμενον παρὰ πολλοῖς ξενοτάφιον.‡ A scholium on St. Gregory Nazianzen § gives ξενοτάφιον and κοινοτάφιον as synonyms of πολυάνδριον: Πολυάνδριον πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν τάφος ὃ τινες ξενοτάφιον καλοῦσιν, ἢ κοινοτάφιον. In connection with this subject I may quote a curious passage of Jean Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale*, c. 88), where he tells us of an abbot, who having died at Daphne while visiting that

* What the Arabs call *Shurnein* at this day—a word which I met with in 1871 (Note Book VI, 4)—is merely the old French word scarcely altered, *Charnel*, whereby the place was known at the time of the Crusades (*le charnier*, or *Carnier de Caudemar*). Is it not this word *charnel* which M. Röhricht has not been able to make out, in an interesting map of the thirteenth century (published by him in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XIV, p. 138), as that of the traditional Aceldama, whose place it exactly occupies? it is there called "Carnel(ium) Johannis ubi sepeliuntur Anglici (!)." The word has been preserved literally in the English "*charnel-house*."

† Whence comes the Arabic name of *Ferdaus* or *Ferdús el Ermen*, by which the traditional Aceldama is also known.

‡ Several editors have wished, in spite of the agreement of all the MSS., to change ξενοτάφιον into κοινοτάφιον, ξενοτάφιον, or even κοινοτάφιον (!). These arbitrary alterations are altogether useless, the sense "sepulchre to bury strangers in" being perfectly satisfactory.

§ Quoted in a note by Gaisford in his edition of *Suidas*, II, 3029. Compare Lactantius, *Inst. Div. Epit.*, c. 72.

town, was buried, as a stranger, in the *strangers' cemetery*, ὡς ξενον ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ξενοταφίῳ.

The polyandron corresponded to what the Romans called *locus communis* (Plautus, *Casina*) and *schola* in the inscriptions; * this latter word is interesting, because, as a rule, it is not applied to a mere fortuitous group of people, but to groups which form a distinct whole, and whose members have some quality in common, such as schoolboys, soldiers of special corps, and various corporate bodies.

Even in Palestine *polyandria* were not unknown. Aeldama was a regular *polyandron*, as I have already stated. According to the second book of Maccabees (ch. ix, 4), Antiochus threatened to make Jerusalem "the *polyandron* of the Jews." In Ezekiel (xxxix, 11, 15, 16), Jehovah says that he will give unto Gog a place of graves in Israel . . . and there they shall bury Gog and all his multitude(?) in the valley of Hamon. Here the LXX always translate the obscure word † המון, המונה, by πολυάνδριον; they also use the same word to translate the expression קברי בני העם, "the graves of the common people," Jer. xxvi, 23, into which the corpse of the prophet Urijah was contumeliously cast after he had been given up by the Egyptians.

According to St. Epiphanius ‡ the prophet Micah was buried at Morathi (*sic*), in the tribe of Ephraim, near the *polyandron* of Anakim, or rather of the Enakim (Anakim).§

* *Schola* means a sepulchre with many cells. See *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*

† Can המון possibly be a transposition of הנום = הנם, *Hinnom*, alluding to the celebrated valley of Jerusalem?

‡ Or rather pseudo-Epiphanius.

§ *Vit. Prophet*, XIII, ἀντίγραφος τοῦ πολυανδρίου Ἐνακίμ. I need not say that this legend, so strange from every point of view, disagrees utterly with that which we find in Eusebius and St. Jerome, who, with much greater likelihood, place the native country and tomb of Micah at Morasthi, to the east of Eleutheropolis. The story of the discovery of the pretended relics of Micah and Habakkuk, made in the reign of Theodosius the Great, by Zebennus, bishop of Eleutheropolis, seems to me to be connected with the *Khūrbet Habeik* of the present day, to the north-east of Beit Jibrin. What makes me think so is that *Habeik*, whose name reminds one of that of *Habakkuk* (a likeness which perhaps was the starting point of the whole legend of the relics), is quite close to *Khūrbet Jeba'*. Now, according to the *Onomasticon*, the real or imaginary tomb of Habakkuk used to be shown at the village of *Gabatha*, twelve miles from Eleutheropolis. In another passage of the *Onomasticon* (s.v. Echela) this distance is reduced to seven miles, and in a third (s.v. Ceila) to eight miles (Eusebius says seventeen miles), in the country east of Eleutheropolis, as you go towards Hebron.—With regard to the improbable name of Enakim, in St. Epiphanius's story we must remember that he bases it upon the erroneous translation of Micah i, 10, in the LXX.

We find also that the Jews when settled abroad used to have such common burial places. In the catacombs of Venosa and Rome we know from the epitaphs that the Jewish dead were put all together in a space specially reserved for them. A Greek sepulchral inscription at Tlos,* in Lycia, is peculiarly instructive on this subject. In it a Jew named Ptolemy, the son of Lucius, states that to commemorate the bestowal of the title of archon upon his son by his brethren in the faith, he devises this sepulchre for the use "of all the Jews," "ὥστε αὐτὸ εἶναι πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων."

I think that I have sufficiently proved by all these instances that the Tombs of the Prophets is a Christian polyandrium, and that the people buried therein were for the most part natives of the districts beyond Jordan. We have now to consider whether the catacomb was originally hollowed out for this very purpose. May it not have been, as has been generally supposed, a sepulchre of more ancient date, which has been subsequently made use of for a second time? I do not share this opinion, and that for several reasons. It has been attempted to show that these *loculi* in the form of *kôkîm*, or oven-shaped cells, are a characteristic feature altogether confined to Jewish sepulchres, as contrasted with the Christian form of burial, in which the prevailing type is the *arcosolium*. This rule does perhaps obtain generally, but, if truly a rule, there are many exceptions to it. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the persons buried in the Tombs of the Prophets really belonged by birth to the Judæo-Christian community of Eastern Syria, which had retained many of the Jewish beliefs and customs. The arrangement of the *loculi* or *kôkîm* was here decided upon beforehand as that by which the greatest number of bodies could be stowed away in the smallest possible space. The very plan of the catacomb shows that it was originally intended for a great collective sepulchre, a *polyandrium*, and nothing else. But, it may be urged, it may be a more ancient *polyandrium*, a Jewish *polyandrium*, which was restored by these Christians whose epitaphs you have found, and which was then covered with the thick coat of plaster on which you found them engraved. I have already answered this last suggestion by remarking that, after examining them in many places, I am convinced that the hewing of the rock and the plastering were both executed simultaneously, for the rock has been so carelessly hewn as to show that it never was meant to be exposed, and that the workmen reckoned on this plaster to cover their purposely rough work, which was so wrought to save them trouble. I shall add that the

* Hula, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 99.

practice of plastering over the inside of grottoes and of carving inscriptions on the plaster was applied to unquestionably Christian sepulchres, whose inscriptions are in writing of exactly the same sort as that of the epitaphs in the Tombs of the Prophets.

With regard to the curious circular arrangement of this catacomb, this is how I should be inclined to account for it: It may have been settled before hand by the existence not of a tomb, but of a round *cistern* on the spot, which formed the nucleus of the sepulchre. This cistern is represented at present by the great round central chamber, with its very high roof. The original mouth of the cistern is still there; it is the great round hole at the top of the roof. Round this nucleus they cut semicircular concentric galleries, crossed by passages, and their walls have been pierced by radiating *kôkîm*; they made no *arcosolia* in the place because it would have made them waste a great deal of room, as I have explained, and also because the curves of the walls did not admit of them. I conceive that a corporate body of pilgrims from beyond Jordan did at some period obtain possession of this old disused cistern, and of the ground in its neighbourhood, with the object of making it, by this simple plan, into a polyandrion for the sole use of its members, in order to save them from the prospect of being cast into the common paupers' grave together with the poor people either from foreign countries or of Jerusalem. What, then, is the date of the cistern? That is another question, to which I am not prepared to reply; moreover, it is a matter of secondary importance, and beyond the scope of that which I have undertaken to solve.

We have thus got far away from the famous Peristereon of Josephus; besides, I think that it was quite a mistake to look for this Peristereon in a kind of underground *columbarium* like the Tombs of the Prophets. This preconceived idea has led some to identify the Peristereon with the great catacomb which was discovered some years ago on the hill on the Mount of Olives which is called *Viri Galilæi*.* It seems to me that this catacomb also is a Christian polyandrion of a different kind and date to the Tombs of the Prophets. It has even less claims than the latter to represent the Peristereon. I may remark that in the sepulchral inscriptions in the *Haurân*† the name of *περιστερεών* is applied to the tombs shaped like tall towers which are so often seen there, and which are indeed actually dovecotes. If, then, the

* *Zeitschrift des Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, 1888, p. 193, with a plan by Herr Schick.

† Waddington, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2173a, 2381, 2474, 2145.

περιστερεῶνος πέτρα of Josephus was really a sepulchre, which, by the way, has never been proved, we should be justified in asking whether it was not rather a sepulchre like those in the Haurân, shaped like a tower, hewn out of the rock. If so, then we must admit that what would best suit this description would be some monument like Absalom's Tomb; its topographical position also agrees well enough with the words of Josephus, which clearly allude to some striking landmark, and not to some columbarium hidden underground.

CHAPTER XV.

JEWISH OSSUARIES AND SEPULCHRES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JERUSALEM.

I.

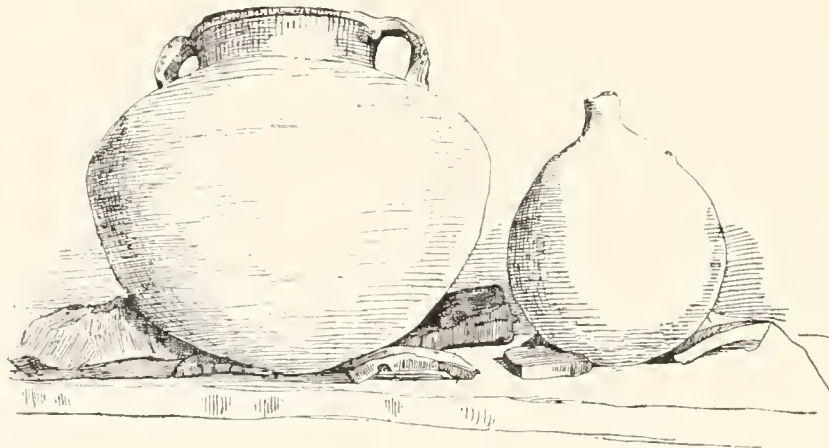
ON THE MOUNT OF OFFENCE.

IN the course of the year 1873, some months before my arrival at Jerusalem, an Effendi of that city, *Abu's So'ûd* by name, as far as I remember, while building himself a country house on the shoulder of the Mount of Olives, which is called *Bât'n el-Hawa*, the traditional Mount of Offence, not far from the road to Bethany, had broken into a sepulchral cave, full of most interesting little ossuaries. One of my first proceedings was to go and examine this important discovery. I even began to bargain with the landlord for the antiquities which he had found, but had to give it up owing to his exorbitant demands. I was obliged to content myself with getting as accurate reproductions as I could, in the form of squeezes, both of the inscriptions and the ornamentation carved upon the ossuaries. Afterwards these relics were dispersed and passed into various hands. I congratulate myself upon having taken the precaution to make a detailed description of the entire group, which is exceptionally important on account of its forming a connected whole.

The cave consisted of a simple rock-hewn chamber without *loculi*; it looked as though strictly speaking it had not been made for a sepulchre, but for a storehouse for the ossuaries brought from other unknown sepulchral chambers, which must exist not far from that spot. The ossuaries, thirty at least in number, were literally piled one above another in this narrow space. Unfortunately the cave was ransacked by rough workmen without the least care; they carried off the ossuaries and mixed them together, changed their lids, and broke many of the boxes, which were of very brittle soft calcareous stone. They also broke or threw away the bones which they contained, and various terra-cotta vases which lay among them. It is peculiarly vexing that they did not take any note of the

order in which the ossuaries were arranged and piled up, because one might then perhaps have obtained some clue to their relative dates, since these ossuaries seem, as we shall see, to have belonged to several succeeding generations.

On exploring the cave I did not find the least fragment of glass, and the Arabs assured me that they did not meet with anything made of it. I also picked up some pieces of broken ossuaries with inscriptions, and some teeth. I noticed, too, two wide vases of pale red terra-cotta, here figured. Dimensions of the large one, diameter 19 centimètres, height $15\frac{1}{2}$ centimètres.



VASES OF RED TERRA-COTTA FOUND IN A JEWISH TOMB.

I also found some little things in bronze, very much oxidized, all of the same curious shape.



BRONZE CYMBALS.

They are three little cups, above which is a large ring riveted into a groove which passes across the cup. One of the three has lost its ring. The diameter of the cup is 0^m·04, that of the ring 0^m·02. The Arabs took them for castanets, very reasonably, I think. Indeed, they could not be little bells, as I guessed them to be at first, for they had no clappers. They are more probably some of the little cymbals still in use in the East, which one puts on the thumb and a finger and plays with one hand. Two of

them were broken, and the broken pieces fitted exactly, which proves that when they were broken they must have been placed in their normal position one upon the other. The presence of these musical instruments in this sepulchral abode may appear strange, especially as they must have been used as an accompaniment to the dance; but we shall find it less strange if we remember that the cymbals of the ancients figured in sacred as well as in profane rites. These cymbals must have belonged to one, probably a woman,* of those dead whose ossuaries and epitaphs we are about to see. Who knows? they may, for instance, have belonged to that Salome, Judas's wife, who, without being a professional dancer, may, like her namesake, the famous Salome of the Gospel, have possessed the little drawing-room accomplishment which cost John the Baptist his head, and may have danced even as Herodias's daughter must have danced, with these little cymbals on her fingers. Probably there was a fourth cymbal, which has not been recovered, making two pairs, a complete set, each hand taking one pair, as one may see the dancing-girls do at the present day. Her corpse must have been buried with the cymbals on her fingers, as is proved by the remark which I have just made about the simultaneous breakage of one of the two pairs.

The greater part of the ossuaries have one of their faces ornamented with roses, marked out with a compass and cut into the surface, presenting various schemes of decoration. Several of them still retain traces of red colour, which has actually come off on the squeezes which I took of them, proving that the front of them at least was originally enriched with a coat of paint.

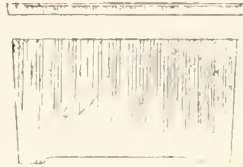
They all take the shape of little rectangular cases, averaging a little over fifty centimètres in length, with thin sides, cut out of blocks of soft brittle calcareous stone. They are narrower below than above. Some of them have four little feet, meant to raise them off the ground, while others rest their flat bottoms directly on the ground.

The lids with which they were covered showed a great variety of forms; they were semi-cylindrical, triangular, and flat; they were not often ornamented with carving like the boxes, but I found some which were so treated. The lids fitted on the boxes in various ways. Here are the principal types of lids which I saw.

* The Arabs assured me that the three objects in question were actually placed in one of the ossuaries. Unluckily it will now never be possible to ascertain which.

All the drawings in the following series are made to the same scale hereafter indicated.

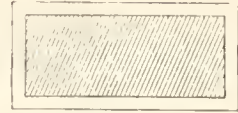
1. Flat lid, very slightly convex laid flat upon the smooth edges of the box.



Elevation of the long side.

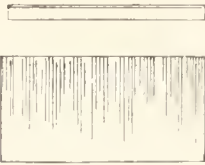


Half elevation of the short side,
and half cross section.



Plan without the lid.

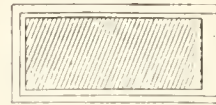
2. Flat lid, running in a double longitudinal groove, exactly like the lid of a box of dominoes. What completes the likeness is that the lid is furnished at one end with a little notch, intended to help one in pulling it out by giving a hold for the finger.



Elevation of the long side.

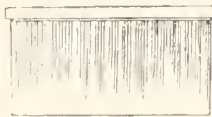


Half elevation of the short side,
and half cross section.



Plan without the lid.

3. Rebate, into which the cover fits, running round all four sides of the box (projecting upright rims).



Elevation of the long side.

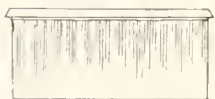


Half elevation of the short side,
and half cross section.



Plan without the lid.

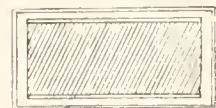
4. Lateral rebate, only on the two long sides of the box (projecting loping rims).



Elevation of the long side.

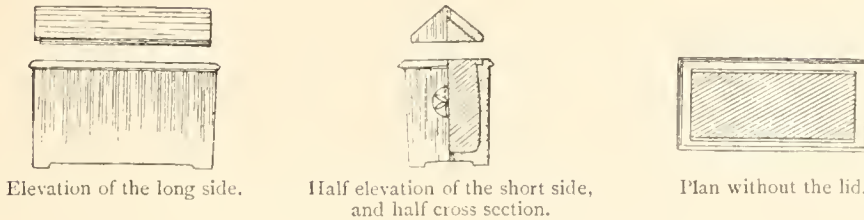


Half elevation of the short side,
and half cross section.

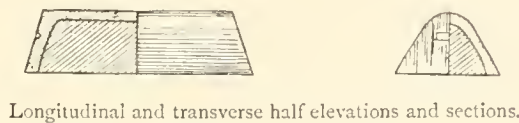


Plan without the lid.

5. Triangular hollowed out lid, which fits into a double rebate on the side of the box.



6. Saddle shaped lid, rounded, and hollowed out inside, a double notch at the two small ends for convenience of moving it.¹



Longitudinal and transverse half elevations and sections.
 Scale 50
 M.M. 100 0 100 C.M. = 1 MÈTRE

I shall not in this place discuss the very interesting question of the origin and use of these ossuaries, which properly belongs to Jewish archæology. I have treated of it in several tracts published some twenty years ago, for the most part in the *Revue Archéologique*. I will only remark that I have found them in other countries besides Palestine, especially in Alexandria, and perhaps in Mauritania.*

A great number of the ossuaries belonging to this group have inscriptions scratched on them with the point of a graving tool; some of the inscriptions are painted or written with a *kalam* (reed pen), or simply with a piece of charcoal. These inscriptions are for the most part put on the boxes on either the long or the short sides; some are on the covers.† Some of them are in Hebrew, and some in Greek, written in characters whose shape takes us back to the first centuries of our era. Several of the names which they contain seem the echoes of well known Gospel names; we shall find, for instance, that of Lazarus, of Martha, of Simon, and so on, not to mention that

* For this last point see a notice which I have published in my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 78 (with a drawing of the monument).

† As I have stated in the papers on ossuaries which I published some time ago, it was sometimes usual to engrave the inscription on the horizontal face of the rim of the box. Others have it written on the front side, among the decoration.

of Jesus. The coincidence is all the more striking, because this cave, which seems to have contained the members of an old Jewish family represented by many generations, stands by the road side not far from the village of Bethany, with which tradition connects the history of personages bearing these names; we shall even see Christianity appear and develop itself in it, although the exact date cannot be fixed.

I should have liked to give the exact shape of the ossuary which bore each inscription, and the place on which it was written. Unfortunately my notes and recollections are too confused to enable me to do so. I took squeezes of the greater part of the ornamented sides of the ossuaries, and am sorry that want of space prevents my reproducing them in this book. The inscriptions which I am about to comment upon have been very carefully copied from my squeezes by M. Lecomte.

No. 1.*

שלמציון בת שמעון הכהן

Shalam-Zion, daughter of Shimon the Priest.

Written in very large† well formed letters, boldly cut with the point of a graving tool. This short inscription is of particular importance to Hebrew palæography, because it shows to us as clearly as possible the organic structure, so to speak, of the letters, that is, the way in which they were drawn, and in what order their component elements were successively made out.

The final *nun* of the name *Shimon* is surmounted by a little *apex* which we find again in a more decided form over other letters in inscriptions belonging to the same group (Nos. 3, 7, 9, and 10); it reminds one of the *tagin*, or "crowns," which, according to the Talmudic treatises, ought to

* In this drawing, and in those that follow, the figures below the inscription show the scale of the drawing compared with the original.

† The surface covered by these three lines measures 0^m.45 in length, by 0^m.20 in height.

be placed above certain letters, and especially the *κεφαία*, mentioned in St. Matthew's Gospel* in connection with the text of the Thorah. The *yod* and the *waw*, here placed side by side, differ in nothing save their height, the *yod* being noticeably the smaller, which agrees perfectly with what we know of the history and evolution of this letter, whose small size was proverbial, as is proved by the passage in St. Matthew's Gospel which I have just quoted in connection with *κεφαία*.

This is the first time that we find on ancient monuments of this kind any allusion to the profession or social position of the person whose name appears in the epitaph; I mean by this, on the ossuaries which are found in Palestine, for it is very common in the Jewish inscriptions which are found outside of Palestine. I may especially compare with our Shimeon the *kohen*, "the priest," a certain Constantinos, in the Jewish catacomb of La Vigna Randanini, at Rome, who is described as *ιερεύς καὶ νομύς* (= *νομεύς*?).†

There is nothing to remark about the common name Shimeon. I shall only say that it occurs again in No. 5, which may possibly be the epitaph of Shalam-Zion's father, though of this we cannot be positively certain.

But his daughter's name, *Shalam-Zion*, is extremely curious, and raises questions of the greatest interest. In the first place, it is an entirely new Jewish proper name, or rather, as I shall try to prove, it has remained hitherto, if not unknown, at all events scarcely understood.

The way in which it is formed is plain enough; one can hardly avoid recognising in the last syllable the name of the holy hill of Jerusalem, the Mount Sion. The first part of it is clearly derived from the root *שָׁלַם*, "to be untouched, to be at peace," from which we get, among other words, *שָׁלוֹם*, "peace," or "salvation," and a number of proper names of men, such as *Shallum*, *Shelomoh* (Solomon), *Shalem*, *Shalmi*, *Shelomi*, *Shelumiel*, *Shelemyah*, and the female name *Shelomoth*, or *Shelomith*.‡ I regard this woman's name as meaning *Salvation of Zion*, or *Peace of Zion*.

The unexpected appearance of this name in our inscription will enable us to clear up two little problems concerning two important personages in Jewish history, and this solution will in its turn justify the vowel sounds, and consequently, the meaning which I have attributed to the first part, *shalam*, of *Shalam-Zion*.

* Matthew v, 18: *ὅσα ἔσθ' ἢ μία κεφαία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*, cf. Luke xv, 17.

† Garrucci, *Dissertazione Archeologica*, II, p. 165.

‡ Used also as a man's name. See below.

Josephus tells us* that Herod the Great had by Mariamne two daughters, one of whom was named Kypros, and the other Σαλαμφιώ. This last name is very strange, and hitherto no one has known how to explain it. Cureton,† not long ago, compared it to *Shalmath*, with the help of a form *Shalamtho*. I shall suggest that the name of Σαλαμφιώ is exactly identical with that now before us. This can be proved according to strict phonetic rules. Σαλαμφιώ is for Σαλαμ + σίω; the intercalary π, which, combined with the σ of σίω, produces the letter ψ, is inserted in obedience to a general phonetic law of the Greek language, which cannot endure an σ to follow an μ directly. Thus, for example, the name *Samson* = *Shimshon* has perforce been turned into Σαμφών.‡

The exact transliteration should have been, and at first perhaps was, Σαλαμφίων, with an ν. But in this form a woman's name looked like a man's name, terminating in ων, genitive ωνος. By dropping the ν, this ambiguity was removed, and the name restored to the normal type, of such common occurrence, of women's names in ώ, genitive οῦς.§ And, in fact, we find|| that in the passage of Josephus just quoted this name twice occurs in the genitive form Σαλαμφιούς.

The Greek transliteration gives us a valuable clue to the vocalisation of the first part of the name שְׁלַמְיָוִן: *Shalam* or *Salam*. This vowel system shows that this part of the word is nothing more than the Aramaic form *shalam* of the Hebrew substantive *shalom*, meaning "safety" or "peace," and consequently our name signifies "Salvation of Sion."¶

* *Ant. Jud.*, XVIII, 5, 4.

† Or Wright (?) (*Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 148).

‡ Compare the name of the sect of Peraean heretics who dwelt chiefly in Moab and the basin of the Arnon, the Σαυψάιοι. This name is clearly derived from שֶׁמֶשׁ, *Shemesh*, "the sun"; and St. Epiphanius (*Adv. Heres.*, II, p. 462) himself translates it by Ἡλιακοί.

§ This change of declension, resulting from a change of form in the transliteration of Semitic names into Greek, is not without precedent. I have shown a very convincing one of the Phœnician name עֲבַרְצֵר, "Servant of Sed," which, in the genitive, becomes either Ἀψήτος or Ἀψου, thus losing one of the Semitic radicals. The nominative Ἀψης (instead of Ἀψη[τ]ς) has in the first case been assigned to the third declension, and in the second case to the first declension.

|| Some manuscripts read in the second case the incorrect variant Σαμφιούς, a form which may be partly due to a reminiscence of the word Σαμφών.

¶ I have dwelt especially on this point because, following the analogy of the Hebrew name שְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ *Shelemyahu*, it might be supposed that the factor שְׁלַם of שְׁלַמְיָוִן played the same part in it and had the same origin. We know (by comparing 1 Chron. xxvi, 14, with ix, 21, and xxvi), that שְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ is akin to מִשְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ and מִשְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ, which would mean not "the peace of God," but "Whom God repaid" (from the form piel). The real connection, I think, is with the name שְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ *Shelumiel*, transliterated by the LXX and the Vulgate Σαλαμῖλ, and *Salamiel* respectively.

The peculiar veneration which has in all ages been paid to Sion, more especially since the period of the Maccabees; and, again, the frequent recurrence of the image whereby the hill is compared to the virgin daughters* of Jerusalem, may to a certain extent account for the occurrence of the holy name of Zion in the formation of a woman's name, where it takes the place usually occupied by the name of God.

One might at first sight be tempted to compare the name of *Σαλαμψιῷ* with the famous name of *Σαλαμβῷ*. But Salambo is well known to be the name of a Phœnician† deity, and not a woman's name. It is generally explained by *שְׁלִמְבַעַל*, "image of Baal."‡

The second historical question to which our little inscription gives an answer is that connected with the name of the wife of the Asmonean king Alexander Jannæus, which has been the subject of much controversy down to the present day. By Greek writers she is called *Σαλώμη*, from her Hebrew name, for, after the fashion of her day, she also had the Hellenic name of Alexandra. The name *Σαλώμη* must, it would seem, correspond to a Hebrew form *שְׁלֹמִית*, *Shelomith*, or even to a form *שְׁלוֹם*, *Shalom*, which was used as a woman's name, as I shall presently prove from another of my inscriptions. Now in the Talmud, where this queen is often mentioned, her name occurs with very strange and even incomprehensible variants, which have been carefully collected by MM. Graetz§ and Derenbourg: || *שְׁלֹמִיתוּ*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*. M. Graetz conjectures that there was a primitive form *Salomine*, *Salominon*, *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, whose origin he does not explain, probably because he could not—and no wonder—explain it to himself. M. Derenbourg, however, seems to adopt as the primitive form *שְׁלֹמִינִין*, without any further statement as to the etymology of this very uncommon form, which he contents himself by comparing with the inexplicable *Σαλαμψιῷ*; it is *obscurum per obscurius*. I am convinced that the various readings of the Talmud are derived from a primitive form *שְׁלֹמִינִין* identical with the name on our epitaph, and that the real name of the wife of Alexander Jannæus was Shalam-Zion. Indeed, a glance is sufficient to show

* Isaiah iii, 16, lii, 2; Cant. iii, 11, etc.

† See Hesychius, s.v., and *Σαλαμβῷ* in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, pp. 747, 48.

‡ This explanation, which, by the way, is purely conjectural, would of course render impossible any connection between the names *Σαλαμβῷ* and *Σαλαμψιῷ* through an intermediate form *שְׁלִמְבַעַל*.

§ *Geschichte der Juden*, 2nd edition, III, pp. 117 and 473.

|| *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, p. 102.

that by combining the five variants given above, we obtain all the letters of this name, and that this name, as written on our ossuary, explains them all.

It follows from this that the Greek form of *Σαλώμη* may have served as a more or less exact equivalent for different names of Jewish women formed from the root *shalam*, שלום, שלמית, שלמינן.

We see, therefore, that this short inscription is interesting on more accounts than one.

1st. It proves that the name of the Herodian Princess Salampsio is the same as that of the wife of Alexander Jannæus, in spite of the incorrect and incomprehensible spellings in which this last name appears in the Talmud.

2nd. It furnishes us with the original form and true etymology of both names.

I must briefly refute a different interpretation of our name שלמינן which has been suggested, instead of this simple and natural one of "Salvation of Sion." M. Derenbourg has proposed to see in that name a Hebrew transcript of a name *Σαλωμίθιον*; this name, which, by the way, is a mere myth, would be a hybrid formed from the Hebrew name שלמיית, Shelomith, first transliterated as *Σαλωμίθ* or perhaps *Σαλωμέθ*,* and then augmented by the Greek diminutive termination *ιον*, which we find in many names of women of the class called "hypocoristic," or pet names. On this hypothesis, שלמינן would merely mean "Little Shalomith."

This very forced interpretation is met by insuperable difficulties. In the first place the form *Σαλωμίθιον*, according to unvarying analogies, would have tended to contract itself into *Σαλωμίθιν*, and one would *a priori* expect to see it transcribed שלמינן, and not שלמינן.† Yet, on the other hand, it seems that they would have retained the י in שלמיית, that is to say, the probabilities are, that if the hypothesis against which I was arguing was

* שלמיית, ישלמיית, ישלמות, differently pronounced according to the *Keri* or the *Ketib*, appear in the Bible as names of men and names of women. The Greek version transliterates them variously: *Σαλωμιθ*, *Σαλωμέθ*, *Σαλωμιθ*, *Σαλωμιθ*, *Σαλωμιθ*, *Σαλωμιθ*, etc. Once the Greek form (1 Chron. iii, 19) has *Σαλωμιθ*. Generally speaking, we may say that these are two distinct types, characterised on the last syllable, the one by the *ου* or *ο*, the other by the vowel *ι*. It may be that this vocalic distinction corresponded to a distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of this name which is common to both sexes (*ι* for women and *ο*, or *ου*, for men?).

† This mode of contraction, *ιον*=*ιν*, was common in the vulgar Greek of Syria, as is attested by a quantity of inscriptions, and extended to the termination *ιος*, which became *ις*. In the language of the Talmud, names ending in *ιον* are written with a final *ן*; as a rule, when this termination appears as *ין*, it is because it represents *εων* or *ων*, which are accented quite differently.

sound, we should have found שלמיצון instead of שלמיצון engraved on our ossuary.

Second impossibility. The θ of Σαλωμίθιον, according to all that we know, ought to be represented by a ת and not by a ז, which in transliterations always corresponds to σ , never to θ . And in this case the breach of this rule would be all the more difficult to explain, because it would really be a Hebrew word which had been translated into Greek, being turned into Hebrew again, where this ת exists. There are two reasons, therefore, against its having been turned into a ז. If, therefore, M. Derenbourg is right, we ought to find שלמיתון on our ossuary. The reader sees how far we are from that.

I do not, therefore, hesitate to maintain the explanation which I have proposed. It has, among other advantages, that of raising no phonetic difficulty. True, it has been charged with the introduction of a hitherto entirely unknown form into the list of Jewish names. This seems to be, but is not, really a reproach; it might with more reason be applied to the improbable Σαλωμίθιον, which no one has ever met with. Finally, we have three different examples of the name Shalam-Zion, three examples which corroborate one another: in Josephus, in the Talmud, and on our ossuary.

As for the use, uncommon among the Jews, of the name of a place as part of a proper name, we must remember that Zion is not an ordinary place, that the name of the holy hill of Jerusalem soon assumes, among the Jews themselves, a mystical character, which led to new developments among the Christians.*

Moreover, this theory is supported by a significant circumstance which should not be neglected; I mean, the existence in Ethiopia† of a number of proper names of persons formed exactly like this of ours, in combination with that of Zion; for example *Tasfa-Zion*, meaning "Hope of Zion;" there are also persons named "Column of Zion," "Favour of Zion," "All for Zion," etc. This fact is all the more remarkable because these names

* Zion was spoken of as a kind of reasonable being; compare Ἁγία Σιών, the correlative to Ἁγία Σοφία. Compare also the more or less fabulous *Sancta Jerusalem*, who was put to death together with St. Appion (Acta Sanctorum, July, 26, in the *Prætermissi*, p. 299).


† According to the Ethiopian system of theology, Zion represents the Ark of the Covenant, and the personification of the Virgin herself (Foederis Arca). This mystical conception, besides other more serious reasons (for example, the incarnation of the Holy City in the form of the "Virgin Daughter of Zion") may have been suggested by some play upon the words Zion, Moriah, Maria.

occur very early in Ethiopic history, and because, as is well known, Ethiopic Christianity is strongly impregnated with Judaism. Consequently such a name as "Salvation of Zion," if that be, as I believe it is, the meaning of שלמציון, contains nothing repugnant to Jewish feeling, nor, I shall venture to say, to Semitic dogma.

No. 2.

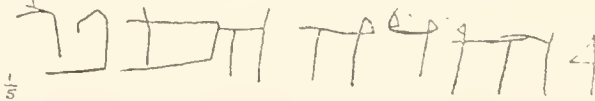
On the back of the same ossuary (?), in similar but smaller and rather more carelessly formed letters, is שלמציון, "Shalam-Zion."

The *shin* is remarkable for the length of its top stroke: in this form it reminds one much of the *shin* of the Nabathæan script. This is not the first time that I have had occasion to notice the striking palæographic resemblance between the Nabathæan inscriptions and the inscriptions in the square Hebrew character at the beginning of our era.



The three last letters would be hard enough to make out* if we had not the help of No. 1 to guide us, where we find the same proper name written quite plainly. Let us henceforth bear in mind this simplified form of final *nun*, which has come down to a mere vertical scratch slightly aslant, with nothing characteristic save its length. We shall find it elsewhere written thus.

No. 3.



This is written on the front side of a triangular lid, in letters of grand size, carefully engraved; it is a regular lapidary inscription, not a mere scrawl.

יהודה הכשר, "Judah, the Scribe."

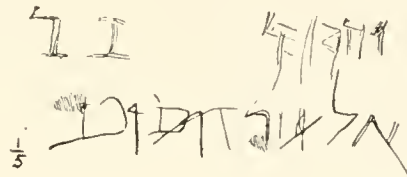
The shapes of the letters are of the greatest interest as bearing upon Hebrew palæography. The *he* and the *waw* are connected by a long

* However, the *yod* has nevertheless its three-cornered head, which the designer has shown in an imperfect fashion.

accidental stroke, of which no notice must be taken; it arose from the point of the tool slipping while the *he* was being engraved. Observe how the vertical and horizontal lines are looped at their joining; they have been made all in one stroke, without raising the point from the surface. Note also the very perceptible difference in shape between the *resh* ר and the *daleth* ד, and also that the form of the *samech* ס is not triangular, but oblong, a shape which was preferred when the alphabet was finally settled.

Our Judah, then, belonged to the class of scribes, *sopherim*, who played a considerable part in the time of Jesus. We shall find him again in the next number, with an additional clue to his origin.

No. 4.



Inscription on the right hand small end of an ossuary, evidently that to which the cover just described belonged.

יהודה בר אלעזר הסופר, "Judah, son of Eleazar, the Scribe."

