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THE
HOLY PLACES AT JERUSALEM,

OR

FERGUSSON'S THEORIES AND PIEROTTI'S
DISCOVERIES.

BY

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“There is nothing (*in Jerusalem Explored*) that is new or valuable, except some 13 pages devoted to the underground watercourse of the place, and these so absolutely confirm all that I have ever written regarding the site of the temple and of the Holy Places that I, at least, for one have no desire to throw stones at Signor Pierotti.” *Mr Fergusson's Letter to the Times*, March 21, 1864.

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P R E F A C E.

SOME time before I undertook the translation of Dr Pierotti's work, I had gathered the outlines of Mr Fergusson's theory from a hasty perusal of his article on Jerusalem in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; at that time it struck me as a very ingenious hypothesis, which, however, required facts to corroborate it. When I was engaged upon *Jerusalem Explored*, I soon saw that Dr Pierotti's discoveries were fatal to Mr Fergusson's theory; hence I was not a little startled on reading the sentence which I have placed upon the title-page. Some while after this a friend placed in my hands Mr Fergusson's two works on Jerusalem, which I had not up to that time read, pointing out to me at the same time two glaring mistranslations. My suspicions being aroused by the intemperate manner in which Mr Fergusson expressed himself, I determined to examine carefully the original authorities which he quoted; the result of this undertaking is contained in the following pages. I find that many of the blunders have already been exposed by Mr Williams (*The Holy City*), by a critic in *The Edinburgh Review* (vol. CXII. p. 423), and others; but as Mr Fergusson still reiterates his statements, and as the refutations of them are scattered up and down several works, I have thought myself justified in putting the whole matter before the public in a connected form, and have only to state that I have done my best to form an independent and unbiassed judgment upon all the passages. With regard to the authenticity of the sites of the Holy Places, I express no opinion: all that I

have endeavoured to shew is, that the Church of the Resurrection stands upon the spot where Constantine discovered a rock tomb, which was then believed to be the Holy Sepulchre. Neither do I think Dr Pierotti faultless: he has certainly, in a few instances, made more use in his illustrations than he should have done (at least without acknowledgment) of the labours of others; but I believe that his ignorance of our language and of the customs and laws of authorship has caused the error; of deliberate dishonesty, despite all that his foes have raked up against him, I still believe him incapable. The testimony of an unknown person like myself may be of little value, but after living on terms of intimacy with him for more than a year, and attending him through a dangerous and well nigh fatal illness, I feel bound to say that I have always found him all that a Christian gentleman should be.

Plate I. The Haram es-Sherif, with the sites of the Holy Places according to Mr Fergusson, and the watercourses discovered by Dr Pierotti. The names given by the former only are printed in italics.

Plate II. Sketch-plan of Jerusalem.

In Plates I. and II. in order to avoid any misrepresentation of Mr Fergusson's views, the main outlines have been traced from the plans given in his 'Notes,' and Dr Pierotti's discoveries sketched in afterwards.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE III, ACCORDING TO ARCULF:—

- A. Tegurium rotundum.
- B. Sepulchrum Domini.
- C. Altaria dualia.
- D. Altaria.
- E. Ecclesia.
- F. Golgothana Ecclesia.
- G. In loco altaris Abraham.
- H. In quo loco crux dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est.
- I. Mensa lignea.
- K. Plateola in qua die ac nocte lampades ardent.
- L. Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia.
- M. Constantiniana basilica, hoc est martyrium.
- N. Exedra cum calice Domini.

Mr FERGUSSON'S theory, that the cave in the rock es-Sakharah is the Holy Sepulchre which was discovered by Constantine, and held in veneration by all Christians, until transferred to the present site at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, is untenable, unless every one of the following three points can be established:—

(I.) That this rock was not enclosed by the city walls at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

(II.) That there is nothing in the cave itself, which is incompatible with its having been used as a tomb.

(III.) That the descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre, before the time at which Mr Fergusson supposes the change of locality to have been made, accord with the Sakharah, and not with the usually received site.

I.