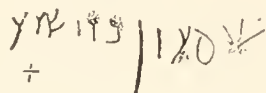
The writing here is very careless; the strokes are small and confused. The name Judah is not so plain as in the former inscription, but it is not doubtful. The word *sopher*, "the scribe," is written *plene*, with the *waw*, and not *defective*, as in the former instance. This time we are told the name of our man's father. For the word "son" the Jews used indifferently either the pure Hebrew form *ben*, or the Aramaic form *bar*, which we have here. If we remember how names were handed down by alternate generations, from grandfather to grandson, and the heredity of professions in certain Jewish families, we may suppose that Eleazar, Judah's father, was a scribe like his son, and we are almost tempted to ask whether they may not both have been descended from that "Eleazar, one of the principal scribes," who was put to death under Antiochus Epiphanes, because he refused to eat swine's flesh.*

In Jewish epitaphs outside of Palestine we often meet with the title of

* 2 Macc. vi, 18. Ἐλεάζαρος τις τῶν πρωτευόντων γραμματέων. He was afterwards claimed by the Christians as the First Martyr of the Old Testament. Chrysostom, *Hom. III in Macc. init.*

"scribe," *γραμματεὺς*, given to the dead or to their parents, for instance in the catacomb de la Vigna Randanini, which I have already mentioned.*

No. 5.



שמעון בר ישוע

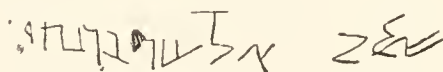
שמעון בר ישוע, "Shimeon, the son of Jesus."

Cut in very small, almost microscopic letters, quite at the top and on the right hand side of the front of an ossuary, ornamented with two simple rosettes set in square frames. The *shin* and *mem* appear in new and curious forms, particularly the *mem*, whose rounded form reminds one of the shape which this letter would long afterwards assume in the writing known as *rashi*. Here again we find our final *nun* reduced to a long vertical stroke. The upper part of the letters of the word בר have been slightly damaged, but the second is certainly a *resh*; a final *nun* would betray itself by its long tail.

I need not call the reader's attention to the especial interest of the appearance of the Hebrew name of Jesus at such a period. We shall presently see another yet more remarkable example of it, written on one of the ossuaries which I discovered in Wâdy Yâsûl.

It is probable, though not certain, that our Shimeon bar Yeshû' may have been the father of Shalam-Zion. True, he is not here entitled *kohen*, "priest," but one can easily understand this omission, if, as is more than likely, the two inscriptions were not written by the same hand, either because the father died before the daughter, or because he survived her.

No. 6.



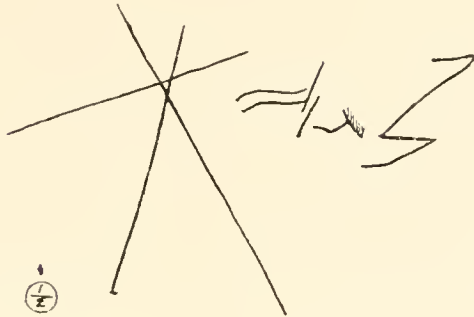
אלעזר בר נתאי

On the back of an ossuary, on the long side, is the inscription—
אלעזר בר נתאי, "Eleazar, the son of Natai."

The Hebrew letters are preceded by three marks which do not look like letters, and whose meaning it is hard to guess. They greatly resemble

* Garrucci, *op. c.*, II, Nos. 13, 20, 21; p. 182, No. 21; p. 181, No. 15. One of these Jewish personages is even entitled *αλληγορηματεὺς*, which Father Garrucci ingeniously explains as "scribe designate," *designatus, destinatus*.

certain other marks engraved upon the short side on the left hand of the same ossuary. They are shown here.*

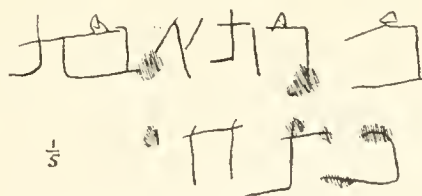


Already, before the year 1873, I called attention to the signs of this kind which are cut on ossuaries. I have always noted them with care, hoping that by comparing them with one another I might some day succeed in discovering their real value: possibly a numerical one (?).

The reading of the Hebrew letters is certain. The *ain* and the *zain* are joined, or, at any rate, touch one another. The same remark applies to the *nun* and the *taw*. Here again we may ask whether this Eleazar is not the same man as the Eleazar of No. 4, the father of Judah the scribe.

The patronymic *Natai* or *Nattai* is a well known contracted form of *Natanyahu*, *Nataneel*, or *Natan* (*cf.* *Narθαιός*).†

No. 7.



On the front side of an unornamented ossuary—

בִּרְתָּא בַת פַּסְחָל [י], "Martha, daughter of Pascal."

* The first sign looks like a *shin*. If it be so, we must admit that these signs have been written the opposite way to the inscription properly so called.

† *Aristeas, ed. Havercamp*, II, p. 109. M. Derenbourg has written an interesting note upon this class of contracted proper names (*op. c.*, p. 95). The spelling which we find here differs from that of the same name in the Talmud by the omission of the *aleph*, נתי instead of נתאי. It does not seem to me to be proved that "נית" (for which "מת", "Matthew," is substituted. *op. c.*, p. 94) is the same thing as נתאי, and our נתי.

In company with the name of Eleazar, which we meet with in the Gospels in its common shortened form, Lazarus, we have here the purely Gospel name of *Martha*. Hitherto we were aware of the existence of the Judæo-Aramæan form of the name Martha, but this is the first time that it has been found in this form in an ancient inscription of undoubted Jewish origin. We know that the name means "mistress."*

Her father's name is פנח, or rather, I think, פנחי. In the first drawing made by M. Lecomte from my squeeze there was no *yod* visible; but it seems to me, after a careful examination of the squeeze, that I can see a little mark with a three-cornered head after the heth, a *yod* disfigured by a crack. I have restored it both in the inscription and in the drawing. The meaning of the name is not doubtful; it is *Pascal*, that is, "he who was born on Easter Day" (*Paskhai*). פסח, *psakh*, is, indeed, the Hebrew word for Easter (Paschal Day). The name is spelled here with a *tsade* instead of a *samech*. This unusual spelling is, however, perfectly normal, the soft sibilant being merely replaced by the emphatic sibilant, on account of its immediate contact with the guttural *heth*. This variant spelling, which is formed according to the truest principles of Semitic euphony, is also that which is adopted in Syriac and also in Arabic (فاسح, فاصح).† The man's name *Pasakh* (*Pascal*) appears four times in the Bible.‡ *Paskhai* belongs to the numerous class of proper names derived from the names of festivals, of months, or of days, such as *Haggai* (the prophet's name), which is literally Festivus; *Elulai*, "born in the month of *Elul*;" *Yarkhai*, "born with the month" or "with the moon;" *Shabtai* (A.V. Shabbethai), "born on the Sabbath Day." Among the Phœnicians we find *Ben-hodesh* ("son of the month," "born with the new moon"), which is translated into Greek by *Νουμήνιος*. This habit of giving children names derived from the epoch of their birth received a great development in ancient Christian nomenclature, wherein we find *Epiphana*, *Epiphania*, *Natalis* (Noel), *Parasceve* (Good

* A Greek inscription lately discovered at Delos contains the name of Martha of Damascus, Μάρθα Δαμασκηνή. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1892, p. 161.

The wife of Septimius Severus, the Syrian Julia *Domna*, who was born at Emesa, perhaps bore the name of Martha in her mother-tongue, and *Domna* (Dom'na = Domina) was the translation of it. Compare also Δούρα, the wife of the philosopher Isidore of Gaza (Damasc., V, *Isid.*, 301).

† Besides فاسح, which is an artificial transliteration made afterwards of the Hebrew form.

‡ Ezra ii, 49; Nehemiah iii, 6, and vii, 51; 1 Chron. iv, 12.

Friday), *Sabbatius*, *Sabbatia*, *Sabbatus* (Saturday),* and also the equivalents of our Jewish name Paskhai in the forms *Pascasus*, *Pascasius*, *Pascasia*, and *Pasqualina*. *Pascasius* has even been retranscribed into Hebrew, in the Talmud, under the forms פסנס and פסקס.

No. 8.



On the upper side of a flat lid, broken in two pieces.

יהודה, "Judah."





The name is hard to read, owing to the cursive hand in which it is written, and especially owing to the cracks and false strokes which alter or confuse the letters. Nevertheless, I consider my reading to be altogether justified by comparing it with No. 9, where the same name occurs again rather more clearly written. This lid must belong to one of the boxes inscribed with the name of Judah.†

Below the inscription is a large and very curious symbolic mark. At first I asked myself whether we ought not to see in it a simplified representation of the seven-branched candlestick which we often meet with on ancient Jewish epitaphs, and which are sufficiently characteristic of them to enable us, in cases of doubt, to distinguish them from Christian epitaphs.‡

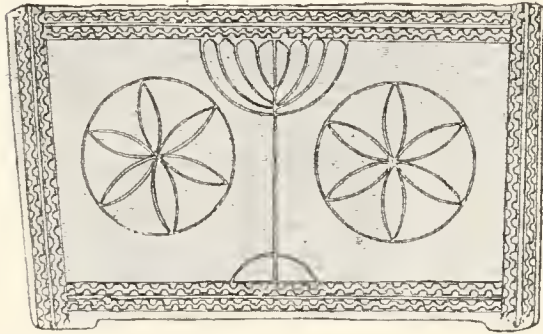
* In the Jewish catacomb of La Vigna Randanini we find, besides a *Νουμνιος*, several *Sabatius*, and one *Σαββτις*, which quite appear to justify us in explaining the Biblical name *Shabtai* (Ezra x, 15; A.V. *Shabbethai*) by "born on the Sabbath," in spite of the scruples of some etymologists who have proposed extremely unlikely explanations of the word (for instance, Fürst suggests "Jah is Saturn!").

† Perhaps to No. 11 (?). But I cannot make any positive statement on this subject, owing to the vagueness of my notes and recollections.

‡ See the symbolic signs, perhaps conventional forms of the Jewish candlestick, figured or mentioned by M. Schumacher, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1895, p. 120; to *Mádebá*; cf. "Across the Jordan," pp. 173, 174; and *Dscholán*, pp. 94).

This is naturally the first idea which occurs to one's mind. However, I have thought it right to discard it for various reasons. First, we here lack exactly what is the very essence of this symbol, the seven branches, or at all events the branches, for the number is not always exactly observed. If, nevertheless, we were to admit that these tree-like branches, which are always drawn, had here been left out for the sake of simplicity, a grave difficulty would still remain to be confronted: that is to say, the general outline of our symbol is the exact opposite of that of the candlestick;  ought to become  or ; but here we have .

Moreover, even setting aside the impossibility of the upper part having been thus turned upside down, we know no examples of this candlestick reduced to this simple form without branches. On the other hand, among all the numerous ossuaries which have passed through my hands during the more than twenty-five years which I have devoted to the archæology of Palestine, I have never met with a single specimen of the candlestick carved *in graffito*. Once only I



have noticed its presence on an ossuary, but that was under peculiar circumstances quite different to those with which we are dealing. There, the candlestick was of a purely ornamental character, and formed an integral part of the decoration of the sculptured front side of the ossuary, which it divided

into two panels of equal size. It is exceedingly slender, and needs some attention to distinguish it from the usual roses and semicircles whose place it occupies. However, its organic parts (eight in number)* are arranged as usual, and have nothing resembling the shape of the symbol in question.

I shall sum up my impressions of it as follows: If we found this symbol by itself, or accompanied by an inscription of uncertain nationality, would it not be somewhat rash to insist on seeing in it the Jewish candlestick? Is, then, the existence of a Jewish inscription enough to justify us in seeing in this symbol, as I may say theoretically, what we should consider it a very


* This is their apparent number. I imagine that the two central branches must be counted as one, which brings us back to the sacred number.

arbitrary proceeding to see there without its help? For my part, I do not think that the inscription does justify it, and I think that this symbol, whose shape is certain (for we find it repeated in exactly the same form on No. 10), does not represent the seven-branched candlestick, but something else.


What other thing? That is another question, to which I can only give a conjectural reply. I have thought of an anchor set upright so as to present the appearance of a cross. If we for a moment dismiss from our minds the accompanying texts and the Jewish origin of our ossuaries, if, for example, we imagine this symbol to be cut on the wall of some Christian catacomb at Rome, we should not, I conceive, hesitate for a moment to adopt that view. There are a great number of examples of anchors drawn thus with the flukes in the air. Still, I admit that our symbol differs somewhat from the usual form of the anchor, by the addition of the horizontal line forming the chord of the arc, which together with the upright stem forms a shape like a cross.*

Whatever the thing represented by this symbol may be, anchor or anything else, has the symbol itself a religious meaning? May it not be a sign belonging to primitive Christianity? This is the question which I have been brought to ask myself in consequence of the existence, *in the same cave*, of other ossuaries, Nos. 11, 28, 29, which, as we shall see, bear symbols which are clearly Christian. The occurrence of a Christian symbol in a Jewish inscription would be hitherto unique, and I need not enlarge upon its importance. Its importance would be all the greater, because we must not forget that we are at Jerusalem itself, in a tomb belonging to a Jewish family of priestly rank, several members of which were either priests or scribes; a tomb wherein we find the commonest Gospel names, *Jesus, Lazarus, Simcon, Martha, Judah*, and so on. I shall return presently to the discussion of that all-important question.

I must, however, mention another explanation of this enigmatic symbol

* The first Arab coins struck at Jerusalem at the period of the conquest display a symbol which has a certain analogy with ours; it is a sort of  standing on a pedestal with steps, which seems to be a veiled imitation of the cross on Byzantine coins which served the Arabs for models.

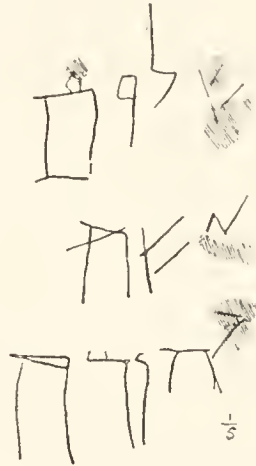
In 1888 I found at Alexandria a very curious symbol of unquestionably Christian character, which undeniably shows some resemblance to the one in question in shape, if we take away the

A and **Ω** and the **P** of the Emperor Constantine's *Labarum*. 

which has since been proposed by M. Kaufmann.* It may be, he says, a kind of canopy or umbrella. It seems that in the Jewish catacombs of La Vigna Apollini, at Rome, a similar symbol has been found, but unfortunately no fac-simile of it has been published. In the description it is called a *tenda* or *padiglione*. It was thought to contain an allusion to the feast of Tabernacles. M. Kaufmann, rather inclines to see in it the *Khuppah*, or *Khupah*, חופה, חופה which, in the Jewish theology, symbolises the seat of Divine Majesty, the baldacchino which will in Paradise shade the souls of the righteous.† Moreover, I have not hitherto met with any symbol of this shape among Jewish monuments; the solitary specimen in the Roman catacombs must be regarded as doubtful until we have a drawing of it, and if it is like this symbol of ours, the question of its interpretation will still remain an open one.

No. 9.

On the under side of the aforesaid lid.



שלום אשת יהודה. "Salome, wife of Judah."

A priori we might be tempted to regard the word *shalom*, with which this inscription begins, as the noun substantive signifying "Peace!" "Salvation!" an interjection often met with in Jewish epitaphs, and which

* *Götting. Gelehrte Anz.*, 1886, No. 3, p. 143.

† Can the parasol which appears on the reverse of Agrippa's coins have any connection with this symbol?

has come down from them into the Christian formulæ. But we should be wrong; we must here regard *Shalom* as a proper name of a woman, corresponding, I conceive, exactly to the *Σαλώμη* of the Greek transliteration. This is proved by the words which follow, "wife of Judah."

This Judah, Salome's husband, is undoubtedly the Judah of the preceding number, seeing that the two names appear on the two opposite sides of the same lid. Moreover, on one of the small ends of Salome's ossuary itself (Nos. 10 and 10A) we shall find our Salome's name together with the same characteristic symbol as in No. 8. Here some of the letters have been slightly damaged, but by comparing them with Nos. 10 and 10A, we can reconstruct them with absolute certainty. The final *mem*, closed and surmounted by an *apex* shaped like a bud, is peculiarly interesting.

The woman's name, Shalom, which I have thought we might render by Salome, raises a question about which I must say a few words. Hitherto this name, though very common as a man's name, has never come under my notice, at least in Biblical Hebrew, as a woman's name. It is usually pronounced *Shalloum* in practice, but I do not think that its vowel-scheme has always been thus fixed. To show this it is sufficient to look over the various spellings which the Greek versions give of this name, which is borne in the Bible by a score of personages: the spellings are *Σελλούμ*, *Σελλήμ*, *Σαλούμ*, *Σαλλούμ*,* *Σαλέμ*, *Σελούμ*, *Σαλώμ*, *Σαλλώμ*, *Σολλήμ*, *Σολμήν*. This variety of forms in the transcripts suggests that the original Hebrew word must have comprised at least two different forms, corresponding, perhaps, the one to *Shallum*, and the other to *Shalom*.

But, thanks to our ossuaries, we now know for certain that Jewish women also were capable of bearing the name of *שלום*.† On the other hand, in the Greek writers, Strabo, Josephus, the Gospels, Suidas, and in many inscriptions, we find several Jewish women named *Σαλώμη*.‡ Hitherto it has been thought that this name of Salome could be the equivalent of no Hebrew name except the woman's name *שלמיש Shelomith*. At this day it appears probable that the name *Σαλώμη* corresponded also to a form *שלום*

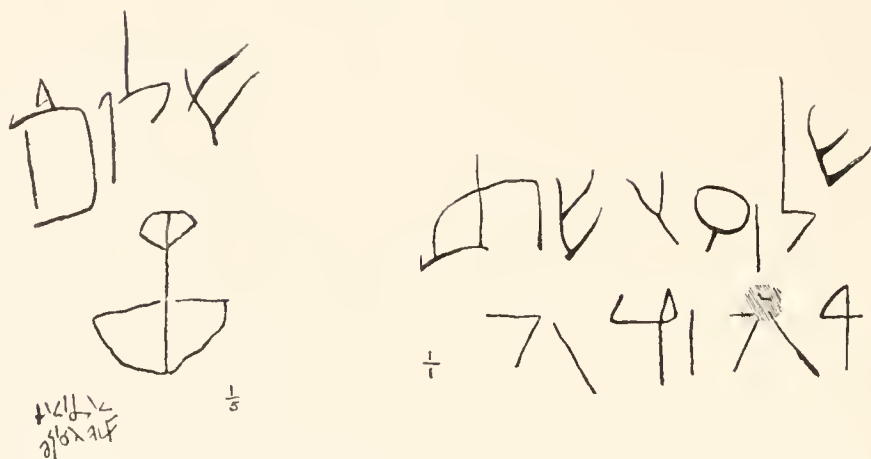
* Compare *Σάλλουμος* in Josephus, and *Σέλλουμος*, *Σέλλιμος*.

† In the Talmud we do once find *שלום* used as a woman's name (Sabbath 116a), but this solitary instance might be regarded as doubtful, and indeed has generally been hitherto so considered.

‡ Strabo, XVI, 765; Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 7, 3, etc.; St. Mark's Gospel xv, 40; xvi, 1; *Corpus. Inscr. Gr.*, No. 9909, etc.

to which, by the way, it is much more nearly connected phonetically than it is to שלמיה.

Nos. 10 and 10A.



On the left hand small side or end of an ossuary with ornamented front :—

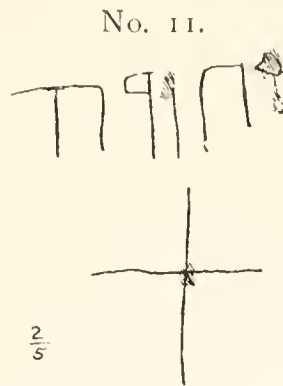
(10) שלום (10A) שלום אשת יהודה

“Salome.” “Salome, wife of Judah.”

It will be noticed that these two epigraphs, which form one single inscription, have been cut, one in one direction, and the other in another: the first in large letters, the second and longer one in very small ones. The inference which we necessarily draw from the inverse position of the two epigraphs is that *they cannot have been written at the same time*. The interval which separated them may have been as short as you please; all that we can certainly affirm is that during this interval the position of the ossuary itself was changed. No. 10A was engraved while the ossuary remained in its normal position, that is to say, resting on its bottom; No. 10, on the other hand, was engraved while the little coffer was standing upside down, with its feet in the air, and its opening downwards; and therefore, according to all probability, before it had received Salome's bones, for which it was intended. No. 10 must, therefore, have been engraved before No. 10A, by way of a kind of preliminary note for the guidance of the person whose duty it was to arrange the bones of each deceased person in the various ossuaries which were brought to the sepulchre. Moreover, we find between the two epigraphs

10 and 10A exactly the same great symbol as that we have seen engraved on No. 8 under the name of Judah. The question is, whether it belongs to 10 or to 10A, or, in other words, what is its normal position? It seems to have been made by the same hand and with the same graving-tool as 10: if so, then this uninterpreted symbol must be just as significant when upside down as not, which would apply to the anchor, but not at all to the candlestick or the parasol theory. Perhaps, however, we ought to connect it with No. 10A after all, in which case it would appear here in the same position as in No. 8.

The letters of the inscription 10A contain forms of much interest to the student of Hebrew palæography. The reader will notice especially the final *mem*, shaped like a circle with a little stroke at the bottom pointing to the left; the *aleph*, without its left hand branch; the *yod*, shaped almost like the figure 4, and as big as the other letters; the *he's*, with their straddling legs; the *daleth*, with a great hook on the left side, and on the right with a loop caused by the joining of the horizontal and vertical lines.



On the front side of an ossuary—

יהודה, "Judah."

Here again is the name Judah, plainly written, and this time accompanied by a *regular cross*, with branches of equal length. No doubt can possibly exist about the reality of this symbol. The manner in which it is engraved; its position on the field of the ossuary, and relatively to the proper name: all agree to prove that it is a symbol intentionally wrought, and a symbol connected with the name written just above it, even as the disputed symbol in No. 8 is connected with the name of Judah written above it, and as the

same symbol in No. 10 is connected with the name of Salome. Its meaning is questionable ; I do not think that it can be anything but the sign of the cross, but I do not overlook the difficulties which beset that view, considering our hitherto received ideas on the one hand as to the earliest period at which the cross was recognised as the emblem of Christianity, and, on the other, as to the latest date commonly attributed to all Hebrew inscriptions in the ancient square characters, in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. If this cross is really a Christian symbol, we must either admit that the chronological rules upon which all archæologists have hitherto justly agreed with regard to Christian monuments in the West, do not apply without modification to Christian monuments in the East, or else that the theory that every Hebrew inscription at Jerusalem and in its neighbourhood is necessarily earlier than Titus's siege, or at all events than the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, must not be regarded as absolutely true, and that Hebrew inscriptions must exist belonging to a date later than that epoch. Our case, therefore, if proved, would tend either to put back a date agreed on by Christian archæology, or else to bring down to later times one admitted in matters of Semitic epigraphy.

Personally, I think that the true symbols of Nos. 8 and 10 have much light thrown upon them by the cross on No. 11, and that, on the other hand, these symbols, which in themselves are obscure, do nevertheless confirm the meaning which I am inclined to attribute to the cross. These three points appear to me to be connected with one another, and we shall presently find a fourth (No. 29) which will sweep away all possible doubt, and will give us reason for supposing that (1) all these ossuaries, coming, as they do, out of one cave, must reach over a very long period of time, from the first centuries of the Christian era down to a date certainly later than the reign of Constantine, and to the official establishment of the Christian religion ; (2) that many of the Greek or Hebrew-speaking people whose remains are contained in these ossuaries had, at successive indeterminate epochs, and under conditions unknown to us, embraced Christianity.

The appearance of Christianity in the heart of an old Jewish family, with its burial vault at the very gates of Jerusalem, is a thing which I admit is rare, and even hitherto unprecedented. But is this a sufficient reason for declaring it *a priori* impossible ? Somewhere or other the new doctrine must have made its way into the Jewish system. If we have stumbled upon one of the places in which it did so, we may indeed call our find lucky, but we cannot call it improbable.

No. 12.

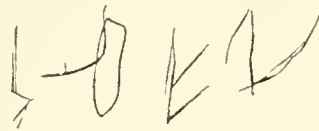


On the right hand small end of an ossuary—

נטע, "Peda," or "Padda."

The first letter, in spite of some false strokes, is more like a *pe* than a *beth*, or a *mem*; the second may be a *daleth* or a *resh*, as we please. The name is most probably *Padda*, or *Peda*, which we often meet with in the Talmud.*

No. 13.



On the front side of an ossuary, and on the right hand of it.

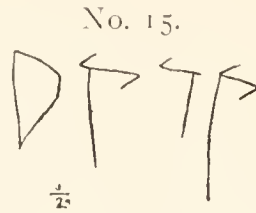
No. 14.



On the hinder side of the same ossuary, to the left. Nos. 13 and 14 are evidently reproductions of the same name, followed in No. 13 by another

* See Levy's *Neuhebraisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

word. Although several letters are perfectly recognisable, yet others are doubtful, and I have no satisfactory reading of it to propose.*

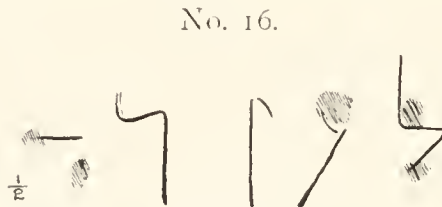


On the left hand end of an ossuary, remarkable for its exceedingly small size; it only measures 0^m·285 in length by 0^m·160 in height. Evidently this miniature ossuary was meant to contain the bones of a child.

קרקס, "Crocus."

At first sight, these four Hebrew letters look very much like the transliteration of some foreign name, probably a Greek one. I thought at first of some name like *Κήρυξ*, *Κήρυκος*, *Κύρικος*, *Κούρικος*, or *Κυριακός*. But subsequently I have come to see in it the name of *Κρόκος*, which I have found on a fragment of an inscription recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.+

This uncommon name, which means "saffron," has already been found in a Greek inscription in Egypt,‡ and we now have a proof that it really occurred in Græco-Jewish nomenclature; the transliteration קרקס is quite regular.§



Broken piece of a flat lid: on the upper side—

אֵלְעָזָר, "Eleazar."

* I do not think, in spite of certain indications, that the name is *Ishmael*.

† *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 242.

‡ Proscyneme at Wad Fawakher, *C.I.G.*, III, Add. No. 4716, d, 44, p. 1197.

§ The name Korkos appears in the pedigree of an ancient Jewish family of Spanish bankers established at Rome; there was a Solomon Korkos in 1560, a Hiskia Manoah Hayyim Corcos (*Tranquillo Vita Corcos*) in 1711 (D. Kaufmann, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1893, April-June, p. 268). I do not know the origin of this name, which is written קורקוס. Is it of Roman origin, or can it be our Greek name קרקס slightly altered?

Probably the initial *aleph* of the name has been destroyed by the breakage, and the name was correctly spelled as in No. 6, and not with the aphæresis of the *aleph*, implying the popular form *Lazar(us)*. Yet this latter form לעזר is not impossible, we have several examples of it in the Talmud. The letters are bold and widely spaced; observe the length of the stalk of the *ain*, and the hook on the right hand side of the head of the *sain*.

No. 17.



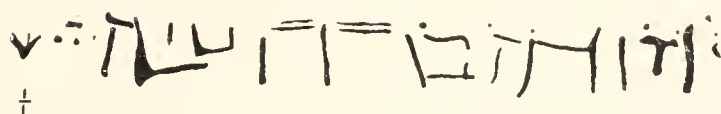
On a broken piece of an ossuary, in letters just like the preceding.
Fragment of a name. * לקי (?)

No. 18.



On a broken piece of an ossuary a name beginning with *shin*.

No. 19.



On the long front side of an ossuary ornamented with unfinished roses: above, on the left side, is an inscription, not cut, but painted, or rather

* Perhaps a ב (בן).

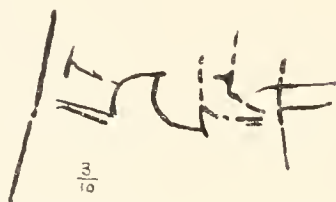
written, with a *kalam* (reed pen) in cursive characters, badly preserved and difficult to read.

Tracing. I am tempted to read :

יהודה בר הנביה "To Judah, the son of Hananiah ;" ?

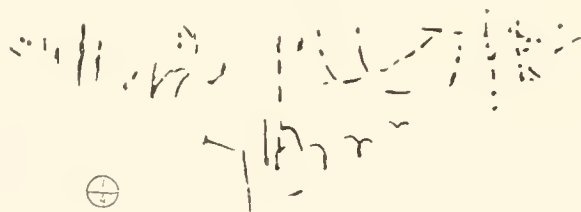
but I do not give this reading as certain, especially as regards the patronymic.

No. 20.



On one of the long sides of an ossuary, in big letters, painted with a brush in bluish-black colour. The letters have a strong tendency to run into one another, which adds to the difficulty of reading them. However, by comparing this epigraph with those of Nos. 1 and 2 (especially with No. 2), I have no doubt that we ought to make out the same woman's name שלמ ציון, *Shalam-Zion*.

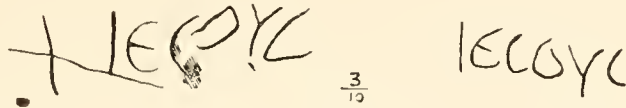
No. 21.



On one of the long sides of an ossuary, in smaller letters than the preceding, written with charcoal (?), and forming two lines. I think that I can again make out at the beginning the name *Shalam-Zion*, followed probably by a patronymic, which is illegible. This name, therefore, occurs four times in this group of epitaphs. It may, however, only apply to two distinct persons of the same name and not to four, Nos. 1 and 21 on the one hand, and Nos. 2 and 20 on the other, being repeated twice on the same ossuary. The confusion of my notes does not allow me to make any distinct statement on this point.

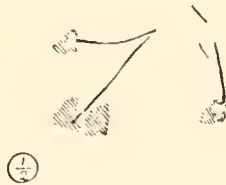
No. 22.

With this number begins the series of Greek inscriptions which appear together with the Hebrew ones on other ossuaries belonging to the same group, and found in the same cave.

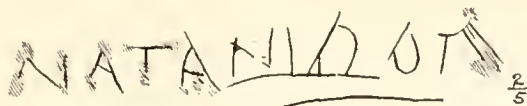


Ἰησοῦς—Ἰησους

The name of Jesus twice repeated side by side, and preceded possibly by a cross (?)^{*} We have just met with it in the Semitic form (No. 5, *Shimeon, son of Jesus*). The spelling *Ἰησοῦς* is more usual than that which we find here. On one of the ends of the lid of this ossuary I have noted the presence of marks shaped thus.



No. 23.



On a semi-cylindrical lid, ornamented with interlaced circles, Greek letters, cut very slightly, and very hard to decipher. I think that I can certainly read *Νατανήλου*; the *eta*, of **h** shape, is mixed up with the *lambda*; † the last letter is an *upsilon* with very widely opened arms. It is a transcript of the Hebrew name **נְתַנְאֵל**, *Nethaneel*, a name with which we are more

* The upright limb alone appears in the figure; but I think that we can make out on the squeeze some traces of the cross-bar (a little oblique).

† If we trust only to the drawing, we should rather be tempted to read *Νατανήλου*, a very admissible *iotacism*. The squeeze inclines rather to the reading *Νατανήλου*, with the paleographic peculiarities which I have noticed.

familiar in the form Ναθαναήλ , Ναθανάηλος , *Nathanael*, common in the LXX, the Vulgate, and the Gospels.* We have already (No. 6) seen this Hebrew name appear in the shortened נת , which may correspond either to נתנאל or to נתניה .

No. 24.

ΜΟΧΑΣ

On an ossuary, in well cut letters, Μοσχάς . This time we have to do with a name purely Hellenic in form. True, we do not find this exact form in Greek, but there were women named Μοσχίς , Μοσχίνα , Μοσχέινα , and Μόσχιον , and men named Μόσχος ,† Μοσχίς , Μοσχιανός , Μόσχιλος , etc. All these names are more or less connected with the word Μόσχος , "calf," or "heifer." Μοσχάς (gen. Μοσχάδος) means "a heifer." It seems likely that we have here the Hellenic equivalent of some Hebrew name such as עגלה , "young cow," a name borne by one of David's wives,‡ and belonging to the same class of names as Δάμαλις , *Juvenca*.

Nos. 25 and 26.

ΜΑΡΙΑΔΟΣ

ΜΑΡΙΑΔΟΣ

The same name twice repeated, 1st, on the end of an ossuary ; 2nd, on a broken piece of what probably is the lid of the same ossuary.

Μαριαδος , "of Marias" or "Mariados." This is a new name in Hellenic

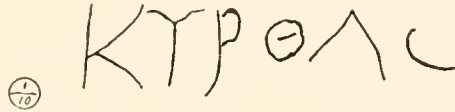
* The transliteration of the *taw* by τ instead of by θ is an anomaly at this period.

† For examples in Syria, see Waddington, *op. c.*, Nos. 2429, 2571, 2571a. But in these cases, the name Μόσχος is nothing more than the transliteration of the Semitic מישן , which we often meet with in the Palmyrenian inscriptions.

‡ 2 Samuel iii, 5.

onomastics, and it is doubtful whether we have here a nominative or a genitive. The resemblance of the Persian male proper name *Μαριάδης*, *Μαριάδνος* to it is probably only accidental. Compare also the name *Μαρέας*.*

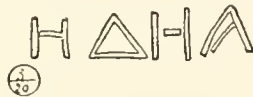
No. 27.



On an ossuary, engraved in very big letters, *Κυρθας*. A proper name of obscure derivation. Is it Hellenic, or the transcript of some Hebrew name(?).

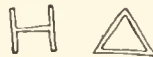
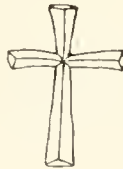
No. 28.

On the long front side of a perfectly plain ossuary.



Letters very deeply cut, quite in lapidary fashion, *Ηδηα*. I do not know whether we have here a woman's proper name, *Ἡδέα*, or *Ἡδεία*, irregularly spelled; what complicates the question is that in the following number we seem to have the same name, or a doubtful word which looks like an abridged form of it.

No. 29.



On the front of an ossuary, ornamented with two little roses very simply formed, are the two letters *Η Δ*, deeply cut, like those of the preceding

* Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 13.

number, of which this seems to be an abridged repetition. The repetition of the letters upon two different ossuaries renders it unlikely that these two similar inscriptions should represent an actual proper name.

What is altogether surprising is that in this case these two Greek letters are surmounted by a cross with limbs of unequal length, of the form called *immissa*, which unmistakably belongs to a comparatively late period; it is cut as deeply and as carefully as the accompanying letters. Certainly this last ossuary marks the very last of the series of burials in this vault, and there may be an interval of several centuries between it, and, for instance, the ossuary of Salamption, the daughter of Simeon the priest. Is it too rash to infer that both of them belonged to the same priestly Jewish family, which at an early date embraced Christianity?

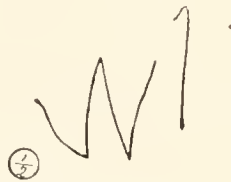
To complete everything connected with this series, I shall add two groups of marks, found either on the ossuaries or on their lids, which I was not able to draw more accurately.

No. 30.



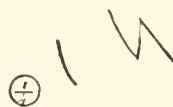
On the rim of an ossuary (short side).

No. 30 *bis*



On the end of a triangular shaped lid.

No. 30 *ter.*



Other marks on another doubtful ossuary, that is, one which perhaps did not belong to the series of the Mount of Offence.

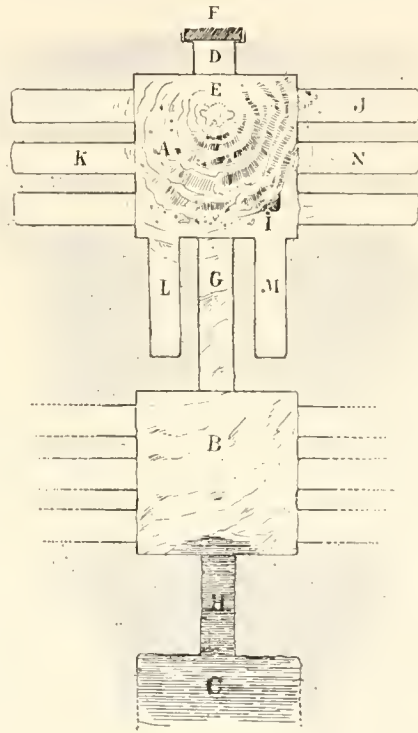
II.

ON THE HILL CALLED *Viri Galilæi*.

While exploring the ground to the north of the Mount of Olives, with a view to studying the question of the Scopos, I discovered on the brow of a knoll near to that which is called *Viri Galilæi*, the entrance to a Jewish tomb of sufficient interest to lead me to partly clear it of earth. It consisted of three chambers, A, B, and C, all in one line, hewn in the rock, and communicating with one another by the passages G and H, cut corresponding to the axial line passing through the door D.

I got into the first chamber A, not through the door, but through a kind of drain hole or look out hole E, made in the roof, some three or four mètres above the floor of the chamber within. The proper entrance was entirely hidden on the outside by the accumulation of earth. Once inside the chamber one could see the doorway very plainly from the inside; it was closed by a great upright slab of stone F, which was still in its place. This first chamber contained eight oven-shaped recesses or *kôkîm*, three on the right hand wall, three on the left hand wall, and two in the end wall. Between these two last is the first passage G; one might at first take this also for a *loculus*, but it really is a passage leading into the second chamber. This chamber contains oven-shaped recesses similarly arranged, but less carefully hewn. A second passage H ends

in the third chamber C, into which I made my way with very great difficulty, as it was nearly full of water, in consequence of the heavy rains. It was therefore impossible to plan it. In the corners of the first chamber, which, like the second, was almost filled up with earth, I noticed the angle of a bench at the point I. This rock-hewn bench must extend all round. The floor was strewn with a quantity of bones, broken pottery and fragments



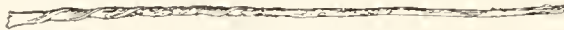
PLAN OF JEWISH TOMB.

of ossuaries. Evidently the sepulchre had been violated, but the desecrators had not taken the trouble to carry away what they had broken; I carefully gathered up the remains with the aid of some fellahin from the village of the Mount of Olives. I examined the recesses in the first chamber A with minute attention, and picked up a good many interesting fragments there. Among them I may mention a very well preserved glass bottle of elegant shape, from recess M; a little terra-cotta lamp, entire, of a rounded form, without any mark whatever (recess K); a little bronze instrument delicately twisted, with a knob at one end, and at the other the beginning of a narrow spatula (recess J); two great iron nails, and about a hundred iron heads of smaller sized nails, which seemed to have come either from coffins or from little wooden boxes that had served as ossuaries, and had been destroyed by the action of time; and many pieces of terra-cotta lamps and vases, one of the latter entire; it is marked with six parallel grooves scored in threes.



GLASS BOTTLE.

I also picked up a number of human bones, among them pieces of skulls and jaw bones with teeth still sticking in them, which may



BRONZE INSTRUMENT.



HEAD OF IRON NAIL.

interest anthropologists. The recess N especially was a perfect charnel. I found bones and skulls both at the entrance to this recess and at the far end of it. In one of the *loculi* in the chamber A (I forgot to mark which in my note book) I found a piece of bronze money, which might have given us a clue to the date of the burials in this sepulchre, but unfortunately it was so rusted that it was impossible to identify it. Lastly, I picked up a great many pieces of ossuaries made of soft calcareous stone, of the usual type, ornamented with geometrical roses; while looking them over I succeeded in finding enough pieces to reconstruct three ossuaries almost completely.

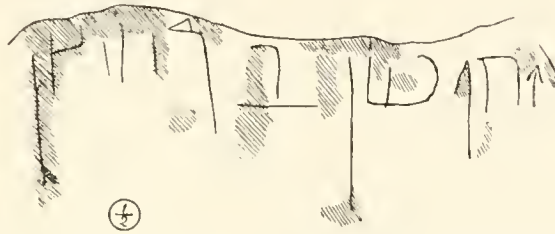


TERRA-COTTA VASE.

These results made me very anxious to push my researches further into this tomb. I should particularly have liked to explore the third chamber, where I hoped to find more things, and perhaps inscriptions; I should also have liked to clear the regular entrance of earth and study the method by which the tomb was closed; but in the meantime the landlord arrived, and would not agree to my doing so, and in deference to his unreasonable demands I was obliged to countermand the work which I had arranged to have done on the morrow. Some interesting digging remains to be done here.

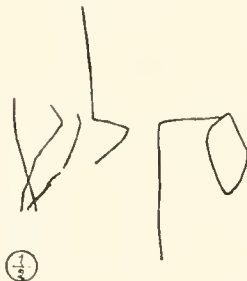
Among the fragments of ossuaries I myself picked up three which bear traces of Hebrew inscriptions.

No. 31.



Broken piece of lid. On the under side is a line of Hebrew letters very slightly scratched with the point of a graving tool, and rendered yet more difficult to read by the broken edge which runs along close by the heads of several of the letters. There are certainly two proper names, separated by the Aramaic בר, "son," which is plainly recognisable. Part of the father's name is gone, and there is not enough left to enable us to restore it. The first name clearly began with יהו "Yeho;" it must therefore have been one of the class of names which are compounded with that of Jehovah at the beginning. The next letter may be a large oblong samech, followed by a final pe. This would give us the name יהוסף "Yehoseph" = "Joseph;" an unusual spelling, of which nevertheless I have found some absolutely certain examples upon other ossuaries of which I shall speak hereafter.

No. 32.



Broken piece of either a flat lid, or of the small end of an ossuary. Three Hebrew letters, possibly four, very clearly cut. The two last are unquestionably לֵשׁ As for the first letter, which may be two letters run together, I am at a loss : it is hard work to make a *koph* out of it, and, moreover, that would not form any probable name. One of my pupils at the Collège de France, M. Daveluy, has perhaps discovered the true explanation : it is that we have here the word שְׁלוֹם *written backwards*, מוֹלֵשׁ. For the rounded form of the final *mem* we may compare that which appears on one of the ossuaries from the cave on the Mount of Offence, discussed previously (No. 10A). As for the strange circumstances of a Hebrew word being written backwards, from left to right, I have had occasion to prove that it was sometimes done, by a little Hebrew epitaph lately discovered in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and this it was that suggested to M. Daveluy his ingenious conjecture. The epitaph in question begins thus : פְּסוּי בֶר אַהֲרֹן ;

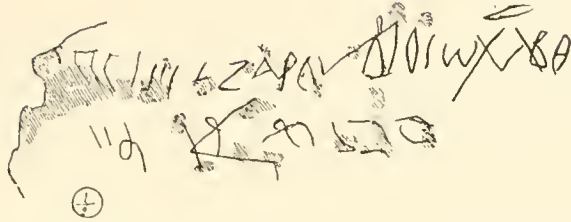
פ is evidently the name יוֹסֵף written backwards, and we must read it, "Joseph, the son of Aharon." This Jewish habit of writing certain names the reverse way may be connected with some Rabbinic prejudices of which the Talmud has preserved traces, and which show themselves by cryptographic systems such as the *Athbash*. We may very possibly, therefore, have here מוֹלֵשׁ instead of שְׁלוֹם, as we have פְּסוּי instead of יוֹסֵף. I think that if this be true, it is more likely to be the proper name *Shallum* or *Salome* than the noun substantive meaning "Peace" or "Salvation."

No. 33.



Broken piece of an ossuary, with part of the corner. Two Hebrew letters . . . פל, probably the beginning of a proper name which we cannot guess at, because there are so many names to choose which are derived from the roots פֶּלֶא, פֶּלֶל, פֶּלַח and פֶּלֶט ; I have noted not less than fourteen.

No. 34.



Besides these three fragments which I myself picked up in this sepulchre, I must mention a fourth piece which I bought from a fellâh of the Mount of Olives, and which perhaps came from the same place. It is an inscription of two lines in very sharp letters, in bad preservation and hard to decipher; above them one sees part of the curve of one of the roses with which the front of the ossuary was ornamented; below, the remains of an enclosing straight border formed of carelessly cut zigzag marks, all of which proves that the epitaph was written on the lower part of the ossuary.

In the first line we can distinctly make out the letters **AZAPOY**, which one would be tempted to attribute to the name [Λ]αζάπου, the genitive of *Λάζαπος*; but I can see no trace of the *lambda*, and think that I can make out instead the letters **ΙΩ**, preceded by two or three doubtful letters which may be Hebrew. We should, in this case, have the less common name of *Ιωάζαπος*, a transcript of the Biblical name יועזר, *Yôezer*, not unusual in the Talmudic period. Here, perhaps, it is a patronymic in the genitive, preceded by some name in the nominative case which ends in *ης*. The line ends with some other Greek letters, of which I can make nothing satisfactory, any more than I can of the very faint Hebrew letters which form the second line: סדוס (?), כרים (?), or מרים (?), followed by בר (?).

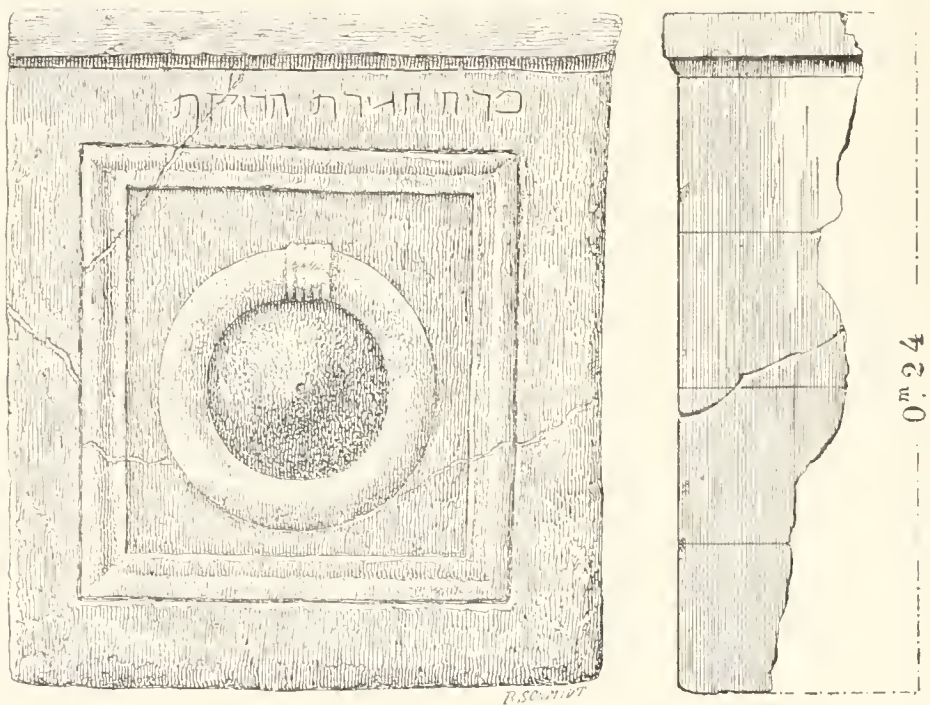
Before quitting the Mount of Olives, I think it right to give here a drawing of an ancient relic which both by its shape, by the inscription which it bears, and by its origin, appears to me to deserve to be classed with our ossuaries.

It is a slab or fragment of a slab of hard calcareous rock, sculptured, and measuring 0^m·24 in thickness, which I saw in 1868 in the hands of a priest of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, named Parthenios. It was found, he told me, to the north of *Kefr et Târ*, on the ridge of the hill called *Viri Galilæi*,

closing the entrance of a sepulchre. Considering its mutilated condition it is impossible to declare with certainty that it was originally the door of a tomb; undoubtedly the knocker, carved in high relief in the midst of a frame of moulding gives one quite the idea of a door, but this scheme of ornament is also found upon ancient sarcophagi; for instance in Syria, and on a sarcophagus discovered at Golgos in Cyprus by my friend, G. Colonna-Cecaldi, on the front of which are also carved in relief two oxen, two crowns, and two knockers in the form of rings. Moreover, as may be seen at B, the cornice returned round one of the sides of the slab, part of which has been preserved.

A. Front view.

B. Side view.



I noticed on this side three horizontal lines lightly traced at equal distances; the intervals are exactly $0^m.06$. These marks were probably meant to guide the sculptor. I should be rather inclined to suppose that we have here one side of a small sarcophagus or rather ossuary, with an unusual scheme of ornamentation. It must have been one of the small sides.

At the top, underneath the cornice, there is carved a Hebrew inscription in fine square letters, which I read—

כרית חגירת הדולקת, “Maria, the fervent (?) proselyte.”

The form *Mariah* instead of the native *Miriam*, proves the foreign extraction of the deceased, which is confirmed by her designation of "proselyte." We shall find hereafter, on another ossuary, the woman's name of *Μαριά*.* I think that we ought to see in this a Hebrew re-transcript of the Greek transcript of the Hebrew name *Miriam*, rather than a feminine form of *Marius*. The spelling גירת is for גיורת, and the sense is indisputable. In the Jewish inscriptions at Rome we find several examples of women designated as "proselytes."† Compare Miriam of Palmyra, a proselyte celebrated in the Talmud for her fervour.

The word דולקת is embarrassing. I do not think that we ought to take it for an ethnic; if it were, one would expect דולקית with a *yod*; moreover, I do not know any town or district whose name corresponds to דולק. We can, therefore, hardly help seeing in it a word derived from the root דלק, "to be hot, burning, fervent." Ought this word to be taken in its figurative sense of "fervent," and does it apply to the fervour of the neophyte? I admit that I should prefer a more exact, technical meaning, containing an allusion to some inherent peculiarity in the position of the proselyte. We know that among the Jews there were divers classes of proselytes, distinguished by strange titles whose true origin is unknown; for example, "the proselytes of the Gate." I am inclined to think that the word דולקת contains within it some qualifying title of this sort, expressing the "degree" at which our convert had arrived. If we could attribute to the verb דלק the active sense which it possesses in other forms, we might imagine that דולקת means "she who lights," and that the allusion is to the lighting of lamps, which was a duty specially set apart for women. According to the Talmud the three principal duties of the true Jewish woman are to knead bread, to be pure, and to light the lamps on Friday. But, in that case, we ought to have נדלקת and not דולקת. The wisest plan, therefore, until we get some fresh light on the subject, is to accept the interpretation "fervent," which is satisfactory from a grammatical point of view. The hidden word is perhaps one whereby the proselyte is figuratively compared to a lamp which, when once lighted, never ceases to burn.‡

* The abbreviated form *Mariah* is perhaps a product of Judæa itself; compare the abbreviated form *Jose* for *Joseph*, and other names.

† For instance, in Garrucci's *Dissertazione Archæol.*, II, p. 166, No. 23. Orelli, *Inscr.*, No. 2522, etc. With regard to the status of proselytes of non-Jewish birth, see Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 351-361.

‡ Compare the expression employed by Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher, p. 41, 2) in speaking of the lamp in Abraham's sanctuary at Hebron, which burns night and day: (ביום ובלילה דולקת).

111.

CEMETERY OF WÂD YÂSÛL AND OF WÂD BEIT SÂHÛR.

A.—*Diggings.*

Going down Wâd en Nâr, below Bir Eyûb, when one comes to 'Ain el Lauz (a ten minutes' walk) one sees on the right hand a little valley which comes from the west, and whose drainage probably feeds the well of 'Ain el Lauz.* This valley, which is pretty large but very short, is shown in some old maps, but without any name. The fellahin of *Selwân* call it *Wadyâsûl*, which we ought probably to break up into *Wâd+Yâsûl*, not *Wady+Âsûl*, for other peasants have pointed it out to me under the name of *Shè'b Yâsûl* and *Ardh Yâsûl*. In any case the word is certainly spelled with a *sad* and not with a *sin*, *ياصول*. In Arabic, *yâsûl* signifies a certain part of the plough which joins it to the yoke(?); it seems that it is an old Semitic word, preserved in the language of the Talmud in the form *יַעוּל* (plough-tail). But, as with so many other Arabic topographical words, we may very likely have here an ancient geographical name altered to a material meaning, as, for instance, *Timnath* has been made into *Tibneh*, "chopped straw." *Yâsûl*, indeed, corresponds very regularly with the Hebrew *אָעוּל*, which occurs in that most difficult and celebrated passage of Zechariah xiv, 5, which predicts the cataclysm that shall cleave the Mount of Olives in two: "And ye shall flee to Gê-Harai; for Gê-Harai shall reach unto *Eşel* (Azal, A.V.); yea, ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah King of Judah." . . .

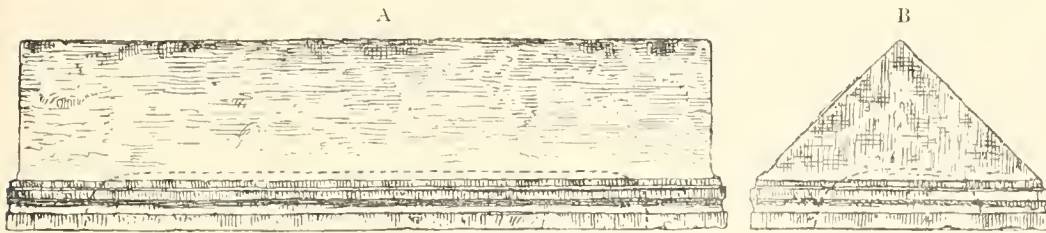
Schwartz, in a very ingenious note, proposes to see in the enigmatic *Ge harai* an inversion of Josephus's *Êrôgê*, mentioned by that historian (*Ant. Jud.*, IX, 10, 41) in connection with an earthquake which took place in the reign of Uzziah. As for *Eşel*, most commentators agree in regarding it as the name of a place situated not far from Jerusalem, but otherwise unknown. May we not find it at *Yâsûl*, whose name agrees with it letter for letter?

* I find in one of my earlier note books (1869, note book III, p. 26) the following note: "A Jew assured me that a little below 'Ain el Lauz, there was a *maghâra* with a Greek inscription."

However this may be, this little valley, which hitherto has been but little explored, presents several interesting peculiarities. On its southern slope several sepulchres have been excavated, and the bottom of the valley itself is strewn with broken pottery and cubes of mosaic, certain proofs that the place was inhabited in ancient times. The fellahin assured me—but I do not warrant the truth of their statement—that this is the place where the great find of Jewish shekels was made in 1873, which passed into the hands of divers Europeans, and some of which I myself obtained.

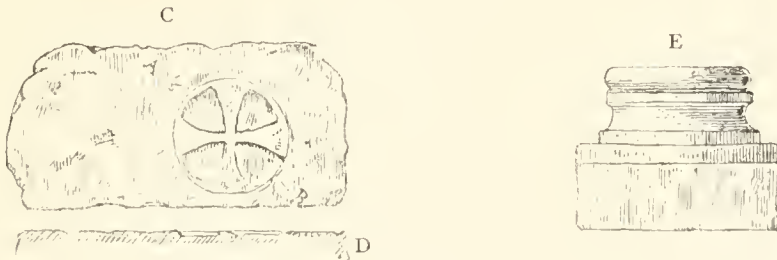
Halfway down the northern slope of the valley I noticed some cisterns and ruins on a piece of land called *Kerm Kamar*, which belonged to some one at Selwân. Among the *débris* which I collected there I shall note—

A lid of a small sarcophagus (A, B), or rather of a large ossuary, measuring above one mètre in length, and of triangular section. The base is moulded, the inside hollowed out with a chisel. The stone, which is hard calcareous rock, has been dressed with a toothed tool.



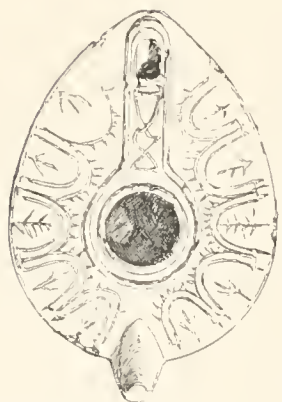
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

A squared stone, possibly part of the lintel of a door (C), of coarse calcareous rock, with a very much perished carving of a cross inscribed in a circle.



D shows the section from A to B. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

A base of a column (E) of reddish hard calcareous stone.



Terra-cotta Lamp.

I also obtained from the owner of the ground two terra-cotta lamps which he found, together with a score of others, in a sepulchral cave hewn in this *kerm*. One of them is of elegant shape, with a delicately wrought ornamentation of arches and palm leaves; the other bears a Greek inscription which I have not succeeded in deciphering. These things taken altogether point to the existence of an important burying place of Christian origin.

At a period which it is hard to fix exactly, but certainly a very ancient one, the valley of Yâsûl served as a supplementary cemetery for the Holy City. When all the sides of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom had been riddled with sepulchral caverns, there came a time when it was necessary to search the neighbourhood of Jerusalem for new valleys suitable for the excavation of this form of tomb. Wâdy Yâsûl was evidently marked out for this purpose, as was also Wâd Beit Sâhûr, a little further south, of which I shall speak presently. This annexe to the cemetery of Jerusalem is of considerable size; I reckon the sepulchres which it contains as numbering several hundreds. I have explored a great many of those which are visible and accessible. I have, moreover, undertaken some excavations which have not been barren of results, especially at the spot known as *Wâr el Watwat* (the cliff of the bats). A series of systematic excavations ought to be carried out here, which might lead to interesting discoveries. It is certain that many of these sepulchres have never been violated; the entrance to the caves is covered with a thick layer of earth which has protected them. It needs careful study to discover their existence, which often is only shown by some rectangular embankment, due to the existence of ridges of hewn rock beneath them.

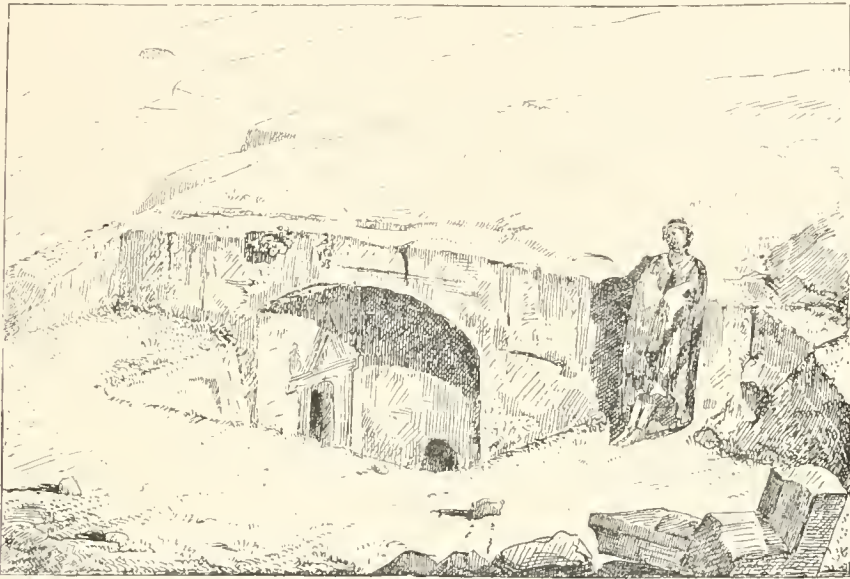
On p. 423 is a view showing the entrance to one of these sepulchres from which I cleared away the earth.

The doorway, which is surmounted by a triangular pediment, and by a lintel projecting beyond the jambs, with its projecting ends surmounted by palm leaves, is oddly placed on the left side of a large vaulted vestibule. The same arrangement, in exactly the same relative proportions, will be found at the K'bûr es Salâtîn.

While exploring another cavern (p. 424) which had long been open, I discovered at the very end of one of the *kâkîm*, a square horizontal opening which gave access to a second chamber below, whose existence could hardly

be suspected, owing to this ingenious arrangement. The opening has a rebate to hold a slab of stone which would have entirely concealed it.

This lower cave consists of a small square chamber, with a bench at the sides. Its two walls on the right and left each contain two oven-shaped recesses, two of which were still closed by two upright slabs, wedged in their places with little stones. The end wall was occupied by an arcosolium,* at the bottom of which was a bench A, slightly hollowed, but not enough to be called a trough. The curious thing about it is that the place for the head

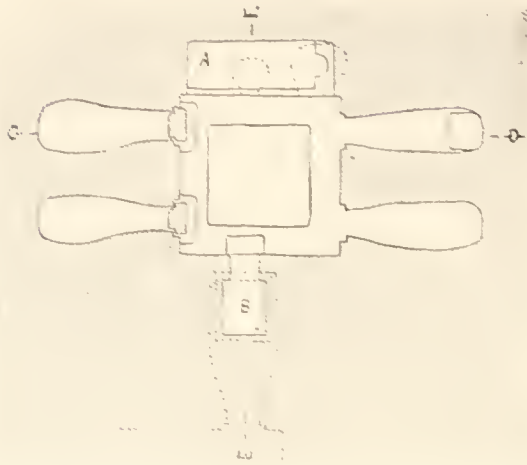


Entrance to Tomb at Wa'r el Watwat.

and shoulders of the corpse are distinctly marked. Hitherto I have only found one other example of this arrangement in the tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.† Immediately above the bench, in the upright wall, two little recesses were cut; they are square at their mouths, but irregularly shaped within, and were intended to receive bones; they were both closed by slabs of stones jammed into the rebate cut round the opening. Also at the end of one of the oven-shaped recesses, towards B, there is a little square basin which must also have served as an ossuary. All these various recesses contained nothing besides a great quantity of bones, which had evidently been placed in them with care and respect.

* See Professor Willis's *Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 19. [Note of the ED.]

† In a sepulchre which I excavated in 1871, not far from the ash-heaps to the north of Jerusalem (Note book IV, p. 32*b*.) See *supra*, p. 266.

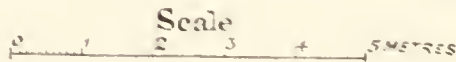


Plan of the lower chamber (the dotted line shows the oven-shaped recess giving access to it from the upper chamber).

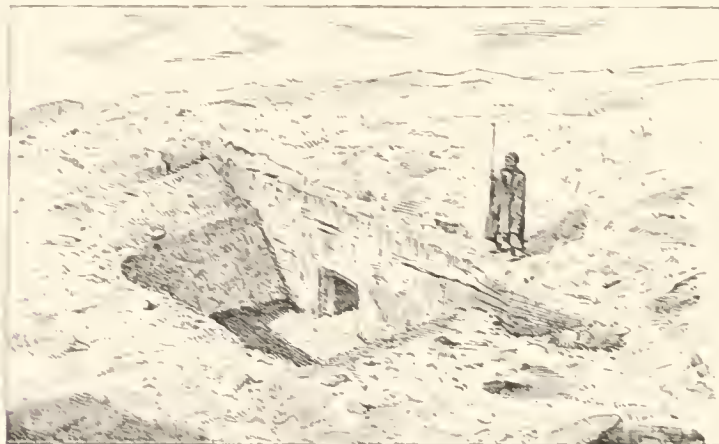


Section from c to d.

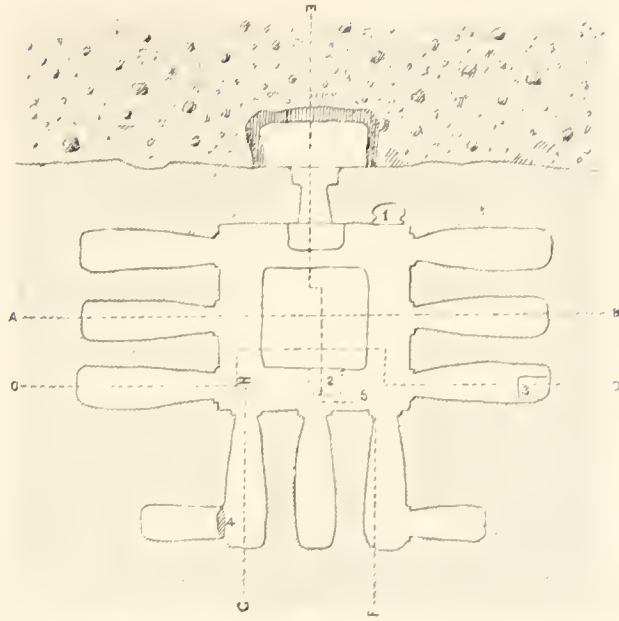
Section from e to f.



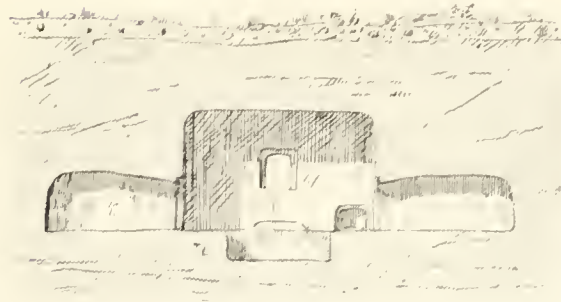
Here is another tomb in Wād Yāsūl which I uncovered throughout.



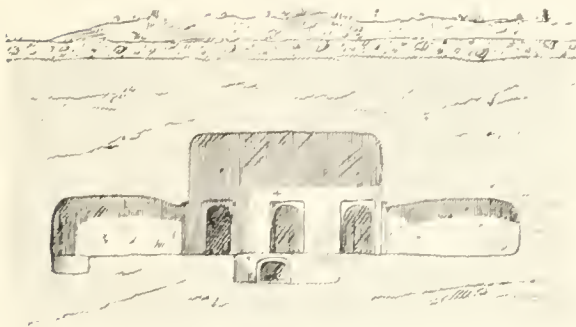
Tomb in Wād Yāsūl. Perspective view of the entrance as uncovered by our diggings; the door faces due north.



Plan of the Tomb.



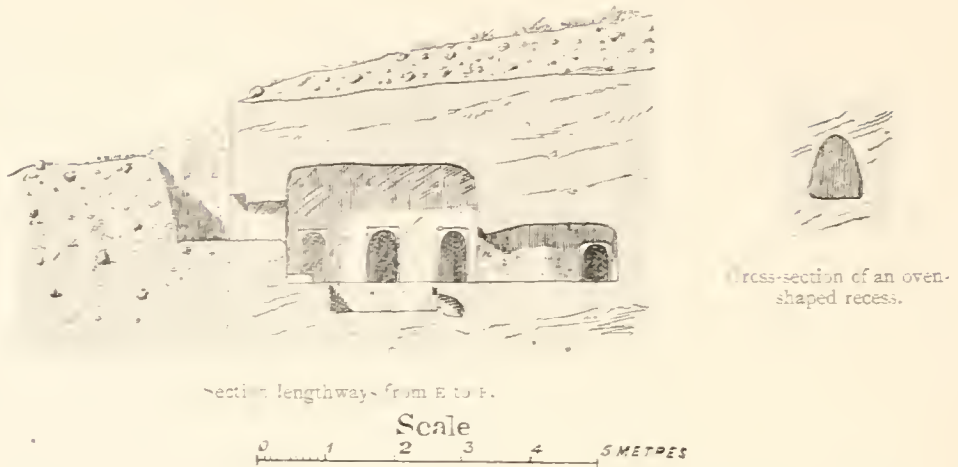
Cross-section from A to B (looking towards the entrance door, which is seen at the end).



Cross-section from C to D, looking away from the entrance door.



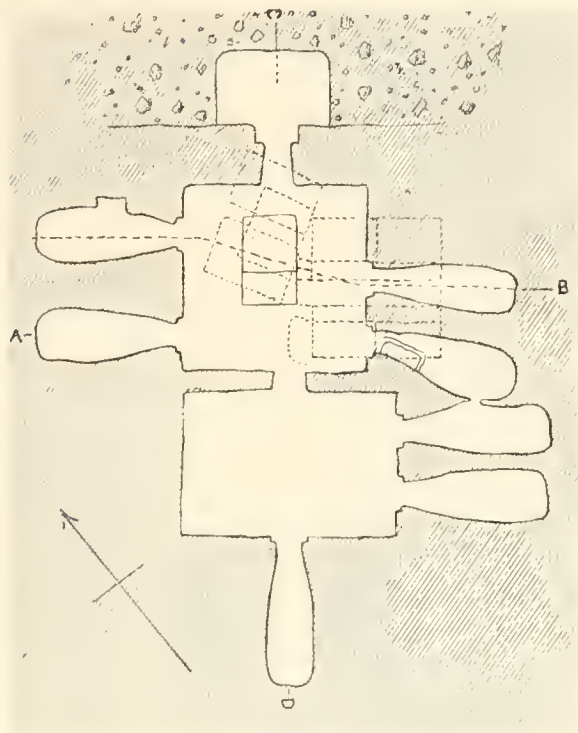
Section from G to H.
(Oven-shaped recess, longitudinal section).



The above drawings give a clear enough idea of the tomb without any further description. I shall merely call attention to certain special details. Three small niches cut at the point marked 1, 2, and 3 are exactly like those of the preceding tomb, and must, like them, have been used as fixed ossuaries. No. 3, which is a little hole or square basin cut at the end of an oven-shaped recess, was still closed by two slabs of black stone laid one above the other, with a layer of mortar between the two: I found in it some bones and an adult's skull. In the corner No. 5, on the bench, I found some pieces of a little ossuary of the usual type made of soft stone, which had been carefully laid there; in the opposite corner H, I found some pieces of a terra-cotta lamp. Two of the oven-shaped recesses in the wall facing the entrance are furnished at the end and on the sides with two niches or cupboards at right angles to them. One of these cupboards (No. 4) was still closed by an upright slab of stone wedged in at the top with little stones: there was nothing in it but bones. Finally, on this same wall, just above and a little to the left of the central recess, I discovered a little cross of the shape called *immissa* carved in the rock. This tomb has certainly been used a second time, perhaps at the time when the cross was carved; the proof of this is completed by the entrance doorway, which no longer possessed the stone slab which was originally framed in the rebate cut round about it.

Here is a third sepulchre discovered during our researches at Wād Yāsūl, and which is extremely important because it was partly inviolate, and because we found in it many ossuaries, one of which bore a Hebrew inscription.

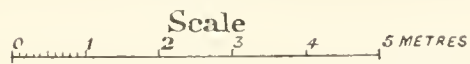
Its existence was betrayed to me by one of the regularly hewn ridges of rock of which I have already spoken. A trench, about two mètres deep, enabled us to reach the entrance, a little low square doorway, with a rebate intended to receive the slab that closed it.



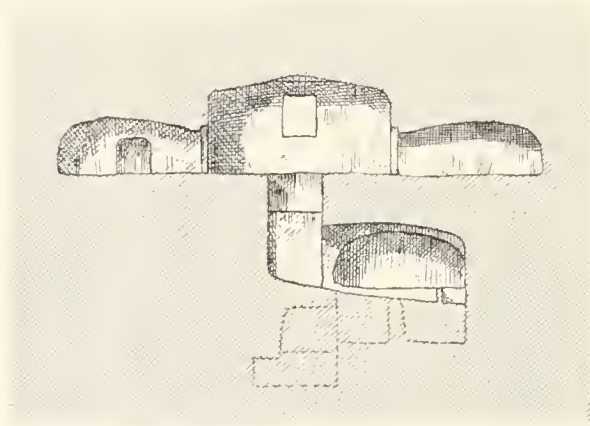
Plan of Tomb in Wād Yāsūl.



Section from C to D.



We made our way into a first chamber, whose roof forms a very flat arch, and which is surrounded by a large bench cut in the rock. Two of its side walls contain four oven-shaped recesses of singular irregularity; one of them, the first on the right hand as you go in, has a little niche cut in its right hand side wall, probably meant for an ossuary. Another oven-shaped recess at the end, the second one on the left hand, offers a strange example of deviation from the straight line; it pierces through the side wall of another



Section from A to B.

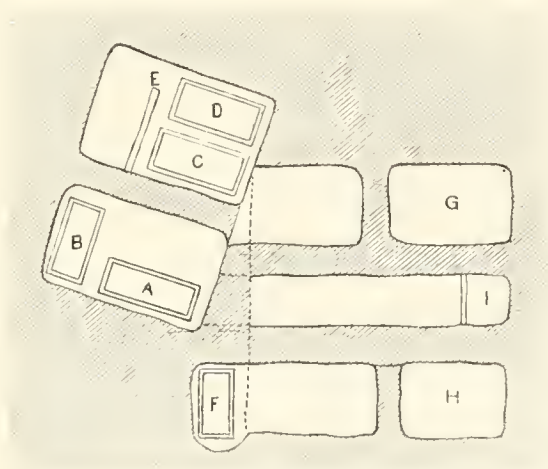
recess belonging to an adjacent second chamber. This second chamber is on the same level as the first one, and in a straight line from the doorway, but has a lower roof. It is connected with the first chamber by a little square doorway, which once had a door of its own, as is proved by the rebate to hold the slab; it contains two oven-shaped recesses in the left hand side wall, and a single one in the end wall.

While clearing the earth away from the species of ditch formed by the bench which runs round the first chamber, I discovered on one of the sides (that on the left as you go in) an opening which on the outside looked like an oven-shaped recess, and situated below one of the two regular recesses. This opening was still closed by an upright slab set up against it. When this slab was taken away, we saw that this opening led into a third little cave, cut at a much lower level than the first chamber, and extending partly underneath it. Its compass bearings are quite different.

The roof of this lower cave forms a very flat arch. On the floor, on the right hand and on the left, there stands a low wall cut out of the rock itself, and forming two deep parallel troughs. Between the two troughs is a sort of narrow passage which was very nearly full of earth; its bottom was noticeably

higher than that of the bottoms of the troughs. At one of the ends of this sort of passage we found a small ossuary lid of soft calcareous stone, set upright on one of its long sides; this little panel together with the end of the passage formed a small compartment or box (I). The two parallel troughs cut in the rock are similarly divided into two unequal parts by two cross panels, which in this case are cut out of the rock itself. The boxes I, G, and H were filled with bones, which certainly belonged to more than three skeletons.

On the right hand as you went in there was cut in the rock, at the end of one of the troughs (the right hand one) a little recess wherein I found a first ossuary (F). It was made of soft calcareous stone, had no lid, and was full of the remains of bones. All the four sides of this ossuary are plain,



Details of the lower caves. Plan. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

without any trace of ornament or of inscriptions. It has four little rudimentary feet, and its upper rim has a double groove into which the missing lid was intended to slide. I immediately ascertained that the lid that was used as a panel, at I, was really the lid of the ossuary F; indeed, it slid into the groove and fitted it perfectly.

On the left hand side of the entrance to this lower cave, and at a position corresponding to that of the recess just described, there is another square recess, much larger than the other, almost a small room, hewn out at an even lower level, and representing the third storey of the sepulchre. It is divided into two troughs by a low cross wall of rock. In the left hand trough we found a second ossuary (A), standing against the side wall and parallel with the low cross wall. Its sides were plain; it had no feet or rebate of any kind.

It was closed by a lid laid on it flat, but the lid had been broken by the fall of a large piece of rock which came off the roof in ancient times. By the side of this ossuary, and standing at right angles to it, we found a third (B); its sides were plain, and it had no feet. It still retained its lid, which slid in a groove exactly like the lid of a box of dominoes. When I removed the lid I saw within *two skulls*, one at each end of the box, resting on a mass of remains of bones mixed with earth.

The right hand trough also contained two ossuaries (c and d) standing side by side and parallel to the dividing panel. Here again they had made a little supplementary box, which was full of bones, by making use of the lid E set upright by way of panel; it is the lid belonging to the ossuary d. This ossuary, which had the usual geometrical roses by way of ornament, had feet, and a rebate to facilitate setting on the lid.

The ossuary c has its front side ornamented with pretty roses and borders in the traditional style: it was further adorned with a coat of deep red paint. The lid was simply laid on the rims without any rebate; it stood upon feet. On examining it attentively I discovered on the right hand end a Hebrew inscription very lightly traced with the point of a graving tool. I shall discuss this inscription presently.

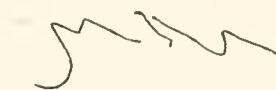
It is worthy of remark that I did not meet with a single fragment of pottery or glassware.

I think it is clear that I found these two lower caves in the same state in which they were left by those who made the last interments therein. The very small size of these two caves makes it impossible to suppose that they could ever have contained corpses: indeed, the troughs nowhere are as long as a human body, because they are divided in two by the *cross panels*, which must always have been there, because they are cut out of the rock itself. Moreover, judging from the extreme difficulty which we ourselves found in moving about in this cramped space, it would have been very difficult, I believe actually impossible to get a corpse, that is, a rigid dead body, into it: one would have been stopped at the very outset by the narrow crooked passage which leads into these caves. We must therefore necessarily admit that they were hewn out for no other purpose than to serve as storehouses for bones from the upper chambers. These bones, enormous quantities of which we discovered, must have come originally from corpses laid in the oven-shaped recesses of the upper storey. At a certain time, when the house of tombs was full, and yet room had to be made for new comers, they collected all the bones together and took them down to the lower storey, taking great

ends; the final *nun* is, as before, a vertical stroke, but not nearly so long. Next comes the name Joseph, spelled יהוסף, a very curious form, which I have already noticed as possibly occurring in another inscription, and which we shall find unmistakably upon two other occasions. I shall now discuss its origin. Here the group of letters יהו is exactly the same as that shown in the name Yehohanan; next comes a triangular *samech*, to the lower part of which is attached a final *pe*, with a big looped head, whose long vertical tail reaches almost as far as the final *nun* of Yehohanan.

I must add that one of the ossuary lids in this sepulchre—unluckily, a *lacuna* in my notes makes it impossible to say whether it belonged to the ossuary with the inscription or to another—has some marks carved upon it which are here exactly reproduced. I am unable to make out their meaning.

No. 36.



The same marks, which perhaps are numerical, seem to be repeated twice.

This ossuary very closely resembles another which I saw in 1878 at Paris, whither it had been brought after a succession of adventures.* They are so much alike that I should think that this ossuary must have been brought from the very cave which I opened, and that it must either have been hidden by one of my workmen, or else discovered afterwards by some later digging. Indeed, I know very well that the fellahin whom I employed at Wâd Yâsûl became excited by my discoveries, and went on digging for some time on their own account at the places to which their attention had been directed by my explorations. These researches resulted in the discovery of more ossuaries, several of which I afterwards obtained, and shall describe. It is quite likely that the one that I have mentioned was one of them.

Whatever its origin may be, it has plainly written upon it the following inscription :—†

יהוסף בר יהוחנן, "Joseph, the son of Jehohanan."

* See the article which I have written about it in the *Revue Archéologique* (November, 1878), entitled, "The Jewish Ossuary of Joseph the son of John." While on this subject I will add that I was mistaken in saying, as I did in this article, that the ossuary containing the two skulls of which I have just spoken bore an inscription.

† Compare the *fac-simile* which I have given in the original pamphlet.

One cannot help being struck by two facts: first, that here also the name of Joseph is spelled *Ychosph*; secondly, that we have here the same names that we met with on the other ossuary, only in reverse order, the name in the one being the patronymic in the other. These facts, taken in conjunction with the well known habit of Jewish families to bear two names alternately in alternate generations, naturally lead us to inquire whether our two ossuaries, so closely connected with one another by so many circumstances, may not be those of a father and a son, and whether these two genealogical fragments may not be connected together either in the form "Yehohanan, who was the son of Joseph, who was the son of Yehohanan," or else "Joséph, who was the son of Yehohanan, who was the son of Joseph." Indeed, who can tell whether, considering the prevalence of these names of Joseph and Yehohanan in this same family, the family may not perchance be that to which belonged Jose (Joseph) the son of Yehohanan, of Jerusalem, who is mentioned in the Talmud as one of the first *duumciri* of the Hasmonean Sanhedrin?

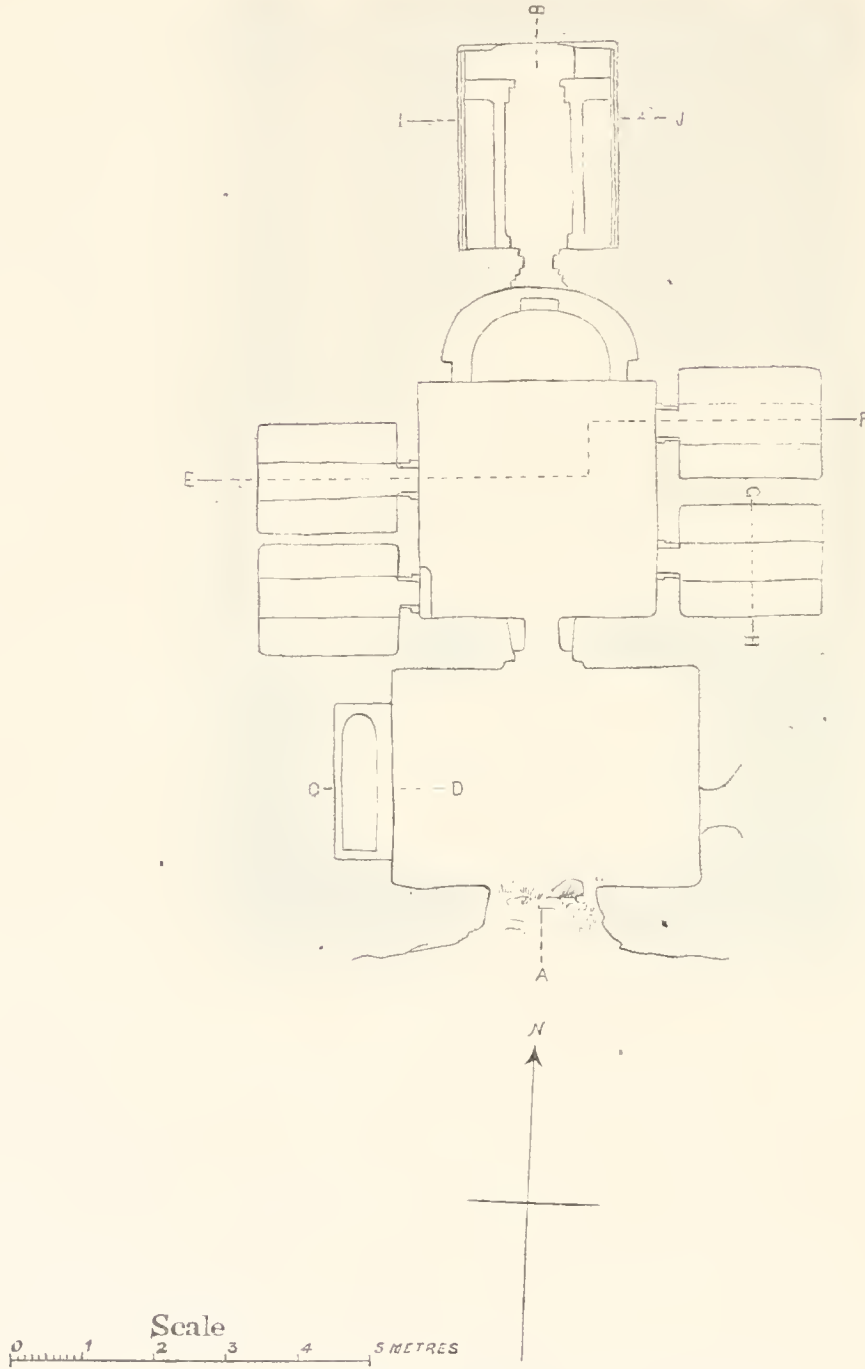
B.—*Sundry Ossuaries from Wâd Yâsûl and from Wâd Beit Sâhûr.*

THE BURIAL PLACE.

I have already stated that the fellâhin whom I employed in my researches at Wâd Yâsûl, went on with them on their own account after I had been obliged to give them up, as I had to turn my attention to other places, both in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and in Palestine in general. Nevertheless they continued to let me know how their digging was going on, and it resulted in the discovery of some more ossuaries with inscriptions, which I bought from them. As I did not personally superintend these excavations, I cannot, unfortunately, give any details as to the exact spots where these ossuaries were found, or as to the conditions under which they had been stored away. Some of them came from the burial ground at Wâd Beit Sâhûr, which is more or less connected with that of Wâd Yâsûl, and quite close to it. Before entering upon the description of this new group of ossuaries, or explaining the inscriptions which they bear, I must say a few words about this second burial ground.

Like Wâd Yâsûl, Wâd Beit Sâhûr is a little valley, lying to the south of the former, and quite close to it; both alike run into the Kedron

valley, on its west side. It derives its name from a ruin called *Beit Sâhûr*, which stands on a height to the north between the two *wâds*.



PLAN OF ROCK-CUT TOMB AT WÂDY BEIT SÂHÛR.

This name, Beit Sâhûr, is exactly the same as that of the Arab village of Beit Sâhûr which stands about four miles to the south-south east quite close to Bethlehem. It appears in the Ordnance Survey Map as *Beit Sâhûr el 'atika* ("the old"). In the official Government lists which I have seen it is called *Beit Sâhûr el Wâdiyê* ("of the valley"), to

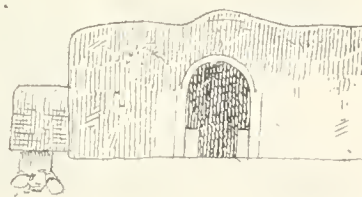


Longitudinal Section from A to B.

distinguish it from the other, which is called *Beit Sâhûr en Nasâra* ("of the Christians"), "the Village of the Shepherds" of Christian tradition. I may here remark that Mujir ed Dîn* twice mentions this latter place under the name of *Beit Sâhûr el mo'ammâr* ("the inhabited"). This important passage implies that in the ninth century of the Hegira another *Beit Sâhûr*, called "the uninhabited," was known to exist. This latter is our village; the passage at the same time fixes the spelling of the name بيت ساحور.

The cemetery of Wâd Beit Sâhûr, like that of Wâd Yâsûl, contains a great number of sepulchres hewn out of the rock. I explored several of those which were accessible; but there are certainly others which never have been opened awaiting exploration. Here is one of the most remarkable of them drawn in detail.

First one enters a square chamber; in its left wall is hewn an arcosolium above a trough rounded at one end, and square at the other.



Transverse section from C to D.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 542. Birth place of Sheikh Sha'bân, the son of Sâlem, who was buried there in the 888th year of the Hegira, at the extraordinary age of 115 years.

The rounded end of the trough was evidently where the head lay, so that the body would have its feet turned towards the entrance. We may compare this unusual arrangement with the ancient sarcophagus, of exactly the same shape, in the Haram area, of which I have spoken on p. 139. The interior of this sarcophagus is, like that of this trough, rounded at one end and square at the other.

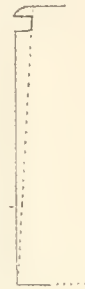


Section from G to H.

In the end wall of this first chamber is cut a round-arched doorway leading into a second chamber. In the right and left side walls of this second chamber are hewn two square-mouthed* *loculi*



Perspective view of the hemicycle, with cornice left unfinished on the roof.

Section showing the profile of the unfinished cornice. $\frac{1}{50}$.

Section from E to F.

Scale

* It will be remarked that the peculiar shape of the mouth of the loculi, with two superposed squares of unequal size, corresponds with the arrangement of the two raised benches of the interior of these loculi, separated by a countersunk passage between them.

shaped like ovens, each of them containing two sepulchral benches, separated by a narrow passage, as at the K'bûr es Salâtin.

The chamber is square, but the whole of the end wall presents a most curious arrangement, of which I have met with no example elsewhere; it ends in a hemicycle raised upon a step, and round it there runs a bench in the form of a circular exhedra.

At the end of the apse there is a square doorway with an acute angle at the top. It is reached by several steps, which break the line of the circular bench.

This doorway leads into the last chamber, a small room with low flat arched roof. It stands on a higher level than the two other chambers, and is evidently the chief chamber of the sepulchre. Two benches run along its right and left hand walls, but do not reach their whole length; these benches differ from those in the second chamber by having a small ledge; and above them, in the side wall of the chamber, they have a rectangular sunk frame which was perhaps intended to hold the stone slabs which covered both benches.



Cross-section from I to J.

OSSUARIES.

The ossuaries brought to light by the diggings of my fellahin at Wâd Yâsûl and at Wâd Beit Sâhûr form a first group of eight, four of which bear inscriptions in Hebrew or Greek.

I.

An ossuary, broken into eight pieces, ornamented with carved roses; it has feet, and a flat lid. There are traces of red colour on its front side. It bears written in grand letters deeply and carefully cut יֵשׁוּעַ, "Jesus."

No. 37.

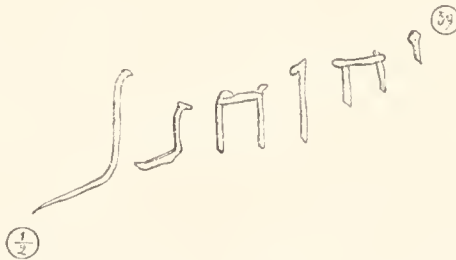
THE NAME OF JESUS WRITTEN IN HEBREW CHARACTERS.

Certainly nothing can give a clearer idea of what the name of *Jesus* in Hebrew writing looked like on the title on the Cross than this epitaph of one of His namesakes, carved perhaps on the very day of Christ's execution. I take the liberty of recommending it particularly to all artists who feel an interest in having the antiquarian details of their works correct. I also call the attention of those learned in Hebrew epigraphy to the curious forms of the *waw*, the *yod*, and the *ain*.

2.

Ossuary ornamented with carved roses; has traces of colour, feet, and a convex lid, with no grooves in the box, but with notches to hold it by. The inscription is, like the preceding one, in very fine letters; the strokes are cut larger and deeper than is usual with these *graffiti*, hastily scrawled as they are with the point of some tool or other. This makes me think that this ossuary must have come from the same sepulchre as the previous one, and have had its inscription carved by the same hand; moreover, one finds in the two inscriptions the same tendency of the letters to slope obliquely down toward the left.

No. 38.



יהוחנן "Jehohanan;" this is the name "John" in its pure Hebrew form. The *he* is clearly distinguished from the *heth*, by the way in which the three strokes common to both letters are arranged; this specific difference is found in every Hebrew inscription written with any degree of care; the left hand upright stroke must not, in the *he*, reach beyond the horizontal stroke, whereas in the *heth* it does so. These forms are quite in accordance with the palæographic origin of these two letters.

3.

This ossuary, ornamented with carved roses, is specially marked in my notebook as coming from a sepulchre in Wād Beit Sâhûr. On one of the ends is written in very plain letters the name יהוסף "Joseph."

No. 39.



Here there can be no doubt about the very unusual form of this common name; it is written at full length *Yehoseph*. This justifies the reading which I have proposed for the other inscriptions on the ossuaries already described, about which some doubts may have been felt, since those inscriptions are not so plain as these. Henceforth, therefore, we may regard it as certain that at the period to which these ossuaries belong the form *Yehoseph* was in common use among the Jews. This extremely interesting fact deserves special consideration.

The name Joseph is always spelled יוסף in the Bible. It is usually regarded as a future of the verb יסף, "He (God) will increase," and it has been compared with the names אליסף *Eliasaph* and יוספיה *Yosiphiah*. Others have taken it for a future of the verb אסף, which, by the way, is closely connected both in form and meaning with יסף, and means, moreover, "to take away." In Genesis xxx, 23, 24, there is an allusion to the meaning anciently attributed to the name, and it is given a double meaning, referring to the two roots יסף and אסף. Rachel, who had long been barren, bore a son, and said, אסף אלהים את־הרפתי, "God hath *taken away* my reproach." Immediately after this the narrative in Genesis, in a manner of which the Bible gives many examples, returns to the name that has been played upon, and makes a second play of words upon it, based this time upon the verb יסף, "and she called his name *Joseph*; saying, Jehovah will *add* to me another son (יוסף יהוה לי בן אחר).

Now besides this *Joseph*, which is the usually received form, and is confirmed by this very double etymology, we find in Psalm lxxxi, 5, this exact form יהוסף, just as it appears upon our ossuaries. עדות ביהוסף שמו, "this he ordained in Yehoseph for a testimony."* This ἀπαξ εἰρημένον has greatly exercised the sagacity of commentators; some have regarded it as a *hiphil* of יסף with an antique spelling for יוסף; others as a real compound of a verbal theme with יהו *Jeho*, instead of *Jehovah*, like so many other proper names

* The passage refers to the institution of a feast on the new moon.

wherein this divine element may be written either as יי or יהו. Others, on the contrary—for instance, Olshausen—have simply attributed it to a copyist's mistake.

We can now prove, thanks to our ossuaries, that the form *Ychoscph*, whatever may have been its origin, whether normal or artificial, was current at the beginning of the Christian era. I especially commend this fact to the attention of Biblical students, as it is of peculiar interest in connection with the critic of the Psalms. It will hereafter be difficult to make this spelling out to be due to a mistake, to a clerical error. The mistake, if it was a mistake, took root, and that pretty early, in popular Jewish nomenclature.

Whichever it may have been, we have here got far away from the contracted forms יוסי, יוסה, or יוסא,* under which the name of *Joseph* often appears in the Talmud and the Midraschim; it is all the more remarkable that the form יוסה seems already to have appeared on the inscription on St. James's tomb, and without any shadow of doubt in one of the two inscriptions at Kefr Ber'em, in Galilee.

While engaged with this subject I may be permitted to quote a curious parallel passage. In the Hebrew version of Josephus, known under the name of Josippon, which dates from the early Middle Ages, we are told that Jonathan (יונתן) having slain Pudens, one of Titus's army, the Jews decreed that as a reward for this exploit, he should bear the name of יהונתן *Ychonathan*, "spelled with a *hc*."

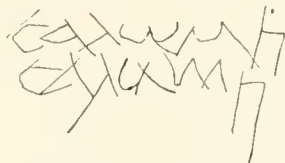
The same thing is told (p. 247) of the Hasmonean Jonathan, Judas's brother, who was called to the throne after his brother's death, and who likewise adopted the solemn form of his name, *Ychonathan*. Here the editor adds in a note, *prout etiam in aliis nominibus sacra scriptura fieri consuevit, notantibus Rabbinis*. Perhaps it was under the influence of this notion that the form יהוסה was somewhat arbitrarily derived from יוסה by the insertion of this more or less honorary *hc*. In the case of *Ychonathan* they were really doing nothing more than restoring the name to its true original form; in that of *Ychoscph* they were following a doubtful analogy, regarding the part יי as the equivalent of יהו in names which are well known to be compounds of *Jehovah*. Our ossuaries prove that this practice was really a pretty ancient one, and must at some period have become popular.

* Whence the Greek form Iεσφς .

The other end of the ossuary which bears the name of Joseph has another inscription, written so faint that for a long time it escaped my notice. It was only much later when re-examining the ossuary that I discovered its existence. This shows how carefully one ought to study these ossuaries; they often bear inscriptions which pass unnoticed on a superficial examination. For instance, on an ossuary discovered by Sir C. Warren, and placed by him in the collection of the Exploration Fund, I discovered, after many years, a bilingual inscription, in Greek and Hebrew, containing the name of *Bernice*, though till then no one had ever suspected its existence.*

The second inscription on Joseph's ossuary is in Greek, and in two lines.

No. 40.



It consists of the name of *Σαλώμη* repeated twice. This is the well known transcription of the female proper name *Salome*, whose original form is, as I have already demonstrated, שלום. Observe the very peculiar shape of the two *etas*, which we find in exactly the same form on some more of our ossuaries, and also in the cursive inscriptions in Egypt belonging to the early years of the Christian era.† I think that we have here the same name twice repeated, and not a woman's name followed by her mother's name. There is no trace of the *sigma* which would be necessary if the second *Σαλώμη* was in the genitive case; besides, the exaggerated length of the last stroke of the *eta* proves that in the mind of the Jewish stone-cutter it was regarded in some sort as a final letter.

Here then we have an ossuary which, contrary to the usual practice, bears the names of two different persons, Joseph and Salome. I am inclined to think that it was meant to contain the remains of a man and a woman who were nearly connected by birth or marriage, probably a husband and his wife.

* See also my dissertation: *Nouveaux ossuaires Juifs*, etc., 1873, p. 7 et p. 18.

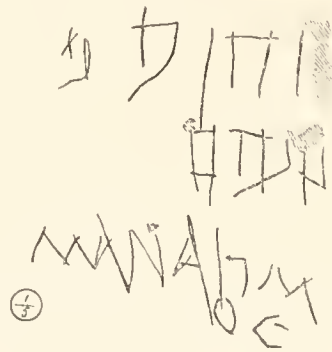
† This form often occurs, amongst other places, in the *Tablæi* with Greek inscriptions published by M. Le Blant (1875); see particularly Nos. 9, 11, 14, 19, 26, 27, 29, 65, 95. Most of these *Tablæi* take us back to the reign of Commodus, that is, to the second century of our era. But this form of *eta* was in use at an earlier date.

With regard to this I may remind the reader of the ossuary which I found *in situ* at Wād Yâsûl, in which I found *two* skulls. It is worth noticing that in this instance the man's name is written in Hebrew, and the woman's name in Greek.

No. 4.

An ossuary ornamented with three roses drawn with a compass; it has feet. The inscription is bilingual, Greek and Hebrew.

No. 41.



The Greek name is easily read; it is *Μανάρχμος*, the conventional transcript of the Hebrew name *Menahem*. The writing is very like that of the preceding ossuary, the *eta*, especially, takes the same form.

The Hebrew part is more difficult to read. In the second line there is certainly *מנחם*, *Menahem*, although the central *mcm* is not quite of the usual shape, and is more like the final *mcm*. Here then we have the Hebrew name that corresponds to the Greek one, as we might have expected. But the difficulty is that this Hebrew name comes in the second line, and is preceded by another Hebrew name which forms the first line. Now, according to the usual custom, the second name, *Menahem*, ought to be a patronymic, connected with the first by the word *בר* or *בן*, "son;" so that it ought to be "So and so, son of Menahem." But, in the first place, this would not agree with the Greek inscription, where *Μανάρχμος*, in the nominative, proves that *Menahem* is not patronymic, but indeed the deceased's real name. On the other hand, it is impossible, according to the rules of palæography, to make out of any of the letters or groups of letters in the first

line of the Hebrew the strokes necessary to form the word בר or בן, "son." If we put aside all other considerations, and examine the first line by itself, we shall soon convince ourselves that we can only read it יהוסף *Ychoseph*, the name "Joseph" once more, in the peculiar spelling with which these ossuaries have made us familiar. We must therefore read the whole inscription מנתם יהוסף, that is to say, *Joseph Menahem*. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that these two names refer to one single person; that the second is not the name of his father, and that the first is an additional name, a sort of *praenomen*. The deceased's real name was *Menahem*, as the Greek inscription proves. This *Menahem* was also called *Joseph*. The use of double names is not uncommon among the Jews in cases where one is a Hellenic and the other a Hebrew name: nevertheless it is strange to find two names, both pure Hebrew, and both real names, the second being neither a surname nor a title. I had, consequently, some hesitation about admitting this to be the truth; but since then I have collected several examples which render the fact unquestionable, and entirely confirm this reading: *Ychoseph Menahem* = *Μανάνημος*. We find in the Talmud persons named *Matthia-Lcvi*, *Thaddai-Juda*, *Mahalel-Ychudah*, and a woman's name, *Sara-Miriam*. I have even found one there, *Johanan-Joseph*, where our *praenomen* "Joseph" appears as the true name. Our inscription, with its Greek version, proves that in these double names it is the second one which we ought to look upon as the real name, the first being, as I said, a sort of *praenomen*. The comparison of *Jonathan-Joseph* with *Ychoseph-Menahem* shows us, moreover, that the same name can on occasion act as either a true name or a *praenomen*, according to whether it stands first or second. Anyhow we see that it would be a mistake to regard the Hebrew double names as the same as the Semitic double names which we often meet with in the inscriptions at Palmyra, and to regard the second name in the former as a patronymic, with the word "son" omitted, after the Greek fashion, although in the latter it is frequently so. If this were the case, if *Ychoseph Menahem* were the same thing as *Ychoseph (the son) of Menahem*, in the Greek part of the inscription we must needs have had Ἰώσηπος and not *Μανάνημος*.

OTHER OSSUARIES AT WÂD YÂSÛL.

I now come to another group of ossuaries, which were found under the same conditions as the former, in a cave in Wâd Yâsûl, which was explored

by my workmen towards the end of February, 1874. Not having these ossuaries before me, for I had to leave them at Jerusalem, I copy literally the notes made on the spot, which give the following brief description of them :—

1. Ossuary, with high triangular shaped lid, and Hebrew inscription in a cartouche.
2. Ditto, like the preceding one, with a little moulding on the rim. No inscription. Lid like preceding one.
3. Ditto, no lid ; projecting ledge on rim.



4. Ditto, no mouldings ; flat sliding lid.
5. Ditto, front ornamented with roses.
6. Ditto, front ornamented with roses ; ledge on rim ; sliding lid.
7. Ditto, ornamented with roses ; has feet ; two roses separated by a long stem with leaves ; marks at each end.

Another ossuary of this same group, which I cannot exactly identify, but which must be No. 3, 4, 5, or 6, had on its ornamented side a

M

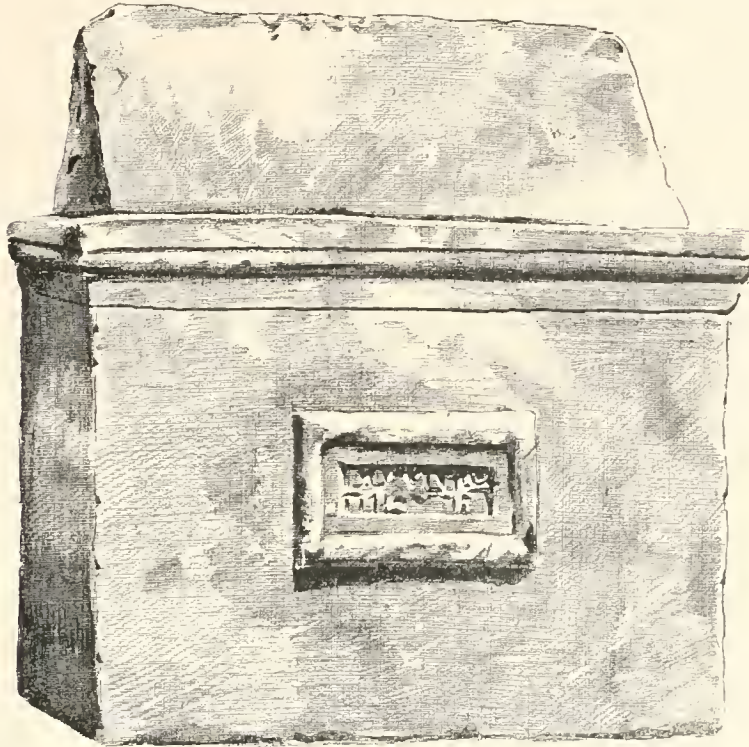
very small mark, very distinctly carved, and shaped like a Greek *mu*.

⊕

The ossuaries 1 and 2 differ from the others, and, indeed, from all that I have hitherto seen, in the stone of which they are made, which is not the soft calcareous stone usually used for ossuaries, but a hard calcareous rock, *malcki*. They also differ in shape, having round their rims a projecting moulding or cornice, which gives them a monumental character.

Besides this, No. 1 is peculiarly interesting, because it bears a Hebrew inscription, which is not scratched carelessly with the point of a graving tool, but carved in fine, deeply cut letters by a professional stone cutter, and

enclosed in a rectangular cartouche, which projects in high relief from the middle of the front side. This ossuary is unique of its kind.



OSSUARY WITH HEBREW INSCRIPTION. (No. 42.)

Here is an exact reproduction of the inscription taken from a very good squeeze in guttapercha, which I fortunately took the precaution to make, for it is impossible for me to say what has become of the original, which I left with others behind me at Jerusalem on leaving Palestine.



HEBREW INSCRIPTION.

In spite of the distinctness with which the letters are cut, these two lines are hard to read, and their interpretation is not certain. At the beginning of the first line the word שלום seems plain, in spite of the small size of the *waw*, which at first sight looks more like a *yod*.

Is this the substantive used elsewhere in Jewish epitaphs as a funeral invocation, meaning "Peace" or "Salvation"? or is it, on the contrary, a proper name? a man's name, *Shallum*, or a woman's name, *Salome*? After

mature consideration, I incline to the latter supposition. Hitherto we have not once met with the invocation שְׁלוֹם on our ossuaries; on the other hand, we have often met with the woman's name *Salome* written thus. Finally, the triangular shape of the lid, a form traditionally reserved for women's tombs, confirms me in the idea that we have here before us the woman's name *Salome* rather than the man's name *Shallum*. This view is also supported by the following word, which seems very like אִם, "mother." After this word one would expect a proper name, "*Salome, mother of so and so*," but it is impossible to make a proper name out of the two vague letters with which the line ends. I shall come back to these letters presently.

The second line seems to consist only of one word,* הורעטיה, which I am unable to translate exactly. It looks very like a feminine ethnic, but I do not know any town or district named זרעט, or זרעט, for the third letter may just as well be a *daleth* as a *resh*. There would be nothing unusual in finding a woman's name followed by an ethnic; it often occurs, especially in the case of women proselytes. Thus in the Talmud we often meet with such and such a doctor who was the son of *the woman of Batanaca*, of *the woman of Damascus*, of *the woman of the Hauran*, etc., התורנית דורמיסקית, בטנית. It is true that in this case the feminine termination ית is preferred to יה, but this objection is not fatal. If, then, we adopt this view, we have *Salome, mother . . . the woman of Zaraat*.

The two doubtful letters following the word "mother" must now be accounted for. One is at first tempted to read them בן, "son," but the word would be meaningless in this place. I have therefore asked myself whether the first letter may not be a *kaph*, which would be equally possible, and whether we have not here an abbreviation of אִם בִּנְיָה, "synagogue;" אִם בִּנְיָה would be a title, "mother of the synagogue," exactly like that which we find in many ancient Jewish inscriptions,† for example, *mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni* at Rome; *mater synagoga Brixianorum* at Brescia, and which, in one instance, is actually borne by a proselyte. Upon this hypothesis it would be allowable to assume that the ethnic הורעטיה refers to the synagogue and not to Salome, as in the inscriptions at Rome. I am well aware that this

* I have sought in vain for any suitable meaning according to the view, which naturally is the first to present itself to the mind, of making out of it the word זרע = "Seed of," "descendant of."

† With regard to the πατέρες καὶ μητέρες συναγωγῶν, see Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, p. 29. Cf. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, IV, p. 12 (2nd edition).

explanation, which I only offer because I can think of no other, is subject to objections. I only therefore propose it with hesitation, after having thrown aside a whole series of other even more unsatisfactory solutions which space forbids me to insert here, and which were based upon the uncertain shape of some of the letters of the inscription. To facilitate the attempts of other students, who perhaps will be more fortunate than I have been, I give here a copy of the inscription, showing the possible alternative forms for these letters.

ש ל ו ם א ם כ ן ה ז ר ע ט י ה

I shall end this chapter by giving drawings of some of the pottery found in various sepulchres in Wād Yásúl and Wād Beit Sâhúr by ourselves or our fellahín. Phials of various shapes and lamps.





A little terra-cotta phial, 0^m·16 high, carefully made of fine clay, polished; it is shaped like an amphora; the neck broken; there are traces of where the handles have been stuck on. It has, deeply marked in the clay before it was baked, a mark like a cross with two horizontal bars ending at the bottom in two curved branches like hooks.

Also two broken pieces of calcareous stone bearing Greek inscriptions, one of which belongs to the Byzantine period. This stone is very soft and the piece is very thick.



IV.

SEPULCHRE AND OSSUARIES OF SHO'FÂT (SHAFÂT).

During a visit which we made to Sho'fât on February 3rd, about which I shall give more details hereafter, a young lad of the village told me of a *maghâra* into which he had found his way while tracking a porcupine; he had seen therein several stone *sanâlik* which contained bones. I immediately made him lead me to the spot, which is about twenty minutes' walk from Sho'fât. After having examined it, I decided to set some men to work to dig away the earth from the entrance to the sepulchre. Four fellahin of Sho'fât undertook this task, though not without making some difficulties. I returned on the following day, and found that the men had cleared several mètres of the passage which the porcupine had dug out in order to reach the tomb where he had established himself. I made my way,

not without difficulty, into this long narrow passage, where one could only crawl on all fours, and the atmosphere was suffocatingly hot, and made my way into a cave full of earth almost up to the roof. Nine oven-shaped recesses were hewn, in groups of three, in three of the walls of a square chamber. I noticed on my left a first ossuary of soft stone, half buried; it was a very small one, ornamented on its front side with roses traced with a compass, and at one of the ends with a long palm leaf; it had a sliding lid, and feet. At the end of one of the oven-shaped recesses there stood another ossuary, of larger size and more careful workmanship; it had a triangular lid with a notch to lift it by. At its foot and in front of it there stood upright a little terra-cotta phial.

One of the oven-shaped recesses hewn in the opposite wall to this one was still blocked by a big slab very carelessly wrought, and wedged into its place by some little stones driven in between its top and the edge of the recess. I had the slab removed straightway, but found nothing but some bits of bone, which fell into dust, and an adult's skull.

All the earth which filled the cave was ploughed up and burrowed into by the porcupine, who had installed himself there, and had left unmistakable traces of his presence, among others quills 0^m.25 long. He had arranged a comfortable home for himself in this ready made cavern; the recesses served him for living rooms and store rooms for sundry purposes.

I ordered the men to clear the earth away from the real entrance to the sepulchre, the passage by which we had entered being only an accidentally made hole. I returned on the following day, and noted that the original entrance to the tomb, through which I could now pass without difficulty, was, on the outside, ten mètres at least distant from the awkward passage by which I had crawled into it the day before. At the bottom of the trench lay a great square stone with a rebate on the edges, which was originally intended to close the entrance.

On clearing out the interior we found three more ossuaries entire, or nearly so, and pieces of other broken ones. No. 1 had one corner broken; had feet, but no lid. No. 2 was complete; had a sliding lid; no feet, and no ornamentation. No. 3 was broken into six pieces; it had feet.

The little ossuary which I have just mentioned, and which was the first that I discovered, had some unintelligible marks carved on one of its ends, but unluckily I cannot give any drawing of them. On the flat sliding lid which covered it were carved the Arabic figures ١٢٩٠ = A.H. 1290, evidently the date of the current year of the Hegira; it was probably the lad who

hunted the porcupine who had amused himself by leaving this written witness of his exploit.

Among the fragments which I picked up there was fortunately one which bore the remains of an inscription of less recent date, an inscription in large Greek letters cut with the point of the graving tool.

No. 43.



This inscription must originally have consisted of two, or perhaps of three lines, for the breakage makes it impossible to discover how much is missing. Of the first line only some indistinct strokes remain; in the second one can distinctly read *Μαρία*, "Mary," the common Greek transcript of the Hebrew Miriam.* It is difficult to make out what preceded this name; perhaps *ἡ καὶ*, "so and so, who was also called Mary" (?). Perhaps, as on one of the ossuaries found at Wâd Yâsûl, it was the name of the deceased's husband (?). Below, there is a large mark scratched very slightly.

V.

OSSUARIES OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.

During the month of March, 1874, some Arabs of the town of Jerusalem, to whom I had communicated a taste for archæology, brought me, with great affectation of mystery, six ossuaries, which, they assured me came from a sepulchre opened by the fellahin in the district to the north-west of Jerusalem. I have some doubt as to the accuracy of this purposely vague account of the place from which they came. It may be the true one; but it is also very

* Compare the name *מריה* on a fragment of an ossuary on the Mount of Olives (above, p. 418).

likely that these ossuaries were discovered in the district of Wâd Yâsûl, after my own explorations there. Whatever the origin of this little group of ossuaries may be, it is an interesting one, because three out of the six furnish us with new specimens of inscriptions.

No. 1.

A little ossuary, perfect, ornamented with roses. Flat lid, broken in two. No inscription.

No. 2.

A little ossuary exactly like the preceding one; lid broken into five pieces; coloured red.

No. 3.

Large ossuary, ornamented with roses and borders; has feet; semi-cylindrical lid, broken into several pieces, lies flat on the top of the ossuary.

No. 4.

Little ossuary, ornamented on three sides; has feet; rim flat. At the top of the front side is carved in very plain letters—

No. 44.

ΕΥΤΡΑΠΕΛΟΥ

Ευτραπέλου, "of Eutrapelus."

It should be noticed that this name is in the genitive case; it is one of very rare occurrence in Greek nomenclature. I do not know where to find another instance to support it except in the case of *Eutrapelus* Volumnius, mentioned by Cicero, to whom the great orator wrote two letters which are still extant.* 'Ευτράπελος is properly an adjective, meaning "gay, lively pleasant." It appears that the Knight P. Volumnius, Mark Antony's friend, who was a merry soul, had been given this surname because of his character. Possibly this name, when borne by a Jew, was the equivalent of some

* Cicero, *Ad diversos*, 2, 25; Phil. 13, 2; see also Hor. *Ep.* I, xviii, 31.

Hebrew name of similar meaning, such, for instance, as *Adna*, *Adin*, or *Adino*, derived from עֵדָן. Perhaps there lurks in it the name of *Isaac*, which originally meant "the man who laughs" ((יִצְחָק)), just as in the name of Παρήγορος (the Consoler) lurks that of *Menahem* or *Tanhum* (which has the same meaning).

No. 5.

Little ossuary, entire, quite plain; lid simply fits on. On the very edge or rim of the box is carved in carefully formed Greek letters, almost good enough to have been made by a professional stonecutter--

No. 45.

ΑΤΙΤΟΝΑ

I imagine that Ἀτιγόνα was written instead of Ἀντιγόνα, and that the omission of the *nu* was either due to mere inadvertence on the part of the stonecutter, or else that this letter became assimilated to the *tau* which follows it, according to the Hebrew rules of euphony. We know, indeed, that the assimilation of the letter "n" is of constant occurrence in Hebrew and Aramaic: it is in accordance with this rule, for example, that בַּת, *bath*, "a girl," is so spelled and pronounced, instead of *banth* or *beneth*. There would be nothing surprising in the application of this rule even towards names derived from the Greek; indeed, there are cases in which it certainly has been so applied; for instance, we find in the Talmud, אַדְרִיָּאָנְטוֹס *adriouantos*, with the nasal suppressed or absolved by the side of אַדְרִיאָנְטוֹס *andriantos* = ἀνδριάντος, genitive of ἀνδρίας, "statue."* It is true that in the present case one would have expected Ἀττιγόνα rather than Ἀτιγόνα. We find in one of the Judæo-Greek epitaphs at Jaffa an exactly similar example, φροτιτῶν for φροντιστῶν, where the omission of the *nu* seems to be merely a clerical error, as is also that of the *sigma*.†

Whether the spelling be due to a mistake or to a principle, I have no doubt that we have here the feminine form of the very common Greek name Ἀντιγόνης. This form was usually Ἀντιγόνη, and this is the only one which appears in Pape's *Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen*; I have, however,

* See my pamphlet on the suppression of nasals in Cypriot inscriptions, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, p. 196.

† See Vol. II, p. 136, note *.

found three positive examples of Ἀντιγόνα. The first on a tomb at Rome,* as the name of a slave, preceded by that of Μαλχιών, a name which has a distinctly Semitic appearance. The second is on a funeral cippus at Sidon (Waddington, *op. cit.*, No. 1870). The third example is an altogether crucial one; it is one of the deeds of enfranchisement inscribed at Delphi, and in it appears the name of a *female slave of Jewish origin*, named Ἀντιγόνα, together with her two daughters, Theodora and Dorothea.† We know, also, that the name of Antigonus was very popular among the Jews, under the form אַנטיגנוס,‡ and has been borne by many personages, amongst others, by the famous Antigonus of Socho: so that the feminine form must have been used also. Moreover, we have in Jewish History a very curious proof of this, and quite conclusive.§ When, after the taking of Jerusalem by Herod, in 37 B.C., Antigonus, son of the Asmonean king Aristobulus, went to throw himself at the feet of Sossius, the Roman Governor of Syria, to beg for mercy, Sossius derisively called him Ἀντιγόνη, instead of Ἀντιγόνοσ. This seems to imply that, for the joke to have had any point at all, the feminine form of the name must have been as well known to the Jews as the masculine.

No. 6.

Large ossuary, ornamented with roses marked out with yellow paint; has feet and flat lid.

On the back there is a *graffito* in large Hebrew letters, scratched with what must have been a notched graving-tool, for the strokes are double.

No. 46.



←.....οἰ. 38

The letters, although of a very cursive form, are made by a firm and

* Epitaph of a Patronus and his household. *Musée du Louvre*, Nos. 234, 241. Malchion and Antigona were perhaps slaves of Jewish, or at any rate of Tyrian extraction. In the same group another slave is called Νίκα, instead of Νίκη.

† Σώματα γυναικεία τρία αἷς ὀνόματα Ἀντιγόνα τὸ γένος Ἰουδαία(ν) καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, etc. (Wescher-Foucart, *Delphes* No. 57).

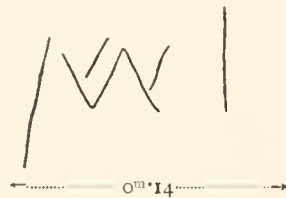
‡ We find in the Talmud the strange name אַנטיגוס, which seems to be a variant of the forms אַנטיגנוס and אַנטיגנוס; the existence of this form would be a great argument in favour of Ἀντιγόνα = Ἀντιγόνα.

§ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XIV, 16, 2.

practised hand; observe the *lamed* reduced to a long upright stroke, and the slope of all the letters. They certainly form the name אלעסה *Elasah*, or *Elcasah*, which means literally, "He whom El hath made," a name borne by several persons in the Bible, especially by a priest of the days of Ezra, who was married to a heathen woman; it is the exact equivalent of the name *Asahel*, in which the verbal root *asah* and the Divine element *El* are transposed. The name also occurs in Talmudic nomenclature.

One of the ends of this ossuary bears another Hebrew inscription, which is much more difficult to decipher, either because it has not been so well

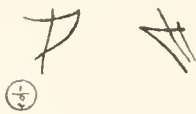
No. 47.



preserved, or else because I have copied it rather hurriedly. Unfortunately I have no squeeze of it which would enable me to check my copy. It strongly resembles the other inscription, and it seems most natural to suppose that it is merely a repetition of the other, the name of *Elasah* written twice over. We have examples of this upon other ossuaries; if it is so, it must be admitted that the copy has altogether omitted the *aleph*, which is scarcely to be made out, or else has mouldered away, and that the final *he* is imperfect.

I shall finish this chapter by giving copies of certain marks which I collected from sundry ossuaries; but the confusion of my notes renders it impossible for me to say from which they come.

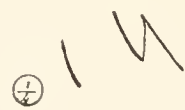
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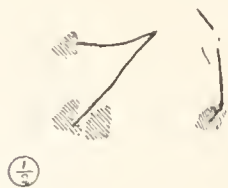
No. 49.



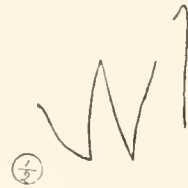
No. 50.



No. 51.



No. 52.



PART IV.

MORE DISTANT LOCALITIES.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-WEST SIDES OF JERUSALEM.

TABALIEH, NEBY YUNÂN AND ST. ELIAS.—To the west of and not far from Mâr Eliâs, on a height, stand some ruins called *Khûrbet Tabalich* (طبليه). The site does not appear in the Ordnance Survey Map, but it is accurately described in the *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 160. It is marked on Dr. Schick's map (*Zeitschr. d. D. Palaestina-Vereins*, 1896, p. 232),* opposite to Mâr Eliâs, on the west side but the name is clipped into *Ch. Tabelle*.†

Here there existed down to the thirteenth century a village of some importance, *Kariat Tabalich*, قرية طابلية, as it is named by the writer of the old unpublished Arabic description which I have several times had occasion to quote, by the side, he says,‡ of the great convent placed under the protection of the prophet St. Elias.

This document, therefore, guarantees for us the exact spelling of a name whose true origin is otherwise enigmatical. It is possible that the name is repeated in the *et Tabalich* valley near Rentis (to the westward, see Map, XIV, k. q.), although the name is written تبليية in the *Name Lists*.

* Cf. p. 185 : "On an isolated hill, at the south end of the plain of Rephaim."

† Cf. Vol. II, p. 151 of the same *Zeitschrift*, where the transcription into Arabic is equally faulty, طبله.

‡ Fo. 495, verso.

Near it stands the hill called Râs Eliâs, the spot where native tradition, confounding Jacob with Elijah, assures us that the latter sought refuge when fleeing from his brother *El'Îs* (Esau).

According to another tradition Tabalieh was also called *Beit Yunân en Neby*. This singular and hitherto unexplained name seems to me to be closely connected with the legend of St. Elias, to whom the famous convent close by is dedicated. Indeed, according to an ancient tradition which was known as early as the time of St. Jerome, and quoted by him, the son of the widow of Zarephath, who was raised from the dead by Elijah the prophet, was named *Jonah*. I have no doubt that *Yunân* is a corruption of *Jonah*. This quaint variation of the legend has certainly been kept up among the Arabs, for in the unpublished MS. of the thirteenth century which I have just quoted, I read, after an account of the miracle at Zarephath,* و اقام ولدها * "And he (Elijah) raised up her son after he was dead, and that (son) was the prophet *Yunân*." The document consequently proves categorically that it is indeed the personality of this legendary Jonah which is concealed under the name of Neby Yunân, and localised at Tabalieh, near the sanctuary of St. Elias.

The origin of this legend is due to the well known fact of the popular confusion between the word אמיתאי, used by the widow of Zarephath (1 Kings, xvii, 24), and the name of *Amittai*, the father of the prophet Jonah. On the other hand, this name of *Amittai*, which in Mussulman tradition has become *Neby Matta*, has led to a new and odd confusion with St. *Matthew*. At Beit Ummar, between Halhûl and Kh. Beit (Skâria), they venerate at this day the shrine of one Neby Matta, in which at first it seems quite natural to see the name of St. Matthew; † the identification is all the more plausible because it seems to result from a passage in St. Willibald's *Hodocporicon* (§ xxiv), certainly somewhat involved, that on that spot, in the eighth century, there stood an important sanctuary of *St. Matthias*. Now, Mujir ed Din (*op. c.*, p. 142), after having in his fashion related the history of the prophet *Yûnes*, the son of *Matta*, in other terms Jonah, the son of *Amittai*, and having told us that his tomb is revered in the great sanctuary of Halhûl, which was built in the thirteenth century by the orders of the Sultan El Mu'addham 'Isa, adds: "Matta is buried close by, in a village called *Beit Ummar*."‡ He was a

* Fo. 497, *recto*.

† Guérin, *Judée*, Vol. III, p. 298. *Cf. Mémoires*, III, p. 303; *Name Lists*, p. 405.

‡ Not *Ameurr*, as it is wrongly spelt by M. Sauvaire, in his translation.

just man of the seed of the prophets. God alone knoweth the truth." It is obvious from this that, for Mussulmans, the *Matta* of Beit Ummar does not in any way stand for St. Matthew, but for Jonah's father *Amittai*. It is certain that the corruption of the legend of Jonah, localised in the immediate neighbourhood of Beit Ummar, must have been the cause of the alteration of the legend relating to Neby Matta. As for the localisation of the legend of Jonah himself at Halhûl, its origin has yet to be discovered. Perhaps there may be some confusion between the name of *Gath*-Hepher, the traditional birthplace of Jonah, and the name of *Gad*, the Seer, whose memory is localised at Halhûl by the Jewish traditions current in the Middle Ages.*

SÛR BÂHER.—A visit to Sûr Bâher or Sûr Bâhel.† The village is also sometimes designated by the sort of nickname of *Sûr el Mâl*, which native tradition declares to be its ancient name.‡ The well is called *'Ain Sûr Bâhel*. Besides the well there are ancient courses of hewn stone. The place is called *Deir B'rêchût* (= *Berêkût*). A little further on there is a hill with ruins on it called *Khûrbet Sheikh Sa'îd*; great courses of stones which seem to have belonged to a fort commanding the valley; places where the rock has been levelled which are now used as threshing floors by the Sawâh'leh Bedouin, and caves. *Deir B'rêchût* was a monastery of the Nasâra (Christians). The water from the spring was brought by a channel of mason work to a *birkeh* hewn in the rock. The walls were pulled down in the time of Ibrahim Pasha to supply material for the new buildings in the city.

A quarter of an hour further on is *Deir el 'Amûd*, a great plateau covered with ruins. Here are cisterns, hewn stones, troughs cut in the rock, places where the rock has been hewn level, great fragments of enormous columns (can they have been used for mill stones or presses?).

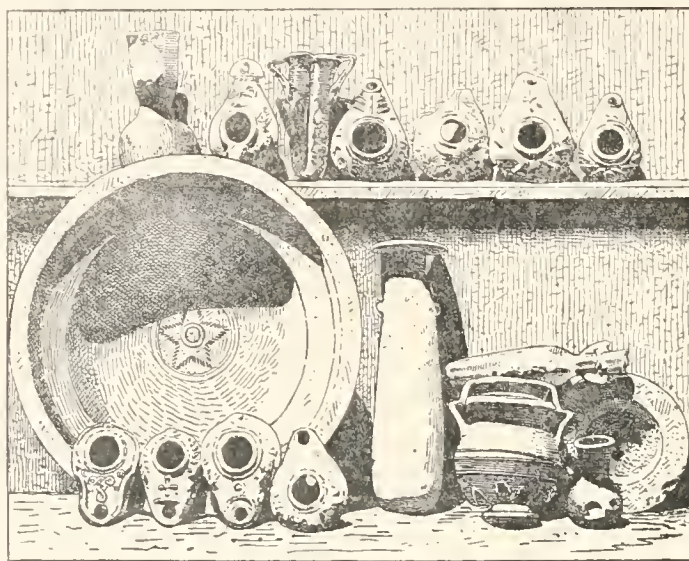
BEIT JÂLA.—The accompanying plate, drawn from a photograph which we took on the spot, shows sundry objects forming part of a set of sepulchral furniture which were discovered, all in one tomb, at Beit Jâla, on some land belonging to the Latin Patriarchate. All of them have since been handed over

* Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 242, 388, 435.

† Observe that the Crusaders transliterated the word *Sorbael*. A Charter of the year 1179, in Röhrich's *Regesta*, p. 153.

‡ With regard to this addition of the word *mâl* to several Palestine place-names, see Vol. II of the *Recherches*, pp. 100 and 208, notes.

to the Patriarchate. This was evidently a Christian burial place of the Byzantine period. Among other objects I may mention two fine *alabastra* or "bottles of ointment," made of alabaster, a quantity of phials, both single and double, bronze buckles, bracelets, and rings, several earthenware dishes, both large and small, one of them with a star of five points drawn in the middle of it,



OBJECTS FOUND IN A TOMB AT BEIT JĀLA.

and many terra-cotta lamps, several of which bear crosses of various forms. Two of these lamps bear inscriptions; one of them gives the beginning of the formula $\phi\omega\varsigma$ Χριστῶν φαίνει πᾶσι, "Christ's light shines for all," the other the much rarer legend, **ΘΗC ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ**, "Of the Mother of God."

The fellahin maintain that *Beit Jâla* is the "vulgar" name of their village, but that the ancient and original name was *Beit Jahlâ* (جهلا). I do not know what this assertion is worth; however, I was long afterwards struck upon finding in an old description of the holy places in a hitherto unpublished Arabic MS. the following passage (fo. 14, verso):

و عن يمينه ضيعة بيت جهلا التي كانت تسمى في الاول بيت افراتا و قوم
يتول ان عندها خرجوا الانبيا.

"On the right (of Rachel's tomb) is the village of *Beit Jahlâ*, which once was called *Beit Efrâtâ*, and men say that from it came the prophets."

The fellahin also assured me that in ancient times there was a king at *Beit Jâla* named *Sultân Jâil*, a fabulous personage whose eponymous character is obvious.

BETHLEHEM.—While attentively examining the little shell-shaped apse of the Grotto of the Nativity, above the famous silver star, I discovered very evident traces of a mediæval Latin inscription, executed in coloured glass mosaic; the gilt letters are much tarnished by smoke. I only succeeded in deciphering for certain the word **HOMINIBVS**, "*hominibus*," which must form part of the well known words [*pax*] *hominibus* [*bonae voluntatis*], which ran horizontally round the curve of the little apse.

— I ascertained that the great inscribed font which we see in the basilica has upon another of its sides a cartouche similar to that which contains the inscription, but this cartouche bears no inscription. There is a great cross carved in relief on a third side.

— The walls, as one enters the Grotto, near the door of the right hand staircase, are covered with little slabs of marble bearing Arabic proscynemata,* some of which seem to be of considerable antiquity. Many of them refer to successive visitations of the Plague, and their authors thank God for having escaped. These documents are interesting pieces of evidence for historians of the Plague, as some of these little texts are accurately dated.

MÂL'HA (MÂLHAH).

There is nothing remarkable about any of the houses of this village, except one ruined *burj*, which stands near the mosque. I noticed not far from here, built into the corner of a house, a very much perished fragment of an inscription, which perhaps is Cufic. Inside another of the houses they showed me the entrance, at present blocked up, of a *maghâra*, with an inscription above the door, as they assured me. The approaches to the village, on the west side, and the little hill opposite to it, are full of rock-hewn sepulchres; one of them still contains fragments of ancient pottery. I was shown a sort of long chest, with rounded corners, made of unbaked or slightly baked earth, which was found in one of these sepulchres full of bones; it measures 0^m·90 in length, and is like a small bath.† There are certainly interesting discoveries to be made by digging in the ancient cemetery at Mâl'ha.

* *προσκυνήματα*, pious inscriptions written by pilgrims on the shrines which they have visited.

† A fellâh of Mâl'ha, named *Ahmed Sîleh*, said that some time ago he opened a cave full of little *sanâdik* (ossuaries); unfortunately I was not able to find it.

According to an ancient tradition, the people of *Mâl'ha*, the *Mawâleh* as they call themselves, belong to two classes of different extraction; the one class from the country beyond Jordan, and the other from Egypt. Their pronunciation is quite peculiar, its chief characteristic is the sound of its long *â*'s, which is a very grave one, remarkably like the sound *ô*; this shows an inclination in the language of the *Mawâlch* to Aramaic phonetics, and would rather connect them with the tribes to the north.

The water from the spring 'Ain Yâlo, some way to the west-south-west of *Mâl'ha*, enjoys a great reputation, and epicures have it brought to Jerusalem at a great expense for their use. The *Mawâlch* say in its praise that when weighed in the *mîzân* it proves to be "lighter than gold" (*sic*), which would not prevent its being pretty heavy in the stomach.

The immediate neighbourhood of *Mâl'ha* contains many places of interest. For instance, *Khûrbet el Fawâk'sch* (النواكسة), on a hill whose tiers of terraces may be seen from 'Ain Yâlo, looking north. Nearer, and a little more to the east, is a spot called *K'lâ' es Suwâwân*, "the rocks of flint," with which is connected a singular legend. Once upon a time it was a *beléd*, an inhabited place, or rather, in the language of the fellahin, a city. But the inhabitants incurred the wrath of God, and all the country was petrified (*maskhût sakhta*), and turned into flint.* The sin which caused so terrible a punishment for the place was a very strange one, and is rather difficult to describe decorously; it consisted in the women having committed sacrilege against bread by using it, not to put into their children's mouths, but for a diametrically opposite purpose. This story is absurd enough in appearance, but it must have some serious underlying meaning, for it is very popular indeed in Palestine. I found almost exactly the same story told at various places, notably at *Fâr'deh* near *Beit Thûl* and *Yâlo*.† It seems to belong to a curious cycle of popular fables connected with memories of the Stone Age. According to another tradition of the fellahin, *K'lâ' es Suwâwân* is the town of *Yâlo* itself, its name being taken from the spring, or the spring was named after it. This is all the more remarkable, because the flint bed at *Fâr'deh*, where the same legend is localised, is itself close to another *Yâlo*, a namesake of this one.

* I find in Robinson's lists (*Bib. Res.*, 1st edition, Vol. III, App. II, *Arabic Lists*, p. 123) a *Kuriét el-Mashkhûta* mentioned in the same group with *Mâl'ha*. I suspect that this place which I cannot find on the map, and whose name means "The Petrified City," is the same as that of which I am speaking.

† Vol. II, pp. 90, 91.

The *Mawâleh* told me that not far from Mâl'ha there are three large *rujûm* or tumuli of stones, on *Jebel et Tawâki* (الطواقى), on the west of the village; they are called *Rujûm 'Ataya*, *Rujûm 'Afâneh*, and *Rujûm et Tariûd*.*

The remarkable position of Mâl'ha, and the vast cemetery round about it, show plainly that it must be the site of an ancient city. The various identifications which have been hitherto suggested do not strike me as either happy or worthy of consideration. The best known one is Schwarz's, which has been generally repeated; it is, that Mâl'ha appears in the Midrash as *Malhaya*, מלחיה, the birth-place of one Rabbi Jose (*Vayikra Rabba*, 26). This identification is etymologically satisfactory, but, unfortunately, it is almost useless from a historical point of view, as this is the only place in which this Malhaya is mentioned, and nothing more is known about it. Some writers have even thrown doubt upon this identification, unimportant as it is. M. Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*, p. 269) points out, with some show of reason, that we ought to look for the Malhaya of the Midrash in Upper Galilee, seeing that in the passage quoted Rabbi Jose is mentioned in company with another Rabbi who was born at Sikhnin, which place is certainly in Galilee. He also reminds us of the existence of a tower of *Malha* in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea.†

Tobler, not without hesitation, and his hesitation is wise, compares Mâl'ha with *Caphar Gamala*, the place where the pretended body of St. Stephen was found by one Lucian.‡ His identification of it with the *Capher Melich* of the Chartulary of the Holy Sepulchre is more acceptable etymologically; but it is far more probable that this latter place is the village of Kafr Mâlik, to the south-east of Sinjil.§

So, then, none of these various identifications are satisfactory. I shall propose one in my turn, which, if it be admitted, will have the advantage of solving at the same time a little problem of Biblical topography.

We know the important group of eleven cities of Judah which the LXX add to Joshua xv, 59. All the critics agree in considering this passage, which does not exist in our Hebrew texts, not as an interpolation, but as the

* I see that C. Tyrwhitt Drake has mentioned these tumuli, which he calls by names slightly different to those which I have given. *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 271.

† Perhaps *Khûrbet Mâlha* ("the Salt-marsh"), near 'Athlit.

‡ Tobler, *Topogr.*, II, p. 101.

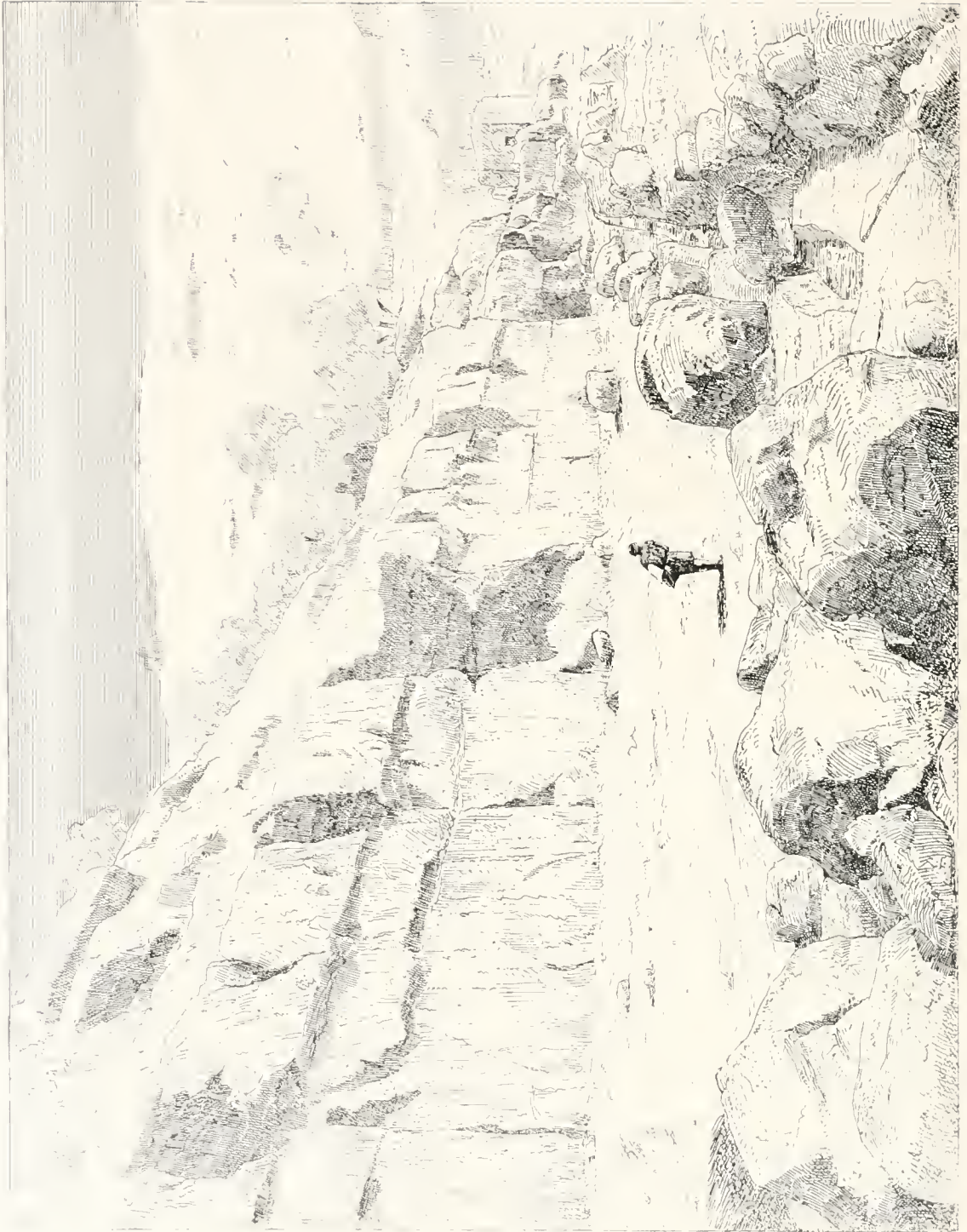
§ Röhricht, *Stud. zur Mittelalter. Geogr.*, p. 200.

translation of an original fragment omitted by the scribe who wrote the MS. from which all our texts have been copied. Many of these eleven cities are easily recognisable; for instance ʾEkoa, Bethlehem, Faghûr, Kârim (‘Ain), and Bettir. Others are less easily identified, owing to the various spelling of different MSS. I shall not now deal with these: I shall merely point out that all the MSS. give, after Bettir, a city whose name varies very slightly, *Mavoχω*, *Mavaχ*, *Manocho*. The critics have already compared this name with that of Manahath מנחת (1 Chron. viii, 6), to which the Benjamite natives of Geba were removed. But from Judges xx, 43, we learn that this Manahath is the same as Menuhah מנוחה, situated in the territory of Benjamin, which would naturally prevent the identification. However this subordinate point may be, the passages 1 Chron. ii, 52 and 54 seem to show tolerably clearly that there was at any rate a *Manahath* or *Menuhoth* in Judah, which was pretty nearly a namesake of that in Benjamin. It is this former one which would correspond to the *Manocho* of the LXX. In my opinion *Manocho*, otherwise *Manahath*, is probably nothing more than the village of Mâl’ha of this day.

Etymologically مالحة very exactly represents מנחת; the change of the *n* into *l*, or *vice versa*, is of constant occurrence in Arabic, especially in the vulgar Arabic spoken by the fellahin. So, when they say *Mâl’ha*, it is just the same as if they said *Mân’ha*. This slight euphonic alteration, which, I repeat, is perfectly justified by numerous parallel cases, must also have been motivated by the natural habit of the fellahin to turn ancient names into names which have a meaning for themselves. *Mâl’ha* had the advantage of appealing to their minds, because it means “salty,” a name which has no meaning if we take it literally.

Topographically, Mâl’ha suits quite well, as it is on the road to and not very far from Bettir, which appears together with *Manocho* in the catalogue of the LXX. Anyhow, it stands in that very district of Judah generally alluded to in the Greek passage which supplies what is wanting in the Hebrew text.

Schwarz (*Heil. Land*, p. 79) supposes that the *Manocho* of the LXX corresponds to a Hebrew form *Manûka* מנוכה. The Greek χ might, no doubt, after the fashion of the LXX, represent a *kaph*, but it quite as often represents a *heth*. Moreover, when this conjectural form *Manûka* is admitted, Schwarz has then to betake himself to another conjecture; he assumes a transposition of the letters of the name and likens it to the *Mekonah* of Nehemiah (xi, 28), one of the cities re-peopled after the captivity



VIEW OF ROCK ESCARPMENT NEAR BETTIR.

by the children of Judah. Finally, he likens it to the *Mechamim* or *Machamim*, spoken of by the *Onomasticon* as being between Jerusalem and Beit Jibrin, and eight miles distant from the latter.* This series of assumptions, each more improbable than the other, are very far from being trustworthy, especially if we remember, as Sir George Grove remarks (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v.), that the Mekonah of Nehemiah, being coupled with Ziklag, was probably situated much further to the south of Palestine. With regard to this Mekonah, Schwarz adds at the end of his paragraph, "oder Malcha s.d." But if we refer, as this bids us, to the article *Malcha* or Malchaja (p. 89), we see that he does not there breathe a word about the identification which he seems for a moment to have entertained, but which, like so many other unfounded resemblances, merely occurred to his mind without any serious grounds.

BETTİR (BITTİR).

On August 9, 1874, we paid a hurried visit to Bettir.† Our principal object was to look for an inscription which I had been told was there.

Here is a view of the rock escarpment near the village, which one would say was hewn by the hand of man, though it probably is not so in reality. At its foot runs an ancient road leading to the spring, a very plenteous one. Its water is received by an old channel, partly hewn out of the rock, and bordered by enormous blocks of stone, which originally must have completely covered it. At the mouth of this watercourse, on the left hand wall of rock, is the inscription which I wished to examine, set in a rectangular frame.

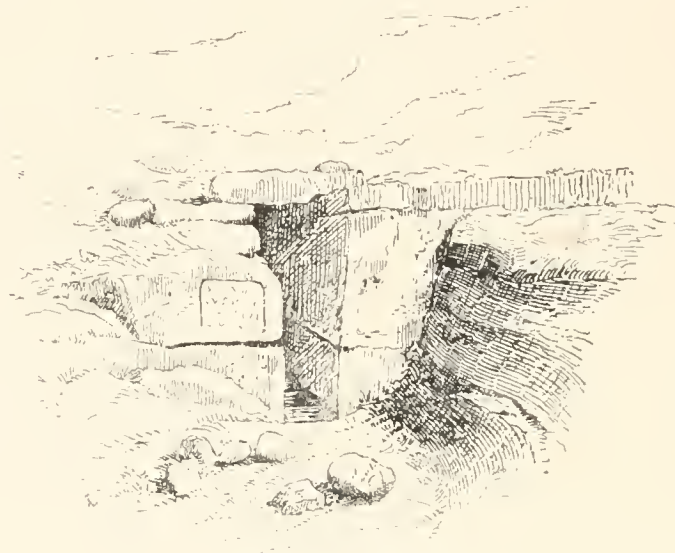
This inscription is perhaps one of those noticed by Beamont in 1854, and briefly mentioned by him in the following words: "I saw cut on the native rock, above the well, in passing into the village, a Greek inscription which was legible, and another which for some reason had been defaced."‡ However, as I am about to state, the inscription which I discovered is not

* Cf. Vol. II, p. 196.

† I find in my Note Book for 1870 (III, p. 28a) the following note: "A peasant woman of Bettir, named Sâfiyeh, told me that they once found at Bettir a little *sandûk* of soft stone (an ossuary) with carvings and an inscription."

‡ W. Beamont, *A Diary of a Journey to the East*, I, p. 317. Cf. *Memoirs*, III, p. 21 "Near the spring are caves and niches, with an effaced *Greek* inscription."

Greek, but Roman. It cannot, therefore, be the one mentioned by Beamont, except upon the supposition that he mistook both the language and the alphabet in which it was written. Tobler* also speaks of a much perished



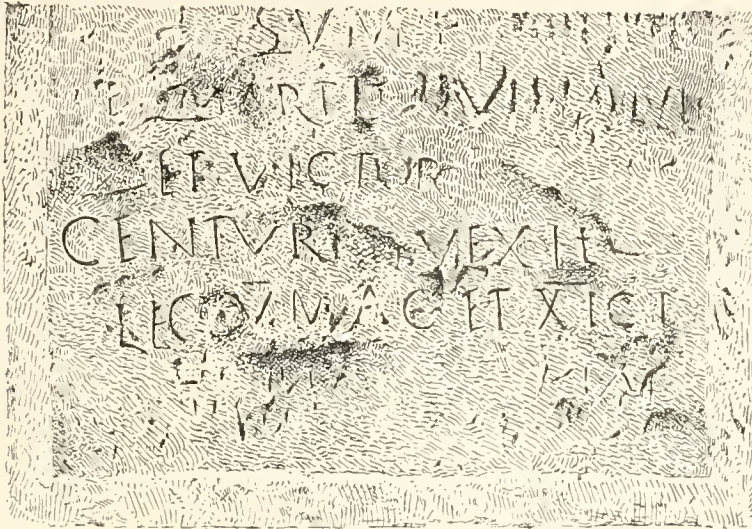
ENTRANCE TO THE SPRING.

inscription, of which he could only make out in the left hand upper part, the letters **ΕΖΝΤ**; the **Ε**, he says, is unmistakable. But he speaks of it as carved on a stone—*auf einem Stein*. If his notes or his recollections are not at fault, this inscription, which, by the way, he imagines to be Christian, cannot be that of which I am speaking, seeing that this latter is engraved upon the rock, and is certainly not Christian. Yet the four letters which he gives agree more or less with those which I made out at the beginning of the fourth line.


Our inscription is neither Byzantine nor Greek, but Latin and Roman. It consists of five, or perhaps six lines, set in a rectangular frame which measures about 0^m.50 × 0^m.35. Unfortunately, it is much perished, and I was not able to make it all out. This is all the more to be regretted, because the inscription, which undoubtedly dates from the time of the Roman Empire, might possibly have enabled us to set at rest the extremely vexed question of the identity of Bettir with Barcocheba's stronghold. Here is a facsimile made from the squeeze which I took, which is as good as it can be, considering the deplorable condition of the original.

* Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 102.

In the two first lines I can only make out a few more or less doubtful letters here and there. The restorations which might be suggested for them are too conjectural for me to discuss. It is probable that this part contained an account of some work accomplished by the personages mentioned in the



ROMAN INSCRIPTION NEAR BETTİR.

²
 . . SVM
² ¹
 . . MARI  V
 ET VICTOR
 CENTVR < VEXILL ·
 LEG · ⁵ · MAC · ET ¹¹ · CL

second part. Considering the position of the inscription, this work was probably connected with the watercourse, or with the distribution of the water.

The last three, and especially the last two lines, can be read with certainty :

. . . . et victor, centur(iones) vexill(ationum) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et XI Cl(audiae).

There can be no doubt that the inscription speaks of the centurions commanding two detachments of the Fifth Legion, surnamed "The Macedonian," and of the Eleventh Legion, surnamed "The Claudian" (Pia, Fidelis). What comes before this is very hard to recover, from the

dilapidated state of the inscription. One might, with M. de Villefosse, whom I have consulted on this subject, conjecture it to run thus:—

. . . V(alens) et Victor, centuriones, etc.,

making it give us the names of two Roman officers. Perhaps, however, it would be better to adopt the view of M. Cagnat, who has also been good enough to give me his advice upon this difficult matter, and consider that the text began with some formula of dedication to the great gods of Rome and to Victory, such as *explendi gratia*:

Jovi summo, Junoni, Marti . . . et Victor(iae Aug?).

In this case the centurions would not be mentioned by name, but only in an anonymous collective fashion. With regard to the last point, at any rate, I admit that I prefer this second view.

The Vth Legion (Macedonica),* together with the IVth (Scythica), was stationed in the East at the beginning of the Empire; Agrippa brought it to Syria from Spain, and established its veterans as colonists at Beyrouth. About the year 64, 65 of our era the two legions in Syria were the Vth (Macedonica) and the Xth (Fretensis). In A.D. 66, under the command of Vespasian and Titus, they joined in the war against the Jews. The Vth took a very active part in the storming of Gerizim and the siege of Jerusalem. After the destruction of Jerusalem Titus sent it to Mœsia. When Dacia became a Roman province, in the reign of Trajan, it was garrisoned by the Vth Legion together with the XIth (Claudia).

One might at first suppose our inscription to date from the period at which history shows that the Vth Legion (Macedonica) was campaigning in Judæa, that is, about the year 70. But the shape of the letters, and more especially various historical considerations of which I am about to speak, lead me to think that it is of a later date, in or near the reign of Hadrian. If indeed Bettir represents Bethar, and we must admit that this new piece of evidence gives great probability to this geographical identification, which hitherto remained doubtful, then we can only explain the fact of an important Roman garrison being posted there, by supposing it to have been after the tragedy enacted at that place during the dangerous insurrection under Barcochebas. We see, too, that besides the detachment of the Vth Legion (Macedonica), there was also at Bettir a detachment of the XIth

* For further details, see J. Pfitzner's *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser-Legionen von Augustus bis Hadrianus*, p. 238, *et passim*, and Pauly, *Realencyklopaedie*, s.v. *Legio*.

(Claudia). Now history says nothing about the exploits of this latter legion in the war waged by Vespasian and Titus against the Jews, and we may be sure that if it was not so mentioned, it was because it was not then present. Yet we have coins of Nero, and perhaps of Claudius, struck at Ptolemais, which bear the ensign of the XIth Legion, provided always that these extremely rusty coins have been correctly deciphered.* Anyhow, we know, what is most to the point, that it was stationed in Dalmatia in the reign of Augustus, and that down to the time of Hadrian it saw no active service except in the west (in Italy, and Germany in 70). In 86 Domitian sent it into Mœsia, and it must subsequently have been employed upon the Danube. In Trajan's reign it was quartered in Dacia *together with the Vth (Macedonica)*. It is impossible not to be struck by the fact that the two detachments mentioned in our inscription belong to these two very legions whose headquarters were in the same province when the last and most terrible of Jewish insurrections broke out. We know that the Romans had to make a considerable effort to put down this final assertion of Jewish national independence; they had to recall their best general, Julius Severus, from Great Britain. The victors sustained considerable loss; it was probably during this war of extermination that the XXIInd Legion (Deiotariana), which they brought up from Egypt, was utterly annihilated. They must have been obliged to fill up the gaps in the ranks by borrowing detachments from various legions stationed in other provinces of the Empire. Thus, an inscription (Orelli, No. 832) tells us that the VIIth Legion (Claudia), detached a *Vexillatio* for this purpose from Mœsia, where its headquarters were. We may conjecture that the Vth Legion (Macedonica), and the XI Legion (Claudia), quartered as they were side by side in Dacia, were also laid under contribution; that is why we find their *Vexillationes* together at Bettir. One can understand that the Romans, after their terrible experiences, must have held it important to keep a strong garrison in a strategic point which had been the bulwark of Barcocheba's insurrection, and which, standing as it did at no great distance from the new Jerusalem, now Aelia Capitolina, commanded the roads which connected that city with Ascalon and Gaza. I therefore infer that our inscription

* Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum*, VIII, p. 489. De Saulcy, *Numismatique de Terre Sainte*, p. 158.

is several years later than the year 135, and this date agrees perfectly with the style of its letters.

Seven years later, at Emmaus ('Amwâs), I discovered many fragments of Roman inscriptions, among which was an inscription mentioning a soldier who belonged to this very Vth Legion (Macedonica).^{*} We might suppose that this soldier was one of the 800 veterans whom Vespasian settled at Emmaus, and that when, at the end of Titus's campaigns, the Vth Legion was sent back again into Mœsia, it left a *Vexillatio* behind it at Emmaus.[†] The Bettir inscription, however, shows that this hypothesis, which is suggested by Prof. Mommsen in the *Corpus*, is not certain; the Emmaus soldier, like one of the two centurions at Bettir, may very well have belonged to the detachment of the Vth Legion which was called up from Mœsia about A.D. 135.

Emmaus (Nicomolis) commanded the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa, just as Bettir commanded the road from Jerusalem to Jamnia, Ascalon and Gaza on the one hand, and to Beit Jibrin on the other. They are two strategic posts each of which is, at it were, the complement of the other, and the Romans must have kept them strongly garrisoned at a time when they were keeping Judæa quiet by main force.

As I have said, it seems probable that the Bettir inscription relates to the watercourse. We know that the Roman garrisons were often employed upon great public works of this kind. But this is a matter of comparatively minor interest. Fortunately, the most essential part of the inscription has been preserved for us, I mean that which gives us, beyond any doubt, the names and numbers of the legions, and at the same time affords an

^{*} Clermont-Ganneau, *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie, entreprise en 1881*, pp. 61, 110, 10. Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinanum*, III, Suppl., No. 6647. Since then there has been discovered at Emmaus another Roman inscription mentioning alike a soldier of the Vth legion (Macedonica), and fully confirming my observations on this point. It is as follows: (*Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 131): "C(aius) Vibius Firmus, mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), (centuria) Pollionis, beneficiarius, milita(vit) annis XIIII, vixit annis XXXX. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). Saccia Primiginia conjug(i) suo f(ie)c(i)t." More recently still, Emmaus has given us a new epitaph of another soldier of the same legion: ". Lucius Sabinus (ou Sabinus?) Amasio (?), miles legionis V Macedonicae, centuria Stimini (?), annorum XXV militavit."

[†] Josephus in another passage (*De Bello Jud.*, IV, 8: 1) says, it is true, that Vespasian placed a detachment of the Vth Legion in an entrenched camp at Emmaus; but this is merely an allusion to a temporary occupation of the place in the course of the preliminary operations of his campaign against the Jews.

unexpectedly strong argument for identifying Bettir with Bethar. This is a new fact, of real importance as illustrating the history of Palestine.

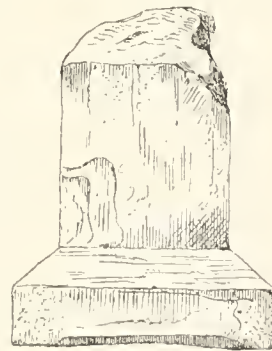
I communicated to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres** a paper containing the substance of the various conjectures stated above. Since then, Father Germer-Durand has given a new edition of the Roman text which I discovered, and which he has in his turn partly copied.† His copy differs considerably from mine in several particulars. I think it my duty to reproduce his version for the sake of comparison; it only includes the three last lines :

*mī]lit(avit) a[n (nis) . . . s[tipen(diis) centur(ialibus) [in] le(gione) X Fr(etensi)
et leg(ione) V Mac(edonica) et XI Cl(audia).*

The text had already suffered much when I copied it, twenty years ago, and must have suffered more in the interval, which may perhaps account for the discrepancies between the two versions. Having collated Father Germer-Durand's copy with the excellent squeeze that I took of the inscription, I think that I am in a position to defend my readings. I greatly doubt its being an epitaph, which he wants to make it out to be.

On the plateau which overlooks *Khūrbet el Yahūd*, near Bettir, and is called *El Harik* (حريق), there are some heaps of stones arranged in regular order. I noticed a kind of square cippus of hard stone, broken at the top, with its plinth; in its present condition it is more than a mètre high.

I believe it to belong to the same period as the Roman inscription. I have not found any trace of an inscription upon it. There may have been one on the upper part, which is gone, but might perhaps be found not far away. The fellahin call it *Hajr el Manjalik*, "the stone of the mangonel," and the local legend says that this is the spot where El Melek edh Dhâher placed his batteries of cannon to breach the *Khūrbet el Yahūd*!



BROKEN CIPPUS.

* Session of Jan. 19, 1894.

† *Revue Biblique*, Oct., 1894, p. 613. He gives 0^m.40 × 0^m.52 as the dimensions of the frame of the inscription.

This legend is evidently connected with a dim memory of some ancient siege of Bettir. The position has great strategic advantages, and if the Romans ever attacked Bettir, they must have occupied this as the base of their siege operations.* The compass bearings of *Hajr el Manjalik* which we took were: *Khūrbet el Yahūd*, 342°; *El Kabû*, 195° (?); *El Hausân*, 205°.

Close by there is another ruin called *Khūrbet Kuruzla*.

All this district deserves careful exploration; there is a possibility of discovering important inscriptions.

Father Germer-Durand has subsequently picked up in the valley a stone bullet measuring 0^m.30 in diameter, and weighing 41 kilogrammes. Apparently it is a projectile shot from one of the catapults used in the siege, which materially confirms the legend which I have just given.

More interesting still is the discovery at this spot of a milestone bearing the name of the Emperor Hadrian, with the date A.D. 130, and the number 8, counting from Jerusalem.† The road from Jerusalem to Beit Jibrîn passed through Bettir, as is proved by the milestones, in more or less good preservation, which mark it to this day: many of these are noted in the Map of Ordnance Survey.‡

* Twenty years later the same legend about this monument was picked up by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer (*Quarterly Statement*, 1894, p. 149). The only variant worthy of notice is that in the later version it was not El Melek edh Dhâher who "cannonaded" the Jews from this spot, but a certain "Neby."

† Germer-Durand, *op. cit.*

‡ Meanwhile yet another milestone belonging to the same road has been discovered further to the west, at *Beit Nettif* (Cagnat, *Revue des Études Juives*, Vol. XVIII). This one, which bears the names of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, belongs to the same period as the inscribed milestones of Jerusalem and 'Ajlûn which I have written about (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, pp. 207, 213, 280). Father Germer-Durand thinks that he can read the number 18 in Greek letters, giving the distance in miles from Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE NORTH AND NORTH-WEST SIDES OF JERUSALEM.

SHA'FÂT.

Here are some notes of various matters made in the course of a visit that we paid in February, 1874, to this village, which stands on the north of and not far from Jerusalem. I shall, however, first give the notes which I made previously, in 1870, which may serve to supplement or check them. I shall reproduce them literally as they stand in my note book.

Visit to Sha'fât.—On the outside of a house in the village I noticed the remains of a building of the time of the Crusades (?), perhaps of a church; pointed arches, windows of carefully-wrought stone.

About a quarter of an hour from the village is *Khûrbet el Moghram* (المغرم). A quarter of an hour from thence, to the south-west, at *Hakûrat Mich'al* (مشعل), they found about fifty years ago a *maghâra* with *sanâdîk*, or sepulchral coffers.

Ten minutes further on, in the same direction, are 'Ain and *Khûrbet Leshkeriyeh* (لشكرية—really pronounced *el eshkeriyeh* (الاشكرية?)); the spring has gone dry; one can still see the place cut in the rock.

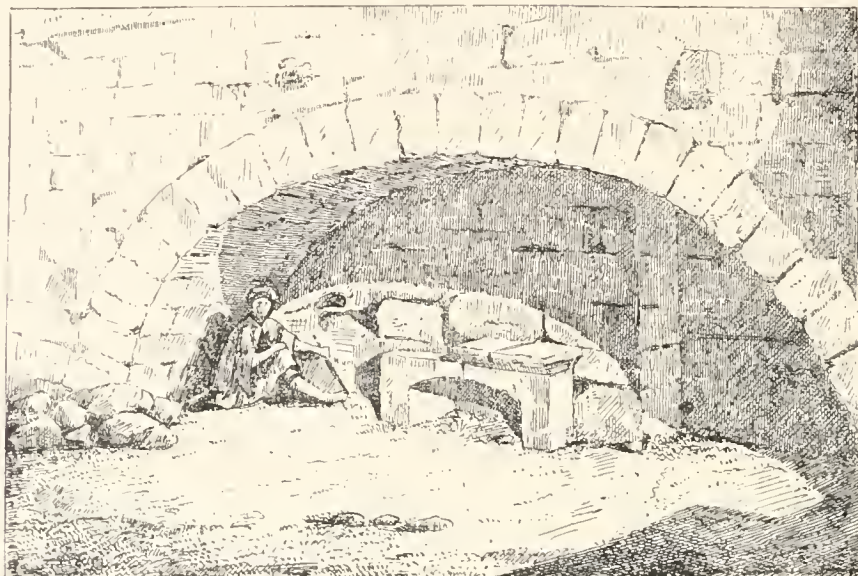
North-east of *Sha'fât*, and about three quarters of an hour's walk from it, after crossing *Wâd Kerem Abû Rîsheh* (كرم ابو ريشة), I came to *Khûrbet el 'Adaseh*; ruins of old stones, without mortar, not very large ones; some columns, underground buildings, and cisterns.

An ancient road, with a double line of great blocks of stone at the edges, runs all through this district.

I went with M. Lecomte to make a fresh examination of the ruins that the fellâhs call *El Kenûseh*, and which are imbedded in one of the houses of the village. Through the suffocating smoke which half blinded us we made out a piece of wall with two pointed windows, well enough built, looking east. There were no signs of an apse. The stones were not tooled in the fashion

peculiar to the Crusaders. Above, on a flat roof, under a vault, we noticed a curious stone chimney piece, very like that to which I once drew attention at Neby Samwil.

There is no spring in the village, or in the immediate neighbourhood. The local cistern is named *Sultân Ibrâhîm's*.



CURIOUS STONE CHIMNEY-PIECE AT SHA'FÂT.

According to tradition, Sha'fât was anciently called *Alaikon*; I have also heard the name of *Deir Mahrûk* (the burned convent). This name *Alaikon* is a very strange one, and I have not succeeded in ascertaining its origin. It was given me by a woman, whose statements I was afterwards able to test. I had often before noticed that in Palestine the women are far more antiquarian, so to speak, than the men, in their ways, their dress, their language, and their memories. I have often got information from them which I should have asked for in vain from the men.

Although so near Jerusalem, the fellahin of Sha'fât are very boorish and very suspicious. I had at first all the trouble in the world to get answers out of them. The woman who gave me the name *Alaikon* had scarcely said the word, before her husband checked her roughly, and proceeded to abuse her violently for having "betrayed it to a stranger." Some of them indeed were insolent as well as ill bred; one of them, when I asked his name, replied that he was called *Khobûz* ("Bread"). To this I replied that I was named

Tumm ("Mouth"), and would make one mouthful of him if he was rude to me. This repartee got the laugh on my side. I mention this little incident to show how one should deal with the peasants of Palestine, who are often bad fellows. I managed by degrees to win their confidence, and we ended by parting such good friends, that the fellâh whose house we visited to examine the *Kenâsch* actually refused to accept bakhsheesh!

According to another legend of the district, evidently of Christian origin, there was once upon a time at *Shafât* a king named *Yâchâfât*, who is mentioned in the Tora: it was he who gave his name to the country. I need not remark that this tradition has not even the advantage of being founded on etymological analogy, for the Hebrew name Josaphat does not contain the 'ain which we find in *Shafât*. Perhaps the existence close by of what is known as the valley of Josaphat, may have had something to do with the origin of this entirely artificial tradition.

One of the fellâhs told me that *Khûrbet el 'Adasch*, which I had visited three years before, was once called *Beit Lijjeh*. This fact, whose full importance I did not grasp at the moment, is, as I shall show, very interesting in connection with the mediæval topography of the Holy Land.

Among the twenty-two casals of the Domain of Jerusalem which Godfrey de Bouillon gave to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre after his conquest, there was one which has not hitherto been identified. It is called in the various documents wherein it appears, *Bettligge*, *Beitligge*, *Beteligel*, *Bethelegel*, *Bcuteligel*, and *Betdgge*. The two first forms seem to represent the proper Arabic name of the place; the other variants are due to clerical errors.

Herr Röhrich* suggests, with some hesitation, that we should identify it either with *Beit Likia*, or with *Beit Dukku*. But these identifications are not satisfactory either as regards the places or the name. It will be seen that this name of *Beit Lijjeh* which I picked up at *Shafât* exactly tallies with that of the undiscoverable casal of the Crusaders. Moreover, the position agrees perfectly: this casal is mentioned in connection with *Kefreachab* (= *Kafr 'Akâb*), *Aram* (= *Er Râm*), *Kalendie* (= *Kalandia*), *Byrra* (= *El Bîrch*), all of which are situated in the country just to the north of our *Khûrbet el 'Adasch*, otherwise *Beit Lijjeh*. The identification may therefore be regarded as certainly proved.

Now that I am dealing with this subject I propose to identify one of two

* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, IV, p. 204. Cf. *Memoirs*, III, p. 11.

casals, Bubil (variant Bubin), or Hubin (variant Hubim), which are mentioned together in the same group, with *Khūrbet Rūbîn*, south of and close to 'Ain *Kaniḥ* (= Ainqueene), assuming the "B" or "H" for the first letter to be a copyist's error for "R."

For Subahiet we may think of the ruins at 'Ain *Sūbiḥ*, to the north-west of Beitūnia; for Barimeta (Barmita, Barithmeta, Ramitta), of *Khūrbet Meīta*, south-west of the former place. The names of the two casals which come next, Ataraberet and Uniet (Urniet), which it has been proposed to identify with 'Attāra and *Beitūnia*, have probably been wrongly read by some copyist, who has taken the initial *Beit* or *Beth* of Beitūnia, and improperly attached it to *atara* in the distorted form *Bereth*: Atara + bereth + uniet. The name of the first casal appears in another mediæval document correctly spelt, "Aithara," without this parasitic appendage.

I have already (see p. 448) discussed in detail the sepulchre full of ossuaries which I investigated in the neighbourhood of *Sha'fât*, and which is probably the one that was pointed out to me by the inhabitants in 1870.

Here I shall do no more than mention the milestones which still mark the ancient Roman road through *Sha'fât*, and have often been observed. One of them, as is well known, bears a Roman inscription with the names of the Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. It has been published in the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* (III, No. 117); but it has not been noticed that this dedication, dated in the year 162 of our era, is accompanied by three lines of great interest in Greek, whose existence I can prove by a squeeze which was taken some years ago at my request: Ἀπὸ Κολ(ωνίας) Ἀιλίας Καπιτωλίνας, μιλ(ιάριον) ε', "The fifth milestone from the colony Aelia Capitolina." For a discussion of this belated discovery, and of the important historical and geographical conclusions which proceed from it, I must refer the reader to the detailed essay which I have devoted to the subject in my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* (I, p. 280; cf. p. 213).

NEBY SAMWIL.—A visit to Neby Samwil made in the company of M. de Vogüé and M. Lecomte. Here are tombs or houses hewn out of the rock: *Mghâret 'Awad* (مغارة), with *loculi*, entirely cut out of the rock or out of enormous detached masses of rock. Beside it is *Beit Abu 'Awad*, whose lower part is ancient, while its upper part has been remodelled. I observed many chimneys cut in the rock; courses of ashlar imitated in the rock; chimneys built of hewn stone; horizontal terraces hewn out of the rock, and forming the roofs of the houses (I mounted upon them).

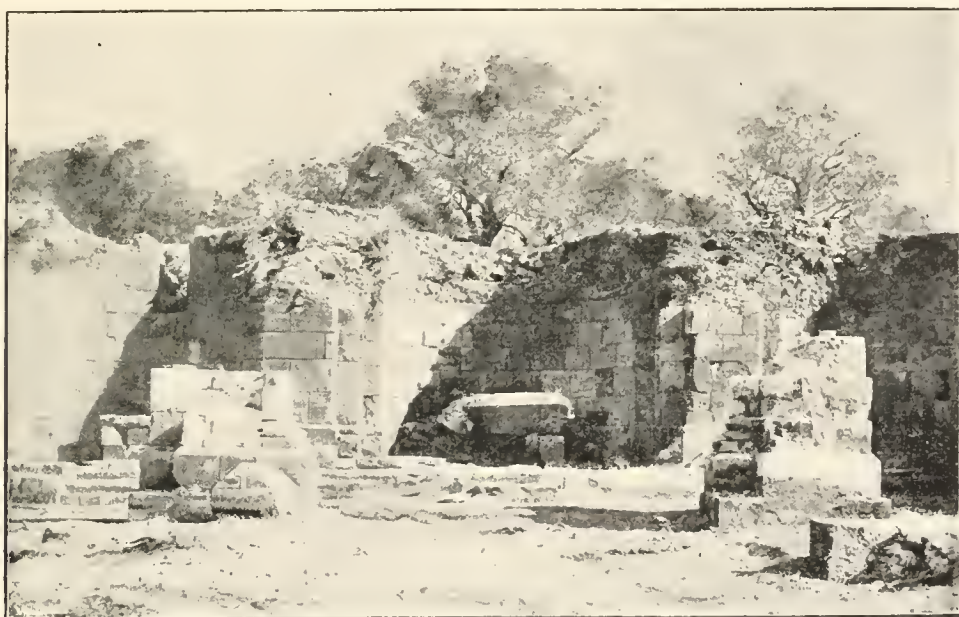
I found several different masons' marks. (See Special list.) We made a complete plan and elevation of the church.

A quarter of an hour before one reaches Neby Samwil, there is a ruin called *Beit Samwîl*, standing on a hill

KUBEÏBEH.

We went to examine the ruins of the ancient church that had just been discovered at Kubeïbeh, a village which, according to Franciscan tradition, represents the Emmaus of the Gospel. These ruins were buried under a mass of rubbish. Although the excavations were not yet finished, we were able to make drawings of the building, the chief results of which I give below.

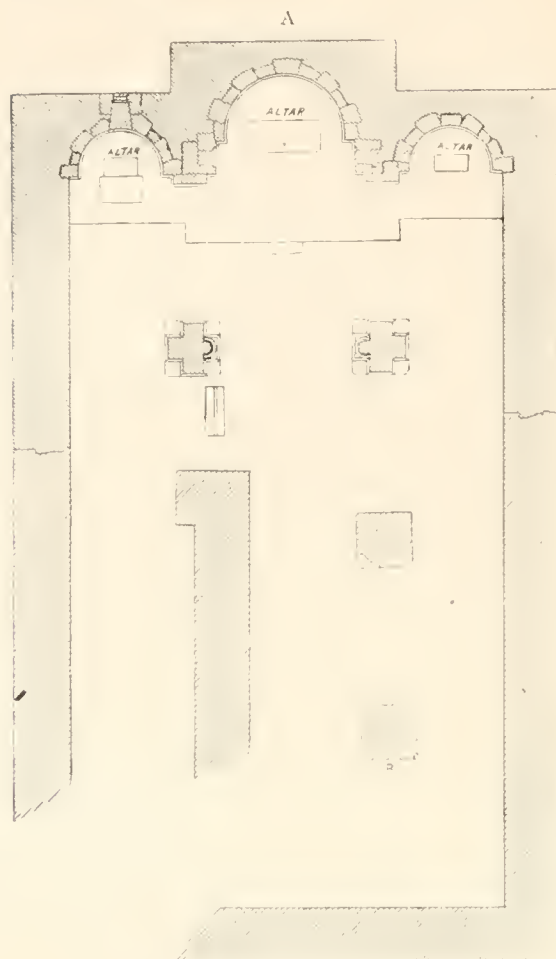
A drawing which cannot be reproduced, having been unfortunately lost by the engraver,* represented a fragment of sculptured marble which apparently formed part of an ancient holy-water stoup, of the same pattern as that which I discovered at Beit Nûba.†



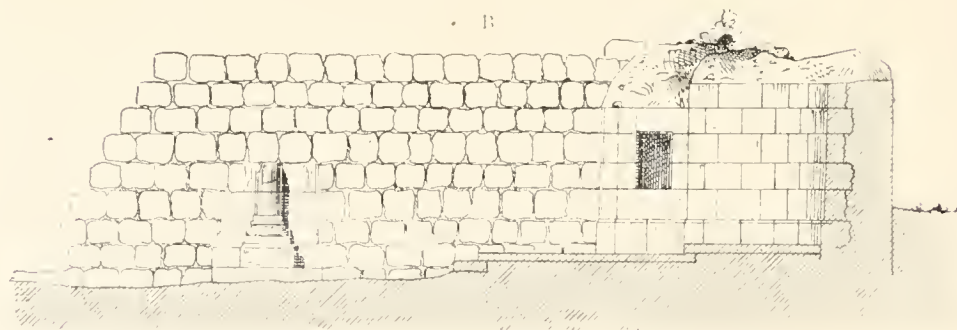
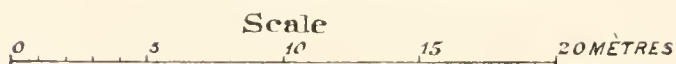
VIEW OF THE CENTRAL APSE AT KUBEÏBEH.

* The plate was numbered 58.

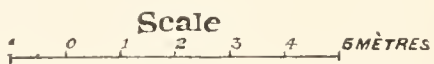
† See Vol. II, p. 73.



PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT KUBEÎBEH.*

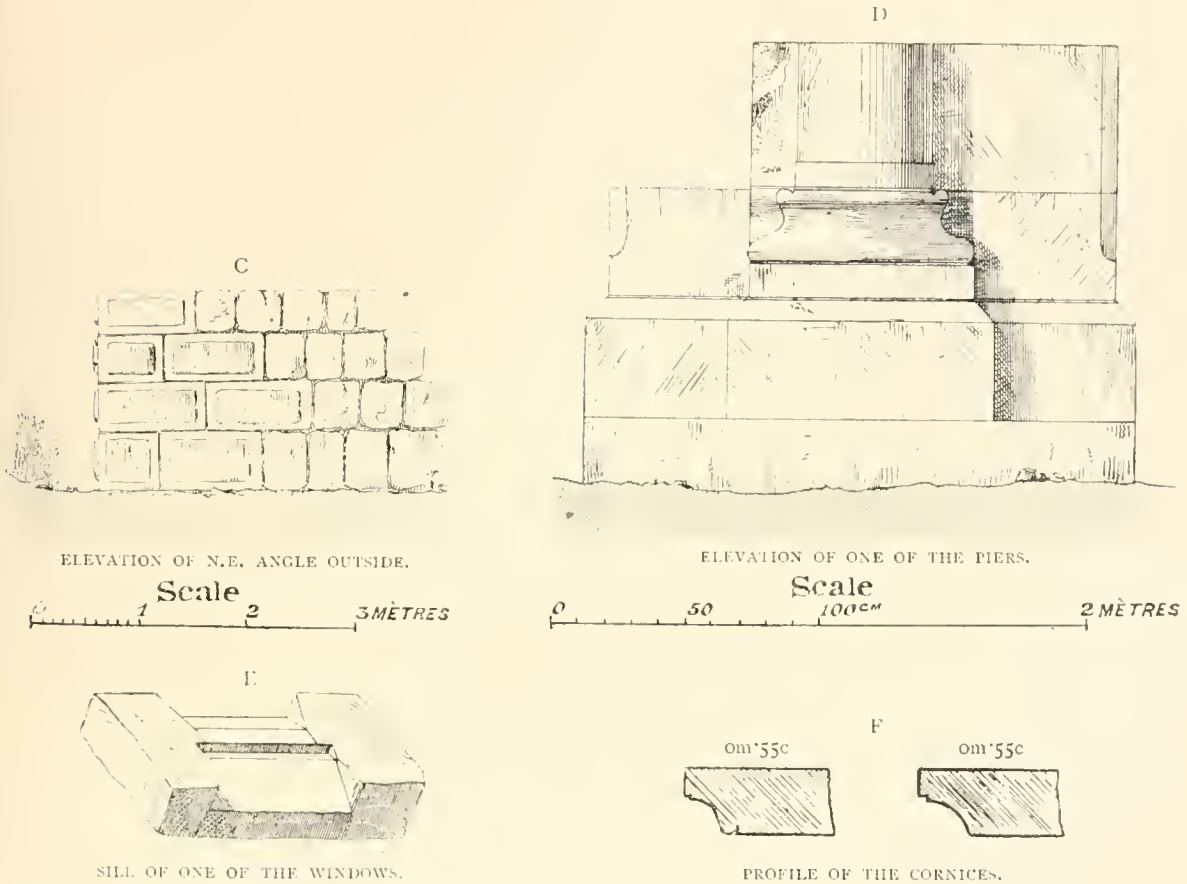


LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF CHURCH AT KUBEÎBEH.



* See the revised plan on p. 478 for the north-west angle.

The part of the plan which is shaded with lines close together shows that part of the building which still stands above the original level of the floor of the building; the strokes which are further apart show where the walls have been pulled down to the same level. The rock is visible at the point B, near the site of the south-east pier, of which only traces remain. Due south of the north-east pier, and quite close to it, was a

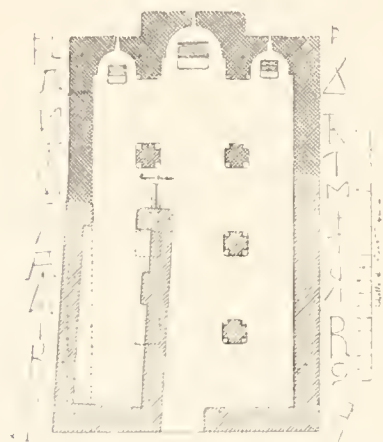


tombstone, probably mediæval, lying east and west; it is saddle-backed in shape, and bears on its small west end a Latin cross with one horizontal bar; on its east end it bears the same cross, but with a double horizontal bar.

The entire building seems to be the work of the Crusaders, as is proved both by the oblique strokes with which the stones are tooled and the numerous masons' marks. (See Special list.)

In the north-west angle one can make out the remains of a sort of large chamber which takes up the whole of the side of this little nave.

With regard to this part of the church, our plan has a mistake which it is important to set right. It arises from the fact that when our plan was made the removal of the earth from this part of the building was not yet complete. Further investigation has shown that the north-west angle of the church is not a right angle, but a decidedly acute one. This is clearly shown on the little plan* given below, which was made by Father



Prosper Marie, and was obligingly communicated to me by Father Victor, of the Franciscan Order, which owns the church.

Is this irregularity due to some after-thought, or to the existence of some earlier building which it was desired to include in the church? We may observe that there is an exactly analogous irregularity in St. Anne's Church in Jerusalem, also at the north-west angle.

Further excavations have disclosed some interesting facts: traces of fresco paintings on the walls near the side apses. The central monolithic high altar shows here and there the mediæval tooling. The remains of a mosaic pavement have been found on the floor of the great chamber at the north-west angle. Another tombstone, saddle-backed like the former, with two lateral slopes, and with the longer sides not parallel but sloping inwards, bears at one of its small ends a Greek cross with equal arms, slightly widened at the ends. Considering the size of this stone—it only measures 0^m.55 in length—we may presume that it covers the grave of a child.

* See also a good plan of this church in Mauss's *l'Église de St. Jérémie*, I, p. 41. The details of the tombstone mentioned above (visible in the artistic view which I have given on p. 475), the plan of one of the window-sills, of which I have given a perspective view, the profiles of a cornice and of one of the engaged columns (visible in our longitudinal section), and the plan of the pier whose elevation I have given, will also be found there.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE WEST SIDE OF JERUSALEM

VISITS TO BEIT TULMA, BEIT MIZZEH, KHÛRBET FARIÂN, ETC.

BEIT TULMA.—Here is the angle of an old wall built of drafted stones, roughly hewn; ruined houses with pointed vaults; the angle of a birkeh cut in the rock.

BEIT MIZZEH.—Here are ruins which prove that a very important ancient town stood on the spot, between the two wâdys; the ground, which is grey, as it always is on the sites of ancient towns, is thickly strewn with mosaic cubes, fragments of fluted pottery, etc.; we found wells, birkehs, and levellings of the rock for house building. The position of the town is superb, and it must have had a remarkable strategic value, as it commands the country round about on all sides. Such a site would be very suitable for the Roman colony of Ham-Môseh. To the north, on the other side of Wâdy Fât'ma, one sees the Wely of 'Abd el 'Aziz. One branch of the wâdy is known as Wâdy *Nubar* (نوبار). Several rock-hewn sepulchres here; one, among others, with three arcosolia.

BEIT IKSÂ.*—Ruins of old buildings; Wely of Sheikh *Tayim* (or *Itayim*). The inhabitants assert that the village was of yore called *Jenanâra* by the Franks.

LIFTÂ.—Here is an ancient *kenêsch* called *El Jaffâta* (جفاتا). Can *Liftâ* be the name of the ancient city of *Eleph*, of the tribe of Benjamin, by aphaeresis of the initial *aleph* and the addition of an Aramaic termination?

About half an hour's journey north of Liftâ is Khûrbet *Beit Kîka*.†

BEIT IRZÂ.—I have ascertained that this is the true form of the name, which is sometimes wrongly written *Beit Tirzâ*. The initial *I* may be a euphonic addition = *I*, and the real word may be something like *R'zâ* (رزا).

KÛLONIEH.—According to some of the inhabitants of this village, its ancient name was *Kelâûn Elfa*,‡ but they add that it is the "Khawâjât" who

* As to the existence of Beit Iksâ in the fifth century, see my memoir on *The Life of Peter the Iberian* (a Syriac work), in my *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 20.

† It must be the Kh. *Mekika* of the Ordnance Survey Map.

‡ It would be a mistake to try to see in this word *Elfa* a trace of the name of *Eleph*, the city of the tribe of the children of Benjamin (Josh. xvii, 28). It is nothing more than a popular modification of *Elfy*, the historical nickname of Sultan Kelâûn, who before he ascended the throne was a Mameluke slave, and was sold for the sum of a thousand (*elf*) dinars.

call it so. Some maintain that the name is drawn from that of Sultan *Kelâîn*. But this curious explanation must not be taken seriously, as the name of Kûlônîeh appears in documents much earlier than the date of this Sultan. In the *History of the Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem*, a Greek work translated from the Syriac,* in an account of an episode of the war between Leo Isauricus and Suleimân, the son of the Caliph Abd el Melik,† mention is made of the spring of Kûlônîeh, near Jerusalem : κατὰ τήν κρήνην Κολωνείας.

In a field on the south side of the road, opposite to the angle of the ruined building with drafted stones, I found two great voussoirs with mediæval tooling, which prove that the Crusaders established themselves at Kûlônîeh.

SÔBA, RAFIDIA, ABU GHÔSIL.

SÔBA.—The ethnic of *Sûbâ* is *Sûbâny*, plural *Sawâb'neh*; that of *Kastal*, the next village to Sôba, is *Kastalâwy*, plural *Kasâl'leh*. The inhabitants really pronounce it *Sôba*, *Sôbâny*; they say that in the language of the Christians the word is *Sôñich*. It was, once upon a time, they say, one of the cities of the famous Fenîch.

Sôba was once encircled by a fortified wall made of fine blocks of stone,



FORTIFIED WALL AT SÔBA.

some stately fragments of which still remain. Here is one of them which stands at the entrance to the village.

The wall was built upon an escarpment cut in the rock. We noticed

* It has been edited by Papadopoulos Kerameus, from the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in the Collection of the Russian Palestine Society.

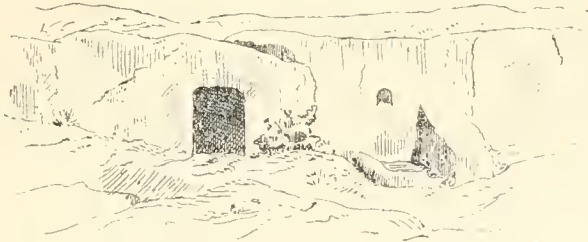
† Σολομὴν ὁ τοῦ Ἀνακτόουλου. (*Ἀνακτόουλος* is the literal translation of *Abd el Melik*.)

there a great number of blocks of stone showing the oblique mediæval tooling; many of them bore masons' marks (see Special plate).

Other blocks of remarkable size were hewn with a pick. Many of them have bosses. I noticed twice on the lower side of a voussoir, that from which an arch springs, what I have often observed elsewhere, the oblique mediæval tooling on the flat part, next to tooling in the direction of the axis of the cylinder on the rounded part. One of these has a mason's mark on the flat side, consisting of an S lying on its side. We observed also a piece of a gargoye or gutter with mediæval tooling.

All these are certain proofs that Sôba was the site of a considerable station in the time of the Crusades; the difficulty is to identify it with one of the casals mentioned at that period. None of the various identifications which have been proposed seem to me at all satisfactory. The site must be an ancient one; but it is even more difficult to determine what Biblical town it represents.

The ancient cemetery is at *Shêb Elyâs*, a little valley seven or eight minutes' walk to the north of the village, on the left hand side of the road



ROCK-CUT TOMB NEAR SÔBA.

One of the sepulchres hewn in the rock has a curious arrangement at its entrance; one sees on the right hand side of the door a little square tank hewn in the rock, and above it a little arched niche. This tank was probably used for ablutions connected with the funeral rites.

Not far from this, one sees a great esplanade cut horizontally out of the rock, with presses, basins, cisterns, etc., which indicate that there must have been a considerable agricultural industry here.

RAFIDIA.—As we returned from our little excursion to Sôba, we passed by *Rafidia*, a small ruin which stands about three-quarters of an hour to the north of Abu Ghôsh. I observed, among other antique remains, a sarcophagus ornamented with a cross; a little further on we found the lid. The position of Rafidia is not marked in the map; it was not till long afterwards

that it was noticed by Herr Schick,* who, by the way, knows it only by hearsay. According to the fellahin who told him about it, it is as far to the south of Ketanneh as Kefireh is to the north of it, and has notable springs. The name sounds ancient; it occurs in exactly the same form in quite another region, in the direction of Nâblus (Map XI, m.o.).† The repetition of names of places generally shows that the name is an ancient one.

— ABU GHÔSH.—The height which stands close to the village of Abu Ghôsh on the south side was pointed out to me as *Bâtên el Khcîmeh*, "The Hill of the Tent," or "Of the Encampment." This name reminds one somewhat of that of *Mahaneh-Dan*, or "The Camp of Dan;" behold, it is "behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judges xviii, 12).‡

Some minutes' walk to the north-west of the village there is a well whose water is reported to possess healing virtues (*shifâ*); it is called *Bîr 'Ankûsh* (عنكوش).

* *D.P.V. Mitth. und Nachr.*, 1895, p. 44.

† The *Name Lists* spell it with a *dhâd*, and give it therefore the meaning of "Infidels." But I have not remarked, at least in the case of the one near Jerusalem, that the name contains an emphatic dental—the termination *îr* seems to point to an old Aramaic form.

‡ This is probably the hill marked on the P.E.F. Map under the less suggestive name of *Bâtên es Saghîr*. For the other *Bâtên* in the neighbourhood of Abu Ghôsh, see Vol. II of these *Researches*, pp. 64 and 489.

CHAPTER XIX.

AT 'AMWÂS.

A thorough exploration of 'Amwâs, with subsequent excavations, was one of the items on my programme of research. I attached all the more importance to this point because when I succeeded in fixing, as I may say, with mathematical certainty the site of the Biblical town of Gezer at Tell el Jezer,* I found that at the same time I had definitely, and not less certainly settled that 'Amwâs is indeed Emmaus-Nicopolis, the base from which the Onomasticon takes its bearings and measures its distances to indicate the position of Gezer.

Unluckily circumstances did not permit me to carry out this project. Later, in 1881, I was rather more fortunate, and made some important discoveries at 'Amwâs. Of these I do not now† speak, because they belong to another archæological campaign. However, as I passed through 'Amwâs three or four times in the course of my excursions in 1874, I had opportunities for making some observations which appear to me not to be without interest. I had indeed begun to make a small excavation in the old church through the agency and under cover of the name of a fellâh whom I could trust, for I could not proceed openly because I had no firman, and more especially because of the strained relations which the Gezer incident had established between me and the local authorities. It was not a removal of earth, but a simple excavation to try to reach the level of the original floor of the church. I hoped to find an ornamental mosaic pavement, such as one

* See Vol. II, pp. 224-275.

† See, for an account of some of the results of my researches at 'Amwâs, my work entitled *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, pp. 16-38, 60, 61, 105, 106. I shall only mention among these discoveries that of the first known inscriptions connected with the soldiers who formed the Roman garrison of Emmaus-Nicopolis. They belonged to a *Vexillatio* of the Vth Legion Macedonica (see *supra*, p. 466). This conclusion has since been confirmed by the discovery of other similar inscriptions. (See *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 131, and 1898, p. 253.)

finds in the ancient Byzantine churches of Syria, possibly with an inscription that would have enabled us finally to settle the much vexed question of the identity of 'Amwâs, not only with Nicopolis, but also with the Emmaus of the Gospel. This attempt, which was undertaken under unfavourable conditions, had a negative result.* But the idea by which I was guided was true, and the event finally justified it. Indeed, some years later, the ruins of the church were purchased by Mademoiselle de Saint Cricq, and excavations were begun in earnest under the direction of the lamented Captain Guillemot. The first thing discovered by them was the curious capital bearing a bilingual inscription in Samaritan-Hebrew and Greek, which I have discussed elsewhere † in detail.

Subsequently, April, 1881, in consequence of my importunities, Mlle. de St. Cricq and Captain Guillemot pushed on their excavations so as to search for the mosaic pavement the existence of which I had guessed, and my expectations were fully confirmed.‡ The first fragment of a fine mosaic pavement was unearthed at a distance of about 25 mètres from the end of the central apse, in the north-west angle of that part of the nave which was rebuilt by the Crusaders within the original basilica.§ -One can still make out the angle of a border in the Byzantine style composed of an elegant interlaced pattern; the rest unfortunately has been destroyed by the work of the Crusaders. Shortly after this another fragment of mosaic work, in the same style, but far more interesting, was brought to light a dozen mètres to the

* It however brought me to an important general conclusion, which has since then been entirely confirmed. This is, that the Church at 'Amwâs, like the Church of Sanda Hanna at Beit Jibrin (see Vol. II of the present work, pp. 447-451), which it resembles in more than one particular, is anterior to the time of the Crusaders, and was remodelled by them. This is proved by the mediæval tooling and the masons' marks which exist on the face of the stonework in certain parts of the building. Thanks to these unerring guides, one can now settle with accuracy to which period each part of the building belongs.

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Rapports, etc.*, pp. 20-33.

‡ In 1881 I had stated them thus (*op. c.*, p. 33): "In my opinion there is a chance of finding there, amongst other things, a mosaic pavement with a decorative pattern, perhaps accompanied by an inscription, which would tell us more about the past history and origin of the church than all the conjectures which we are now reduced to forming."

§ It is well known that the church at 'Amwâs, I mean the original building as well as that which was remodelled by the Crusaders on a smaller scale, presents the singular anomaly of not standing east and west, but almost exactly north-west and south-east; the magnetic north being at 360°, the major axis of the building passes through 322°, making a deviation to the N.W. of 38°.

north-west of a remarkable font which may be seen in the chapel that has been built up against the left hand hall of the basilica.* This second mosaic pavement has also been greatly injured by the alterations made by the Crusaders, and this is all the more to be regretted because it contained a fine inscription in three lines, the beginning of which alone has been spared.†

It might have been something like the following :—

+ Ἐπὶ Π(? . . . †) [τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου, ἐτελειώθη τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς ψη]φώσε(ω)ς, ἔτ(ους “In the time of . . . our Right Reverend Bishop, the whole of this mosaic work was finished, in the year”

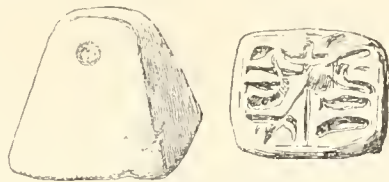


Although mutilated in its most essential parts (the bishop’s name, perhaps also the name of the place, and the date), this text, at any rate, proves one thing, namely, that ‘Amwās was once a bishop’s see. This is a new argument in favour of its identification with Emmaus-Nicopolis, a city which was indeed once a bishop’s see.

However, I now come to the results of some very limited researches which I was able to make at ‘Amwās in 1874.

First, here are some small things which I obtained from the fellahin.

1. A sort of seal or amulet shaped like a prism or truncated pyramid ; it is of stone (?), pierced transversely ; the side of the pyramid measures 0^m.03 in height. On the base there are a symbol or letters of uncertain character.

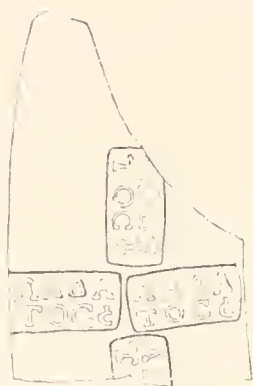


2. Fragment of the rim of a great circular vase with very thick sides, bearing, deeply impressed and four times repeated, a stamp containing two lines of Greek characters. These four stamps, measuring 6.0 by 3.0 centi-

* The lines may have been much longer than the broken part shown here would seem to indicate.

† Perhaps the bishop’s name began with Πρ . . . , and was some name like Πρίσκος, Προκόπιος, or something of the sort. It would be desirable to verify this by reference to the list, unfortunately a very incomplete one, of the bishops of Nicopolis, whose names have been preserved to us in documents to which I have not access.

‡ The plan of the basilica of ‘Amwās, with its baptismal chapel added on the left side, reminds one greatly of that of the African basilica of Rusuccuru (Tigzirt), which was erected about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. (See Gavault, *Bibliothèque d’Archéologie Africaine*, fasc. II, pp. 88 and 65.)



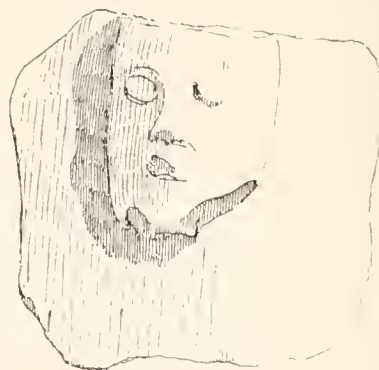
mètres, are arranged, perhaps intentionally, in a cruciform pattern.

It seems to be a proper name, **ΛΑΔΑΤΟC**, with an eighth character or symbol whose meaning I do not grasp. As the letters are clogged up, one might possibly read **ΑΛΔΑΤΟC**, although that is a less probable reading. I do not exactly know how to explain either of these two names. Perhaps we ought to set apart **ΔΑΤΟC** = *Datus*? and in that case regard **ΛΑ** as two initial sigla of the pronomen and the Gentile name, for example *L(ucius)* and *A(ulus)*, or rather *A(urelius)* (?).

3. A roughly hewn piece of sculpture on a fragment of marble brought from the church. It represents a human head, probably belonging to the

Crusading period.

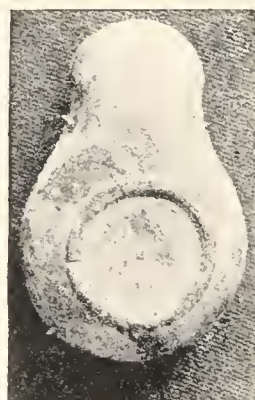
4. Three terra-cotta lamps very different in shape and ornament to the lamps of the Byzantine period. They belong to the family of lamps which I am tempted to regard as peculiarly Jewish. All three of them show the rudimentary prism-shaped handle, and, under the base, the round cushion with a projecting central knob, which seem to me to be the characteristic features of the Jewish make.



Excavation



A.



A. Yellowish clay, polished: elegant decoration, very delicately

wrought : a diota vase, with gadroon ornaments round the belly, ending below in two bunches of grapes, side by side ; the chevrons fretted and beaded.



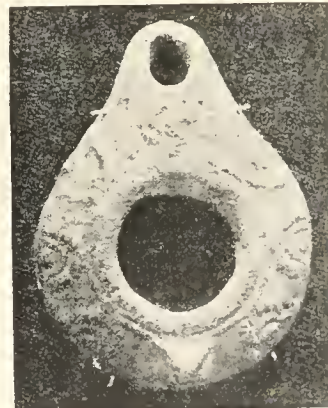
B.



B. Same mixture of clay, similiary polished ; three fruits (*ethrogs* (?) or pine apples) with big dots symmetrically arranged between them ; wreath-like chevrons, but more simply wrought than the former.



C.



C. Same mixture of clay, same general style, but ornament simpler ; and also in bad preservation ; round the edge, concentric half circles ; towards the burner, an indistinct symbol. The underneath part is remarkable for its series of concentric circles in relief, surrounding the central knob, inside the round base. Observe the three cross strokes drawn in slight relief across the under side of the spout.

— I just mention here a fragment of a Cufic funerary inscription on marble* which I cannot discuss, not having it before me as I write.

— In the village also, in the fronts and the interiors of many houses to

* Rough List, No. 126 (Vol. II).

which I succeeded in obtaining admittance, I noticed sundry sculptured fragments built into the walls, capitals of columns, pieces of friezes, etc., which must have either come from the old church, or from some other ancient building.

— Between the church and Lâtrûn there is a group of rock-hewn sepulchres belonging to the type of tombs to which one gains access by descending a little shaft; they have two arcosolia on either hand.

— Close to the block-house, but on the other side of the road, I noticed a great stone base, with a scrap of a column still adhering to it, which is perhaps an ancient milestone.

The Plague-Well and the Plague of Emmaus.—‘Amwâs is abundantly supplied with water. One may almost say of it now what Pliny said of it long ago, “fontibus irriguam Ammaum.” One sees at different places in the village several springs or wells of living water. Some of these must be or have been fed by aqueducts. Among others, I was told by the fellahin that there was in ancient times a great aqueduct which brought water to ‘Amwâs from *Bîr et Tînch* (near the present road, not far from Bîr Ayûb). This aqueduct is probably that whose ruins can still be traced to the south of ‘Amwâs. Another very considerable aqueduct discharges its contents near ‘Amwâs, after winding all round the hill upon which Lâtrûn stands. All these very remarkable hydraulic arrangements must have been the work of the Romans, who made Emmaus-Nicopolis one of their chief military stations in Palestine.

One of these springs, close to the village on the east side, bears the odd enough name of *‘Aîn Nînî*. In Arabic *nini el âin*—just the same two words transposed, and the second taken in a different sense—means “pupil of the eye.” Is this a simple coincidence? Can there perchance lurk in the word *nînî* any reminiscence of the ancient name of Nicopolis? *‘Aîn Nînî*, it appears, often dries up in summer.

One of the wells of ‘Amwâs bears the suggestive name of *Bîr et Tâ’ûn*, “the Plague-well.”* Its site is shown on the west side of the village. Other fellahin, however, have assured me that its true site is not known. It is filled up at this day, they say, because it was from thence that once upon a time the Plague issued forth to spread itself over all the world. As I have

* According to another piece of information, which I was not able to check personally, this well is also called *Bîr el ‘Azarîn* (*Revue Biblique*, 1894, p. 84, note). Can this be a corruption of the name of *‘Azrâil*, the Angel of Death?

shown in my Report in 1874, it is easy to discover the origin of this tradition, which has a real historical foundation. The terrible epidemic which in A.H. 18 decimated the Mohammedan army after the conquest of Southern Syria by Omar's lieutenants, and is so often mentioned by the Arab chroniclers, is always spoken of by them under the name of "The Plague of Emmaus" (*Tâ'în 'Amwâs*), probably because the first cases manifested themselves in this town. From this it was only one step further to localise the birth of the plague in this place, and even to make it come out of a well. It is, moreover, possible that the pollution of the water may have greatly contributed if not to the birth, at all events to the propagation of the epidemic. We may suppose that at that time the Arabs had considerable forces concentrated at this important strategic point, which commanded the road to Jerusalem. This camp, apparently, became a regular centre of infection, from whence the pestilence spread by the ordinary channels of contagion to the other bodies of troops, more especially to the corps which was operating in the region to the east of the Jordan.

This tradition has taken deep root at 'Amwâs, as I shall presently show, and has exercised a very marked influence on the formation of the local legends, while departing, after the manner of traditions, further and further from historical truth. I here give what I was told by the fellahin about this subject.

When the plague first made its appearance at 'Amwâs, the inhabitants, who were all *Yahûd* (Jews), for the most part ran away, and almost all those who stayed behind died. When the scourge had passed, the fugitives returned and lived in the town again. But the following year the epidemic broke out among them again, and this time the inhabitants all perished, not having had time to escape from this second attack by flight. Then came *Nebî 'Ozeîr* (Esdras), who found them all dead, men, women and children. After asking God why He had so grievously smitten this land, the prophet besought the Almighty to bring his victims to life again, to which He consented. Since this time the Jews have been surnamed *Ûlâd el miteh*, the "children of the putting to death" (or "of the dead").

The fellahin also assured me that it was to the existence of this plague that the town of 'Amwâs owes its name. They say, indeed, of this plague (*tâ'în*): *'amm—u—asa*, "it spread generally, and it has . . ." I have not been able to make out exactly the sense in which this legend understood the second verb, as when I was taking my notes I neglected to make inquiries on this point of the fellahin who were telling me the story. I do not of

course in any way vouch for the truth of this etymology, which is evidently an artificial one, like many others of the same character which one meets with in the mouths of the fellahin of the present day, just as one does in the Bible stories, as I have often been led to remark. The method has not changed.

It may perhaps be amusing to compare with this popular etymology of the name of 'Amwâs a philological explanation *ejusdem farinae*, which has been bequeathed to us by St. Jerome on this same subject of Emmaus. This learned Father of the Church, brought up in the school of the Rabbis, translates the name of Emmaus by "populus abjectus."* This clearly proves that he derived the word from עַם, 'amm, "people," and מֵאוֹס ma'ôs, "refuse," or מאֹוּס, "rejected" (from בִּיאַס, "to reject.") St. Jerome seems to wish to allude to various passages in the Bible where the word בִּיאַס is applied by the Christian exegesis to the Jewish people; he seems to have had notably in his mind Lam. iii, 45, "Thou hast made us as the offscouring and refuse (בִּיאַס) in the midst of the peoples (עַמִּים)."

An interesting fact, to which attention has not hitherto been sufficiently directed, and which I was the first to point out, follows from this last etymology, which is more ingenious than probable: it is, that in the time of St. Jerome the Semitic name of Nicopolis was pronounced "Ammaôs," or "Emmaus," with the *ain*; and that consequently the Arabic form 'Amwâs † comes much nearer to the original than the Talmudic reading Amaûs, with the *aleph* (אמאוס), which probably reproduces the Greek.‡ This etymology of St. Jerome is moreover another proof, if proof were wanting, that to his mind the Emmaus of the Gospel was Nicopolis, and consequently the 'Amwâs of our own time. It also shows us that the name of this Emmaus has no connection with the word *Hamath* "hot spring," as

* Alias "abjicientis" (= 'amm mœs); λαὸν ἀπορρίπτωντος.

† The actual pronunciation is 'Emwâs, which agrees with the ancient arrangement of vowels noted by Zamakhshary (in the *Mo'jem* of Yâkût), عَمَوَاس, together with the slightly different form عَمَوَاس. Several fellahin have told me that the village was also called *Ommâs*. I think it unnecessary to quote the well enough known passages in various Arabic writers in which 'Amwâs is mentioned. There is one, however, which calls for remark, because it presents a difficulty. It is that of Ibn Khillikân (Cairo edition, Vol. II, p. 537), who speaks of 'Amwâs as a village of Syria situated between Nâblus and Ramleh. I have no doubt that نَابِلُس, *Nâblus*, is a wrong reading for اَيْلِيَا, *Ailiâ* (Aelia Capitolina), that is to say, Jerusalem.

‡ We find in the Talmud the variants אַמאָס, אַמאָוּס, אַמאָוּס, etc. (*cf.* Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 100).

some authors have maintained : this last word is indeed radically different, being written with a *heth* ; the same remark applies to the analogy which some have endeavoured to establish between it and the name of the Biblical town *Ham-mosah*.*

I have already said that according to the local legend the famous Plague-well was filled up after the epidemic which it was accused of having caused. While thinking the matter over, I asked myself whether this characteristic part of the legend—the filling up of the well—might not be, as so often happens in folk lore, the result of an amalgamation of two very different events. Sozomen, in a well known passage,† informs us that there was at Emmaus, at the junction of three roads which met there, a spring endowed with miraculous virtues for the healing of men and beasts. It owed these supernatural powers to the fact of Christ's having washed his feet therein. The same tradition is related by other authors, such as Cassiodorus, the pilgrim Willibald, Cedrenus, etc. Georgius Theophanes adds an interesting detail, which may very possibly be true ; it is that the Emperor Julian (the Apostate) had the miraculous spring at Emmaus *filled up*, evidently in order to destroy, by the same stroke, the Christian belief of which it was the subject. Who knows if it was not this blocking up of the healing spring which by some mental confusion became the starting point of the local legend of the filling up of the Plague-well? Although this may not absolutely prove the well condemned by Julian to be the very Bir et Tâ'ûn, it does at all events show that the place now called 'Amwās, which undoubtedly represents Emmaus-Nicopolis, was in the time of Julian also held to be the Emmaus of the Gospel.

Mu'âl, son of Jabal.—The most important, and most conspicuous Mussulman sanctuary in 'Amwās is that which stands on the hill some 500 mètres to the south of the village. It appears on the P. E. Fund Map under the name of *Sheikh Mo'allâ* الشيخ المعلى, a name which is interpreted in the name lists by "lofty." I have heard the name pronounced *Ma'alleh*, and also *Mu'âl*, or *Mo'âl* ; but these are merely shorter or less accurate forms ; the complete name, as I have on several occasions noted, is *Sheikh Mu'âl iben Jabal*.‡ Although they do not know anything about its origin, the fellahin have an extraordinary reverence for this sanctuary ; they declare

* Josh. xviii, 26.

† Hist. Eccl., v, 21.

‡ Or, to get nearer to the pronunciation of the peasants, *Mo'âl iben Jebel*.

that it is often the scene of a supernatural apparition; that of an old man, with a long white beard, mounted on a green mare, and holding in his right hand a pike (*harbch*) wherewith he slays his enemies. This is the *Sheïkh*, of whom they stand in holy awe. This legend, and the name of the personage, puzzled me greatly, and it was not without some trouble that I discovered the answer to the riddle. It is directly derived from the historical memory of the famous Plague of 'Amwâs, in connection with the Plague-well. The Arab* historians tell us, as I have already explained, that the epidemic originated at 'Amwâs, whence it took the name by which it is known in their chronicles. Among the most illustrious victims of the disease was one of the companions of Mahomet, Abû 'Abd er Rahmân *Mu'adh ben Jabal*, who was entrusted by 'Omar with the organisation of the conquered country. This personage died beyond Jordan, and was buried there.† I have no hesitation in identifying him with the *M'uâl ben Jabal* whose pretended tomb is shown at 'Amwâs. The patronymic, "son of Jabal," is the same; as for the name itself, the *dhâl* of *Mu'adh*, *ذع*, has been altered into *lâm* in the pronunciation of the fellahin. It is an interesting change to note in connection with the peculiar phonetic of the vulgar dialect, a fact which may find its application when comparing the modern forms of the names of ancient places in Palestine with the earlier ones.‡

We may presume that originally this monument was merely commemorative, and that local tradition has at last wrongly ended in regarding it as the real tomb of this celebrated personage, inferring from his having succumbed to the "Plague of 'Amwâs" that he died and was buried at 'Amwâs itself. However, the mistake of the legend on this point must be a very ancient one, for as early as the twelfth century, 'Aly el Herewy has the

* For details, see the excellent memoir, *La conquête de la Syrie*, III, p. 128, by M. de Goeje.

† As for the exact place in which he was buried, a topographical question connected with that of the place where Jesus was baptized, see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. I, p. 344, *et sqq.* I may add that instead of *Deir Fâkhûr*, many Mohammedan writers, for example Belâdhory and Vâkût, call the place where Mu'adh ben Jabal died and was buried, *Ukhuâna*. Possibly there has been a clerical confusion between the forms *فأخور* and *أقحوانة* or *قحوانة*. I have established the exact position of *Ukhuâna*, and its identity with the *Cauan* of the Crusaders, in my *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 123.

‡ I may quote as an analogous, if not identical example of the substitution of a *lâm* for a *dhâl*, the name of the celebrated Sûfi, *Sidy 'Udayi*, which in the vulgar tradition of Cairo has become *Sidy 'Ulayi* (see Van Berchem, *Mémoires de la Mission Française du Caire*, Vol. XIX, fasc. II, p. 149, note).

following passage :* “ One sees at ‘Amwâs the *tomb*s of a great number of companions of the prophets and of *tâbi*’s who died of the Plague. Among them (*sic*) is mentioned ‘Abd er Rahmân ibn (*sic*) Mu’adh ben Jabal and his children. . . . ”

This is all the more curious, because in other passages the same writer, speaking of the same person, repeats the tradition, in flagrant contradiction to this one, according to which he died and was buried beyond Jordan—which appears to be the historical truth.

On the west side of the village, to the north of the church, there is another Mohammedan sanctuary, which also is greatly venerated. Here stands an ancient and very curious building, with cupolas and vaults. It is called simply Sheikh ‘Obeïd. I have no doubt that this otherwise unknown Sheikh ‘Obeïd is a sort of pendant to Mu’adh ben Jabal, and that concealed under it lies the personality of another famous hero of the Mohammedan conquest, who also fell a victim to the Plague of ‘Amwâs; I mean General Abû ‘Obeïdah ben el Jarrâh,† who commanded the invading army, and was succeeded in the command by Mu’adh ben Jabal himself.

I am inclined to think, in spite of the extraordinary distortion of the legend, that it is to one or the other of these two sanctuaries that the following passage from a Jewish account of the *Roads to Jerusalem*‡ must apply :—

“ There is at Emmaus an ancient sepulchral monument, said to be the tomb of a Christian (!) Lord who fell in the war with the king of Persia ! ”

— Here are some of the names of different places in ‘Amwâs, or its immediate neighbourhood, which I learned from the lips of the fellahin : *Khall’t el’ Adhra*; the well of *Khall’t el Hammâm*; *Ē’rsûm*; *Khall’t et Tâka*, where they show the place where the camel of Neby Sâleh the prophet, sent to the Themûdites, knelt down.§

LÂTRÛN (LÂTRÔN).

Lâtrûn, according to the fellahin, was in ancient times enclosed by a triple wall. I saw ruins there which seemed to me to be of importance.

* *Archives de l’Orient Latin*, I, p. 609.

† On the true site of his tomb, at ‘Amtâ beyond Jordan, see my memoir, already quoted *Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 349.

‡ Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 245.

§ See Vol. II, p. 481.

and worth planning in detail. There is a sacred place there dedicated to a holy woman, *Sitt Shurubbanch* by name.

Perhaps it was *Lâtrûn* that St. Jerome had in his mind when he thought that he had located on the ground the imaginary spot *Apednus* (Apadno) in the obscure passage in Dan. xi, 45. "Figat tabernaculum suum in Apedno juxta Nicopolin, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur, ubi incipiunt montana Judaeae consurgere." *

The name of *Lâtrûn*, which by means of popular etymology gave rise among the Franks to the legend of the "village of the Good Thief," "*du Bon Larron*" (*latronis*), has been of late distorted in several ways by the Arabs themselves. Some of them call it *El Atrûn*, as if the name were written الاطرون. Others, especially the fellahin of the district itself, call it in current talk *Râtlôn*, transposing the "l" and the "r," according to the same phonetic law which has turned the Greek *λίτρα*, "pound," into the Arabic رطل, *ritl* (pronounce *rotël*), the name of a weight. I have shown elsewhere that the true original name should have been ناطررون, *Nâterûn*, *Nâl'rûn*,† a word of Aramaic origin, meaning strictly *specula*, *speculac*, *speculatores*; an appellation which is completely justified by the important strategic position of the village, which stands like a sentry guarding the road from Jaffa, at the point where it begins to enter the mountain country of Judæa. As for the change of the "n" into "l," it is quite in accordance with the well-known euphonic custom of Syria.

It is, I think, a mistake to recognise the name of *Lâtrûn* in that of the imaginary *Listra* (*var. Lystra*)§ in Thietmar's account of his pilgrimage,‡ "et *Listram*, non procul ab Arimathia." I believe it to be either a mistaken reading for the word *istam*, or else, seeing that the whole passage seems to have been all but literally copied from St. Jerome's Itinerary of Sta. Paula, I think it must just be a corruption of the word *inclitam*: ". . . . *inclitam*, haud procul ab ea Arimathiam."

* *Comment. ad Dan.*: cf. Theodoret, who locates the so-called *Apadanos* not far from Jerusalem.

† I came upon an indirect proof of this when setting right a wrong reading in the pilgrimage of Nâsiri Khusrau. I may remark that it was **I**, and not the editor, M. Schefer, who made this correction, although the latter has appropriated it. *Nâl'rûn* is consequently connected with the Arabic word *Nâtîr*, "village watchman," the true origin of which I have explained in Vol. II, p. 77.

‡ Laurent, *Quattuor Peregrinationes*, etc., p. 24.

§ The error may have been facilitated by the existence of the city of Lystra, in Lycaonia.

BİR EL HELÛ AND THE IMAGINARY INSCRIPTION OF ABRAHAM.—Towards the end of August, 1874, people came to Jerusalem to tell me of a great mystery, the discovery, or rather the appearance, close to Lâtrûn, of an extraordinary inscription which was setting the whole country side in a ferment. This was nothing less than a very extensive text consisting of a dozen lines, written all round the inside of a well called Bir el Helû. Although I was in the habit of regarding the fellahin imagination with suspicion, I nevertheless decided to go there straightway, and verify the point on the ground. This little inquiry gave me at the same time an opportunity of examining this interesting region.

Bir el Helû is situated a few minutes' walk to the south-east of Lâtrûn, at the bottom of a deep valley whose waters it collects. It is a true well of living water, not a tank—a great cylindrical well with a wide mouth, built of good stonework. It is covered by a vault, in which one sees two holes belonging to an ancient *beiyâra* once established there, with machinery for the irrigation of the adjoining land. The water when drawn up by this machine must have been poured out into a little birkeh, and thence have been carried through an aqueduct, now half ruined, to the land to be irrigated. The diameter of the well is 3^m·70.

Stooping over the interior of the well, which was dark and sombre enough, I did indeed discern, all round its sides, a dozen lines one above the other, which, when viewed from a distance, seemed to consist of thousands of small worm-like letters, as though written with a reed-pen. But, to the great disappointment of the Arabs who accompanied me, I found it absolutely impossible to make out the nature of this mysterious writing, the secret of which I did not discover till later. At Lâtrûn and 'Amwâs I found the fellahin in a fever of excitement about this imaginary inscription. In a few minutes they all assembled round me, and inquired with evident anxiety whether I had been able to read and understand the characters which were turning their brains. I was obliged to admit my ignorance, which caused them to nod their heads gravely, as though this was what they expected. They had their own explanation, and were convinced of its truth. This is what had taken place. The story is curious enough, as a piece of psychological evidence bearing upon the modes of thought of the fellahin, and generally upon the formation of legends among this peasant population. About a fortnight before this, some women of Lâtrûn went to Bir el Helû to draw water, and came home quite upset, crying out that a miracle had been wrought, and that the well was *full of writing*. The holy

women could not have shown more emotion when they came back with the news that the Lord's Sepulchre was empty. Now, on the previous day nothing of the kind had been noticed in this well, which is very much frequented, for it supplies the whole village. The fellahin at once concluded that this supernatural inscription, created in a single night, could be nothing but a manifestation of the will of Sidnâ el Khalil, otherwise known as the patriarch Abraham. Straightway the fame of this miracle was noised abroad throughout all the neighbouring villages, and every day hundreds of fellahin came on pilgrimage from places many leagues distant in all directions, to behold these letters, written by the patriarch with his own hand.

This popular explanation was all the more natural, because there exists in the country a legend of the same kind. Some forty (?) years ago a great dispute arose on the subject of the delimitation of the boundary between the territory of Deir Eyûb,* and of Lâtrûn (this latter village is *wakĕf* of the great mosque of Hebron, and is an enclave in the Mîry landst†). No one knew what to do, until one fine night the Patriarch himself interfered in the matter, and settled it in his own favour by setting up with his own hands a *rujûm* (heap of stones serving as a landmark) at the point where he meant the boundary-line to go. On the following morning they saw the *rujûm*, and submitted without more ado to the decision of this supreme judge. To this day men show the *Rujûm el Khalîl*, on the left hand side of the way as you go from Deir Eyûb to Lâtrûn.

There could be no doubt about the matter. The inscription on the well had the same miraculous origin. The intervention of Abraham was all the more ready at hand as Bir el Helû is also called "Bir el Khalil," "Abraham's well," and the patriarch had, according to the local legend, encamped on this spot between his departure from "Orfâ" and his arrival at Hebron. They added that this time Abraham had set forth his will by this writing to the effect that he wished them to know that he was unwilling any longer to endure the presence of Christians in the country. This interpretation indicated a certain active fanaticism in the temper of the peasantry, which was confirmed by other symptoms upon which it is needless to dwell.

Being greatly puzzled by the matter, and determined to clear it up, I resolved to have myself lowered into the well with ropes, that I might

* A village some two miles to the east of Lâtrûn.

† Or Government domain.

examine this epigraphic miracle more closely. When seen near at hand these famous characters did indeed resemble unintelligible signs written with a reed pen and reddish-black ink. At first I suspected some trick of a dervish, intended to strike the imagination of the peasants and provoke that active fanaticism which I had noticed among them. But on reflection I convinced myself that we had before us merely a natural phenomenon: the pretended characters could be nothing more than the crooked tracks left by thousands of infusoria contained in the water of the well. The water having for some hydrostatic reasons altered its level during a period of several consecutive days, these deposits had been successively formed on the wall of the well at the water's edge, at different levels, and had thus produced circular lines which were perfectly regular in appearance *

This is the explanation, a very simple one, of the miracle of Abraham, which caused such a stir in the country, and must have left a remembrance behind it which, with the aid of time, will perhaps add a new element to the legends of the future.

THE FENĪSH.—The legend of the Fenĭsh, or Fenĭshes, so popular throughout all southern Palestine, to which I have repeatedly called attention, is likewise localized at Lâtrûn, 'Amwâs, and the neighbouring country. The ruined fortress of Lâtrûn has more than once been pointed out to me by the fellahin under the significant name of *Kal'at el Fenĭsh*.† I have pointed out in the second volume of this work ‡ some of the reasons which incline me to see in this odd mythical name the name and the memory of the Philistines. I will add to the variants of the legend which I have already noted the following ones, just as I received them from the lips of peasants in Lâtrûn or 'Amwâs. The Melek el Fenĭsh had his summer residence at Sôbâ, and his winter residence§ at Lâtrûn. He had several brothers, who also were kings. One of them dwelt at Sar'a in summer and at Beit Ā'tâb in winter: another at Beit 'Ūr in summer and at El Burj in winter. A third dwelt at

* Some days later I had an opportunity of observing exactly the same phenomenon on the inner sides of the walls of a large ancient reservoir at Yâlo (see Vol. II, p. 92).

† A little tumulus standing between 'Amwâs and Lâtrûn is called *Rujm el Heik*, "the cairn of the spindle." A legend picked up by the lamented Tyrwhitt Drake informs us that it is "the spindle of the daughter of the Sultan of el Fenish." *Memoirs*, III, p. 163 and 165.

‡ Pp. 55, 56, 197, 206.

§ With regard to these winter and summer residences, compare the "winter palace" (בית שתוא) and the "summer palace" (בית כניא) of the old King of Shamâl, Bar Rekub, in the Bauinschrift of Zenjirli, and also Amos, iii, 15. On this matter see my *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. II, p. 106.

Beit Jibrin, etc. Their tombs, it seems, are shown to the north of Sôbâ, not far from it: one has to go down a well to get into them. The peasants seriously assured me that there is an underground communication between Sôbâ and Lâtrûn, with the help of a *serdâb*.

The daughters of the Fenîsh dwelt at *K'bâlch* (*Īkbâlah*), so called because they were there "before him" (*K'baleh*); hence the name of *Deir el Benât* (the convent of maids), which may be seen there at this day. They were connected with their father by a *sikkaet hadîd* ("a road of iron;" a variant of the legend has "a rope of iron").*

I have noted among the fellahîn the existence of a curious phrase, which shows to how great an extent this mysterious personality of the Fenîsh is familiar in the mouths of the people; they say to any one who vaunts himself with insolent pride; *Ente kadd el fenîch!* or *Ente zey el fenîch!* that is, "You are," or "Are you like the Fenîch, as powerful as the Fenîch?"

* Compare for the place and the legend Vol. II, p. 57.

PART V.

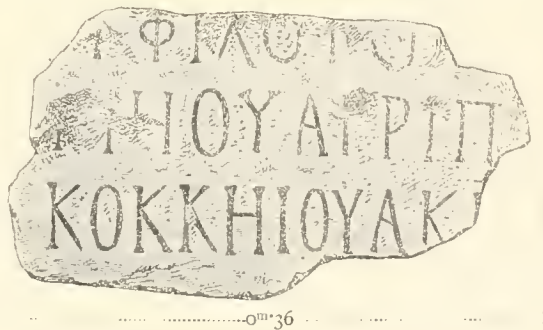
CHAPTER XX.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS BEYOND JORDAN.

The Bedouin, with whom I continued to be on friendly terms after the affair of the Moabite Stone, sometimes brought me copies or squeezes of Greek inscriptions from places situated on the east side of the Jordan. The copies were of course too infantile to be capable of being made use of. Among the squeezes there are two of which one can make something, although they also are very imperfect.

— The first, made in duplicate, was brought to me on April 3rd, 1874, by Jâsem, the son of Sheikh Goblân. The stone, which he has buried in order to hide it, under the impression that it may turn out to be of great value, was found, he says, in the Wâdy Gattâr, which seems to be the Wâdy el Kittar of the partial *Map* of the Palestine Exploration Fund on the east side of the Jordan.

It is a fragment, consisting of three lines, carved in big fine letters of 0^m.05 high.



The evident remains of the characteristic epithet φιλο[ρ]ω[μαίος], "lover of the Romans," in the first line, show us at once that the two first lines at least must have been devoted to the official titles of King Herod Agrippa II, and this conjecture is amply borne out by the appearance of the name Agrippa in line two. The official titles of Agrippa II

are known to us from many inscriptions in the Haurân,* thanks to which it is possible for us to restore the opening words of our inscription from the land of Ammon. The words which I have put in brackets did not, perhaps, form part of the official titles if they appeared in this inscription in the briefer form that one finds elsewhere :

[Ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ μεγάλῳ (Μάρκου Ἰουλίου) Ἀγρίππα φιλοκαίσαρος (εὐσεβοῦς) καὶ φιλο[ρ]ω[μαίου, τοῦ ἐκ βασιλείῳ μεγάλῳ Ἰου]λίου Ἀγρίπ[πα φιλοκαίσαρος (εὐσεβοῦς) καὶ φιλορωμαίου]
Κοκκηίου Ακ

“[In (the reign of) the great king Marcus Julius Agrippa, the friend “of Caesar, (the pious)], and the friend of the Romans, [son of the great “King Ju]lius Agrip[pa, the friend of Caesar, (the pious), and the friend “of the Romans] . . . of . . . Cocceius Ak”

After the long royal titles must come the mention of a personage, some functionary or magistrate, bearing the *gentilicium* or family name of Cocceius, which shortly after this date was destined to be rendered illustrious by the Emperor Nerva. The *praenomen* has disappeared, and we have only the two first letters remaining of the *cognomen*, with a fragment of the third letter, the upper part of a single vertical stroke, which may belong to an I, a K or an H ; it may have been a name like Ἀκιλανὸς, Ἀκραβάνης, Ἀκκαβαῖος, Ἀκκαλείσος, Αἰράνης, etc., which are common in the Nabathaeo-Greek onomastics of the Haurân.† One may also take it to be a transcript of some purely Roman name, *Acilianus*. All depends on the nationality of this vague personage. It seems natural enough to conjecture that he must have been some local strategos governing the region in the name of King Agrippa.

The policy of this monarch, during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, fully justifies the title of “friend of the Romans” which he assumed, and which, moreover, he had inherited from his father.

The fact of the existence at such a spot of an inscription which, in its original state, must have been of monumental size, shows us that the kingdom of Agrippa II included the eastern province of the land of Ammon.

This fact is an interesting one, as showing how the Jews and the

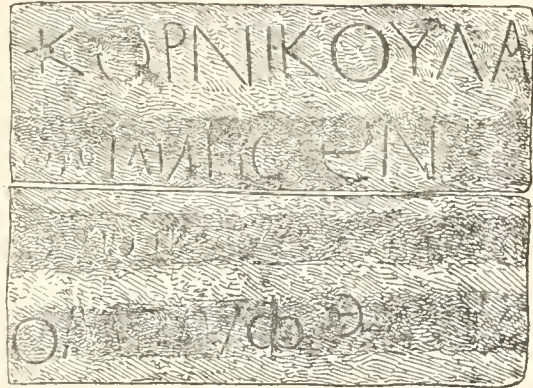
* Waddington, *op. c.*, Nos. 2365, 1552, 2553 ; *cf.* No. 2329.

† See Waddington, *op. c. passim*.

Nabathaeans divided between them the country beyond Jordan in the first century of our era. The dividing line on this side must have corresponded pretty nearly with the present route of the Hajj.

I imagine, also, that under the reign of the two Agrippas the Nabathæan sovereignty had little by little lost ground in the north. The inscription of Agrippa I, discovered at Kanawât (Kanatha), and those of Agrippa II at Sî'a and Halbûn, in Batanea, and the region of Damascus, tend to prove this. Our inscription at Wâdy Gattâr shows us up to what point this withdrawal had been actually accomplished.

— The second squeeze was brought to me at about the same time by Sheikh Hezza', who could not or would not point out to me the exact place in the country beyond Jordan where he had found the stone. It is even more imperfect than the preceding one, and in two pieces, which seem to fit together well enough; but I cannot be sure that this was their original position. Here is all that I have been able to make out of it.



0^m 70

The only word which is at all clear is *κορνικουλά[ριος]*, and is enough to show us that we have to do with an officer of one of the legions occupying the country. The *cornicularius* was a sort of adjutant either of the legate of the legion, of the prefect, or of the tribune. The mutilation of our inscription makes it impossible for us to know to which of these three categories our personage belonged.

In the second line there occurs perhaps the termination of a verb *νησεν* (?). In the fourth line I can sometimes make out **ΟΛ . . ΜΟΘ**, which may remind one of the Arabian city of Motha, which was garrisoned by the equites scutati Illyriciani;* but this is altogether conjectural.

— The third inscription which I add to this group would be exceedingly interesting if one could be sure that it came, like the other two, from beyond Jordan. The original stone was offered to me at Jerusalem in 1871, as having really come from thence. But I have considerable doubt upon this latter point, and the tenor of the text itself seems, as we shall see, to argue

* *Notitia dignitatum Imperii Romani.*

an entirely different origin. The stone, which is not larger than a man's hand, could easily have been carried from some other place. It is a piece of basalt, and only measures 0^m.15 in length in its present condition. It appears to have belonged to a small slab originally square, which has been broken afterwards. The letters, which are small and crowded together, are carefully cut and in good preservation.

The following photogravure has been made from a very good squeeze which I took of the fragment.



1. (Γ.) Ἰούλιος Ἀσ^{??} or Λε
2. καὶ στρατηγὸς αγ^{??}
3. τοῦ νομοῦ. Λς' Νέ[ρονα Τραιανοῦ?
4. Καίσαρος, σεβαστοῦ, Γερ[μανικοῦ, Δακικοῦ?
5. [ἀν]τοκράτορος, μηνὸς? Μεσορί κγ'?
6. [Ἀυγού]στου ις' σεβα[στῆ] (ἡμέρα)].

“Caius? Julius As (Ae or Le) and strategos of the district. In the sixth year of Nerva? Trajan? Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Emperor “In the month of August 16 (on the day called) *Sebaste*.”

Several peculiarities in this inscription, besides its being a very interesting one in itself, lead me to think that it really comes from Egypt. In the first place there is the mention of the Governor (στρατηγός) of a *nomos*, an administrative district which is specifically Egyptian. Next, there is the use of the symbol **L** meaning the year, which symbol is properly an Alexandrine one; then, there is the mention of the Emperor's name *ex abrupto*, without its being prefaced by any title whatever, which custom is common in Greek epigraphy in Egypt; and finally, and more important than all, there is the mention of the *Sebaste* day, about which I shall presently speak at length, and the use of a double calendar, the Roman month of

August being made to agree with another month which happened to vanish, but, if I mistake not, belonged to the Egyptian calendar.

The name of the personage with whom the inscription is concerned began with Ασ . . . ,* which is an inadequate base for any hypothesis as to how it should be restored. The title of στρατηγὸς was one preceded by another title which has now entirely disappeared.

As Trajan ascended the throne in January of the year A.D. 98, it follows that August 16 of the sixth year of his reign would correspond with August 16 A.D. 103, according to the usual reckoning of the Julian calendar. But if, as everything leads us to imagine, our inscription reckoned according to the Egyptian methods, we must bear in mind the peculiar fashion in which they used to count the years of a sovereign's reign in Egypt, by always reckoning from the first of Thoth in the current year, that is to say, from the first month of the Egyptian calendar. According to the generally received chronological system,† the first year of Trajan's reign began for the Egyptians on the first of Thoth of the year A.D. 97, and the first of Thoth of that year would correspond either to the 29th of August, or the 30th of July according to whether the fixed or the loose year was used. In the first case, the result would make no difference to us, and the date of the inscription would still be August 16, A.D. 103. In the second case, on the contrary, there would be a difference of a whole year, and our date would be August 16, A.D. 102. It is very vexing that the end of the fourth line should be imperfect, and that we cannot tell whether the title of *Germanicus* is followed by that of *Dacicus*: that would have settled the question, since Trajan first adopted the title of *Dacicus* at the end of the year A.D. 102, after his victorious campaign on the Danube. Moreover, the general length of the lines shows that there must have been room sufficient for the restoration Δακικοῦ, and this is what has decided me to venture upon it, being inclined to believe that the Egyptian year mentioned here is the intercalated year, not the unintercalated one.

The general length of the lines shows us, on the other hand, that the word μηνός, at the end of line 5, is not immediately followed by the word

* Or, perhaps, with Αε, for if the letter is an *alpha*, its cross-stroke does not agree with those of the other *alphas* in the inscription. The oblique cross-stroke may, however, be the result of an accident.

† Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Vol. I. Cf. Unger's tables in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, Vol. I, p. 824.

[Ἀυγούστ]του, "of August," at the beginning of line 6. Something must come between these two words. I imagine that it was the name of a month in the Egyptian calendar, together with the day of that month, made to agree with the 16th of August in the Julian calendar.

If the Egyptian year employed here is the unintercalated one, the date corresponding to August 16 would be Thoth 18; if, on the other hand, as I am disposed to imagine, we have here to do with the intercalated year, then the corresponding date would have been Messori 23; we must read ΘΩΘ* ἸἩ in the first case, and MECOPI ῚΓ in the second case. This latter word seems more suitable for filling up the space than the former, which is rather short, and this, without mentioning other considerations, has decided me to adopt it in my restoration. Nevertheless the other form always remains possible.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in its containing the famous "August Day" or *Sebaste*, which has already appeared in several Greek inscriptions found in Egypt, and whose explanation has led to so much controversy from the time of Letronne till now. It seems to have been a day of especial solemnity, consecrated to the reigning sovereign according to immemorial usage in Egypt.† The fact that during the reign of Trajan the *Sebaste* fell on the 16th of August, or 23 of Messori, is a new piece of evidence which perhaps will help to solve the problem. This piece of evidence does not seem to favour the view lately put forth by M. Jouguet (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1895, Vol. XIX, p. 523), according to whom the *Sebaste* was a feast day invariably celebrated on the 8th day of each month of the Egyptian calendar. The author seems to have been rather too quick to argue from the particular to the general, relying upon an inscription where the *Sebaste* does fall on the 8th day of the month Pharmuthi, in the second year of the Emperor Claudius. But it does not follow from this that the *Sebaste*, if really monthly, must have been fixed for the eighth day before and after the reign of Claudius. It is possible, whatever the memorable event may have been which decided it, that the day of the month on which the *Sebaste* was kept varied in different reigns. If it was kept on the 8th in the reign of Claudius, yet it was kept on the 23rd in that of Trajan, and it may have been kept on quite a different day of the month in that of Augustus and of the other Emperors.

* Or Θωὺθ.

† The king's name-day.

As for the principle, which has hitherto been sought in vain, by which the Egyptians were guided in their choice of the day to be kept holy as the *Sebaste*, corresponding to the day of the name of the sovereign, our inscription throws no light upon it, but it tends to prove that it could not have been either the sovereign's birthday or the day of his accession. We know that Trajan was born on September 18, A.D. 52, and that he became Emperor in January, A.D. 98, dates which can have no possible connection with the 16th August, the day of his *Sebaste*. This is all the more remarkable, because Trajan seems to have attached a certain importance to the anniversary of his birth, as he reckoned his second tenure of tribunitia potestas from the eighteenth of September. Moreover, in all that we know of Trajan's history down to the year 103, the maximum date of our inscription, we can find no striking event, no notable deed taking place either in the month of August, or on the sixteenth day of any month whatever.

Finally, I think it right to call attention to two epigraphical pieces of evidence which seem to have been rather lost sight of in the new essays which have lately been published on the subject of the *Sebaste* day. The first of these is an inscription at Trajanopolis (Greater Phrygia) dated in the year 216 of Sylla's era (130 A.D.), in which the name of the month *Daisios* is followed by $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\ \zeta'$; the second is an inscription at Ephesus, in which we find the words: $\Delta\nu\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \beta'\ \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta$. Henzen recognised in this *Sebaste* the day sacred to Augustus. Waddington* has pointed out that the learned epigraphist has not taken into account the siglum with which the first inscription ends, and which there, as also in the second inscription, shows the day of the month. He consequently asks himself whether the *Sebaste* may not have been *a day in the week*. If this conjectural conclusion applies to Egypt, the solution of the problem would be a very different one, and we could easily understand how, at various epochs, the *Sebaste*, being a weekly and not a monthly festival, might fall upon any day of any month as the years went round.

* Le Bas—Waddington, No. 1676.

CHAPTER XXI.

HEARSAY INFORMATION.

Ūrtās (inscription at).—I was assured that at Ūrtās there is an inscription in a fellāh's house, carved in relief upon the rock.

Hebron.—Some natives have told me that at Hebron a chair has been discovered, carved in red stone, with an inscription and ornaments, besides a bas-relief representing three persons, one of them a woman with a child.

There is at Hebron a goldsmith named Abu Andrāwis, who buys all the antiquities found in the neighbourhood as far as Gaza and Ascalon, and as far as Salt in the other direction.

Abd er Rahman el Khalily, who has a shop in the bazaar at Jerusalem, told me that at Hebron they had found a man's head carved in red stone, wearing a kind of kefiéh like a Bedouin.

I was assured that an hour, or an hour and half's journey south of Hebron there are caves with Hebrew inscriptions.

Kürmül.—According to the Latin *mukhtâr* of Bethlehem, there is at Birket el Kürmül, to the south of Hebron, an old castle full of inscriptions.

Nehhalîn.—At Nehhalîn* (10 miles south-west from Jerusalem) a native tells me there is *El hajar el mu'allak* (the suspended stone).

Mâr Sâba.—A very vague local tradition, which I picked up on my way to Mâr Sâba, declares that not far from the convent there is a fountain with golden sand (!).

Ēnfē'iyât (beyond Jordan).—Sheikh Jemil, of the tribe of Abû N'seir, tells me that at Ēnfē'iyât (= *Nef'iyât* ?), near the Zerka Ma'in, there is a tall wrought stone, three or four mètres high, called *Hajar el Mansûb*.

Tenets of Christian Bedouin.—The Abbé Morétain, whom I met at Beit Sâhûr, told me that at Salt he taught the Christian catechism to some Christian Bedouins (converts from the Greek religion). When he said to them, "Jesus is the son of God," they were shocked, and cried out, "*Istaghfar Allah!* He is a prophet (*nebî*), but He is not the son of God!" Some of these singular Christians, who seem to belong to some of the old heretical sects, now extinct, from which Islam was derived, practise polygamy even at this day.

* *Nehhalîn* of the Map (f. xvii, *Lu*).

CHAPTER XXII.

ANTIQUITIES OF UNCERTAIN OR DOUBTFUL ORIGIN

I here class together a number of antique relics which I collected at Jerusalem, whose precise origin I cannot tell, either from want of trustworthy evidence, or on account of the loss of my notes and the weakness of my memory.

— A fine capital of white marble which I bought from a native in 1867 or 1868. The man assured me that it had been found at Mâr Eliâs, but I strongly suspect that he gave me a false account of the place from whence it came with the object of preventing vexatious inquiries being made. With its two sphinxes or whatever the fantastic winged creatures may be, it greatly resembles a capital which may still be seen in the Chapel of the Ascension,* on the Mount of Olives, and I should not be surprised if it really came from that quarter. The



CAPITAL OF WHITE MARBLE.

heads have been defaced by the Mahometans. At first sight, the style seems Byzantine; but I am rather inclined to think that it is a piece of Romanesque work made by the Crusaders, in the same style as the friezes above the doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I think that I can make out mediæval tooling on the upper and lower surfaces, but I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this impression, for it is long since I saw the capital, and at the time I neglected to make a note of it. Since then I have had no means of verifying it, as the stone has disappeared, together

* Cf. De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, plate facing p. 317.

with many others which I left to be warehoused when I quitted Jerusalem in 1871.

— A small slab of white marble, which I picked up from a native in 1874. Origin uncertain owing to a confusion in my notes. According to one of them, it must have been found at Naʿalin (quite close to El Mūdyeh, to the north-east); according to another, on the contrary, it was found in Jerusalem itself, during some works which were carried on under the Mehkemeh. However, this may be, this piece of *bas relief* seems to represent the Virgin, or some female saint lifting up the corner of her veil.



SLAB OF WHITE MARBLE.

The carving is flat and dull, with deep hollows which seem to have been intended to receive an incrustation of coloured plaster or enamel. I am inclined to think that it is Crusaders' work. In the upper left hand corner will be noticed three regularly made round holes intended perhaps to receive nails to fix the slab against a wall.

— A small disk of terra cotta, thick, and with a broken handle at the lower part. It is a seal or stamp of very rude work, representing a human head, full faced. Can it be meant for Jesus? or for John the Baptist? Compare it with certain Greek seals used for stamping the eucharistic bread. (Fig. 1.)

— A little cone of hard stone, shaped like a spindle-whorl or a button, pierced through its vertical axis. Height, 0^m·025. I have noticed a little object very like it indeed in the British Museum (numbered 8 . . . ?). (Fig. 2.)

— White marble, very thin and very well worked; it is a fragment of a cup or of a very deep dish, with a lip, prettily shaped. Perhaps it was found during my



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

Extreme width of fragment 0^m·08. Explorations of the cave on Mount Sion. (Fig. 3.)

— Terra cotta. A very small fragment of a tile or brick, 0^m·025 in thickness. It bears a trace of the letter II (?) engraved upon it (Rough List, No. 137). (It comes perhaps from Selwân or from the Mount of Olives.) (Fig. 4).

— Terra cotta, 0^m·055 high. Fragment of a coarsely made figure, seeming



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

the head of some undefined animal. Neither the eyes nor the mouth are marked (it comes perhaps from my exploration of the Hammâm es Sultân). (Fig. 5.)



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

— Terra cotta. A sort of little tripod. One of the feet is broken. Distance between the feet 0^m·055 (Jerusalem?). In spite of its appearance, this thing is not a tripod, it is a support used by the ancient potters to hold their pots upright in the furnace; what is called in modern pottery work, where such things are still used, a *pernette*. Its normal position is the reverse of that which the engraver has given it—we ought to picture it to ourselves lying on its flat side, with the three claws in the air, ready to embrace the foot of a pot. (Fig. 6.)

— Terra cotta. 0^m·185 high. Broken into three pieces, but complete. (Jerusalem?) (Fig. 7).

— Terra cotta. Neck broken. Present height 0^m·05. (Jerusalem?) (Fig. 8).

— Terra cotta. Neck broken. Present height 0^m·08. Smooth belly. (Jerusalem or the neighbourhood?) (Fig. 9).

— Red terra cotta. The neck of a flask, its mouth with a flat rim round it. Present height, 0^m.09. (Fig. 10.)



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

— An object of uncertain nature, perhaps the foot of a terra cotta vase, with a cross marked upon it (?). (Fig. 11.)

— Glass. A kind of phial with two fancifully twisted handles. Neck broken, hole in bottom. (Mount of Olives?) (Fig. 12.)

— Iridescent glass. This phial was brought from Gaza (*cf.* Rough List, No. 138), so this figure ought to have appeared in Vol. II, page 433. (Fig. 13.)

LAMPS OF TERRA COTTA.

I shall add to this group some specimens of terra cotta lamps or *lychnaria*, chosen from the large number which I have picked up here and there. They represent certain types which should be compared with those which I have given in the body of the work, and some of them show unusual peculiarities.



Fig. 14.

— A terra cotta mould for making lamps, 0^m.09 long. It was meant to mould the upper part of the lamps. Although very rough, it is interesting because it shows us the method of manufacture, which consisted in moulding the upper and lower parts of the lamp separately, and then sticking them together before baking them. On many lamps the marks of this joining of the two pieces are clearly visible, especially when the two pieces have moved a little and are not exactly one above the other. Sometimes, indeed, it happens that the two pieces have come apart after the baking, which accounts for our sometimes finding the upper or lower parts of a lamp alone.

In 1881 I found at Nifaneh (near Gezer) another mould for the upper part of a lamp, which was exactly like this one, but much more neatly made. It is a square block of terra cotta, measuring 0^m·15 × 0^m·11, and 0^m·35 in thickness: the hollow matrix moulds the usual type of lamp, with a palm-leaf between the two holes, and a Christian Greek inscription running all round.*

— A lamp which is remarkable for the altogether unusual smallness of its dimensions; indeed, it only measures 0^m·045 in length. It is a delicate little thing, and, small as it is, is very well made: a regular child's toy. Ordinary scroll ornament: the base is almond-shaped. I may remark that there are two other lamps of the same kind in the British Museum, one numbered 5183 *r.r.*, the other, a slightly larger one, 5183 *r.* Both of these come from Alexandria, and belong to the usual type of lamps of the Roman period.† I regard these also as toys, which never have been practically used. (Fig. 15.)



Fig. 15.

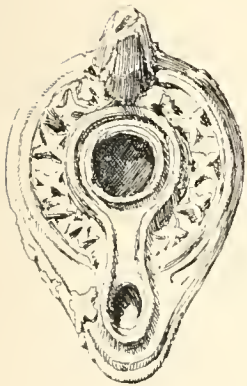


Fig. 16.

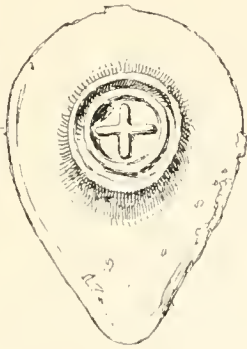


Fig. 17.

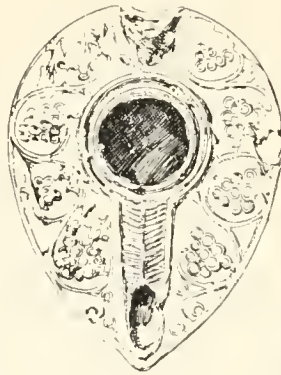


Fig. 18.

— Brown clay. All round the hole for the oil there is an inscription in letters too blurred and indistinct to be made out. Under the base there is a cross in relief. (Fig. 16.)

— Ornamentation of scroll work and bunches of grapes. Byzantine period. (Fig. 17.)

* It is figured in my *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine, etc.*, p. 77 (No. 58).

† The second one is marked with an A under the base.

— Two specimens exactly alike, which evidently came out of the same mould. A long palm-leaf ornaments the beak, between the oil hole and the wick hole.* All round there is an arcaded border, with a different symbol in each arch: palm leaves, a toothed wheel, interlaced triangles, etc. In the second arch on the left there is a little tree between two Greek letters, perhaps *alpha* and *omega* (the *omega* shaped \odot ?). In the corresponding arch on the right there is the same device, but the letters are misshapen owing to the mould having slipped in this place. (Fig. 18.)

* Compare the same ornament, in the same place, on the preceding lamp.

APPENDIX.

The mosaic near the Damascus Gate has been recently examined by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister, with special reference to the point raised on pp. 336 and 337; and the following extract from Mr. Macalister's letter is added at Mons. Clermont-Ganneau's request. Mr. Macalister writes: "We agreed that there was no evidence, either from the size or disposition of the tesserae, that the inscription was an insertion. The mosaic is quite unbroken, the tesserae are uniform in size, and the pattern in which the white or background tesserae are arranged is not disturbed in the neighbourhood of the inscription. There can be no doubt that the inscription is of the same date as the rest of the mosaic and not an insertion. There is a break quite close to the inscription in the little 'apse,' but it is a single crack, resulting probably from some soil subsidence, and not the result of tampering with the mosaic itself."

ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

PAGE 105.—It is possible that we have here to do with some imperial edict analogous to those of Justinian and Anastasius, in which those emperors, amongst other things, forbade the dukes, tribunes, and employés in public offices, under penalty of repayment and dismissal, to make any illegal profit upon salaries or the payment for supplies (*Cod. Justinian*, I, 8, 9, 9a, 11, 12; *Edict of Anastasius*, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 12).

PAGE 169, note.—Khalil edh Dhâhery, in his *Zubdet Keshf el memâlik* (edit. Ravaisse, Arabic text, p. 20), also cites the passage from Ibn 'Asâker: the dimensions of the Haram are there given as 755 × 455 royal cubits. As we see, the first figure differs, which seems to indicate, as I have said, that the figures must have been altered in the different quotations.

PAGE 255.—The length of the monolithic pillar of the Russian Buildings has been estimated in the "Memoirs" (*Jerusalem*, p. 409) at 41 feet, and its diameter (? mean) at 6 feet.

Quite recently (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 213) another pillar, in almost the same state as that of the Russian Buildings, has been found to the north-west of Jerusalem, about one and a quarter miles from the Jaffa Gate. Like the former, it has been left unfinished in its quarry bed. But it is only 24 feet long and 3 feet 3 inches in diameter.

PAGE 367.—Compare a piece of carving from Palmyra, which perhaps represents a *clibanarius*, with his horse caparisoned with a coat of mail (Musée de Constantinople, No. 204 in Mordtmann, *Palmyrenisches*, p. 5, *Mitteil. der Vorderasiatisch. Gesellsch.*, 1899).

PAGE 459. *Mosaics of the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem*.—At my request, Père Paul de Saint-Aignan has been good enough to re-examine these mosaic remains most carefully. He has proved that my first reading was correct, and that we must give up the idea of reading DOMINI, as he at first thought. The words PAX HOMINIBUS can still be clearly distinguished; the stroke of the P has disappeared, but the restoration of the word *Pax* is imperative. At the top of the apsidiole or secondary apse two letters IN (in black on a gilt ground) can still be seen: they perhaps belong to the phrase [*gloria*] *in* [*excelsis Deo*], probably arranged in three short lines. The two inscriptions must have been: *Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Between the two inscriptions the whole field of the apsidiole was in like manner covered with ornamented

mosaics, of which only fragments remain. Above, separated from the inscription by a double black line, ran a band composed of a series of little ogival arcades: three of these arcades only are still visible on the left: in the centre of each arcade is a sort of large round point, at which angels' heads could be seen—or, perhaps hanging lamps?

In the field, below this architectural design, there is a pleasing silhouette of a woman seated, her head covered with a dark red veil falling down upon her knees: she wears a dark blue tunic. This apparently represents the Virgin. On the right, some little distance before her, are three human heads, the bodies of which are obscured by smoke. Blue is the prevailing colour of their dress; their looks seem to be directed aloft, to Heaven: they probably represent the group of shepherds (Luke ii, 8-18). These mosaics of the Crusaders formed part of the decoration admired and described by Phocas (§ xxvii);* several details in his description agree perfectly with the remains which can still be distinguished; it is to be observed that he lays stress upon the episode of the shepherds.

VOL. II.

PAGE 151.—The two Greek inscriptions, of doubtful origin, transcribed from a native copy, in reality came from Jerash (*Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 380; *cp. ib.*, 1899, p. 469). The verb ἐπλήρωσεν seems not to have any reference to a funeral, these inscriptions being engraved upon columns in the forum.

PAGE 258. *Hebrew inscriptions of Gezer*.—Inscription G has hitherto remained an enigma. After a fresh examination of my old squeeze, I am inclined to think that the third letter might, if necessary, be read as a *resh*: the lower horizontal stroke is not very deep, and is perhaps more or less accidental. In this case we should arrive at a reading שרש, "guard, guardian," a meaning which would be suitable enough, for we can understand that the outline of the boundary, whatever was its real nature, may have been the object of a surveillance of guards, whose duty it was to see that it was respected.

* *Cp.* John of Würzburg (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text*, translation), who is much more concise, and quotes two Latin verses written in gilded mosaic; Burchard of Mount Sion (*ib.*, p. 87); Abbot Daniel (*ib.*, p. 40).

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