In considering the first condition, it will be necessary to enter somewhat in detail upon the question of the ancient courses of the walls of Jerusalem and the position of the temple.

The historian Josephus has left us a tolerably minute account of both these points, and as Mr Fergusson¹ gives him so high a character for accuracy we may venture to summon him as a witness. His statements are as follows:—

“Jerusalem, fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed by its impassable ravines, for there it had but a single rampart—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills separated by an intervening valley.....Of the three walls, the most ancient, as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above them on which it was erected, was almost impregnable.....The second (wall) had its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first wall. It reached to the Antonia, and encircled only the northern quarter of the town. The tower Hippicus formed the commencement of the third wall, which stretched from

¹ *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, pp. 4, 5.

thence toward the northern quarter as far as the tower Psephinus, and then passing opposite the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene and mother of King Izates, and extending through the royal caverns (*διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν*) was inflected at the corner tower, near to the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb; and connecting itself with the old wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected; for the city overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts, and the people incorporating with the city the quarter north of the temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which was called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse....."

"The temple, as I have said, was seated on a strong hill. Originally the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But King Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment. On the other sides the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, however, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied¹."

Josephus then speaks of the depth from which the walls were built up, and gives a description of the temple and its courts. In another of his works we find, after some account of Herod's Temple,

"There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation encompassed with a wall: it was of excellent workmanship upwards and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley²."

He then describes the materials of which the wall was built, the level surface at the top, and the size of the square enclosure, a stadium each way³.

¹ *Jewish War*, v. 4. §§ 1, 2 and 5. § 1 (Traill).

² *Ant.* xv. 11. § 3 (Whiston).

³ *Ant.* xv. 11. §§ 4, 5, 7.

Again:—

“On the north side (of the temple) was built a citadel (Antonia), whose walls were square and strong and of extraordinary firmness.....The city lay over against the temple, in the manner of a theatre.....There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonia to the inner temple at its eastern gate¹.”

From these passages the following conclusions may be drawn:—

(i.) That the temple was placed on the summit of the hill.

(ii.) That the area about the sanctuary was enlarged towards the east by building a wall up from the valley below to the level (or nearly so) of the summit of the hill.

(iii.) That the temple hill was separated by a fosse or valley on the north from the rest of the city, which therefore lay round about the temple like a theatre.

(iv.) That the space occupied by the temple was a stadium each way.

Let us now apply these tests to the site proposed for the temple by Mr Fergusson. He places the temple area at the south-west corner of the Haram², on a space about 600 feet square; bounded on the north by the south wall of the platform of the Kubbet es-Sakharah, and on the east by the west wall of the vaults at the south-east angle of the Haram.

This position does not accord with (i.). For, if the temple had been erected here, it could not be described as placed on the summit of the hill, because the Sakharah and the platform around it are higher, and the ground must formerly have sloped gradually upward from south to north³.

It does not accord with (ii.), for very little ground would be gained by a wall in the position of Mr Fergusson's east wall, because the rock on which this rests appears above the floor of the vaults, and the large cistern Birket es-Sultan (on the north-east of the Aksa, and about seventy-five feet from the supposed wall) is wholly hewn out of the rock⁴. This wall, less than forty feet high, could not be said to be built up from a great depth, and instead of a steep

¹ The context seems to warrant reading ‘outer’ for ‘inner’ in this passage. It is but the change of one letter.

² *Essay*, p. 8 et seq. See Plate I.

³ *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. p. 77. Vol. II. Plate iv.

⁴ *Ib.* Vol. I. pp. 96, 97. Vol. II. Plate xi.

slope below there would have been a nearly level plateau, 300 feet wide, before the brow of the rapid descent into the Kidron valley was reached. A good deal of license must doubtless be conceded to Josephus, but with the most liberal allowance for Oriental exaggeration, how can this position be reconciled with his "dizzy depths," and similar expressions¹?

Next, allowing for one moment that the Antonia is rightly placed by Mr Fergusson, let us examine (iii.). Where is the deep valley or fosse cutting off the fortress from the rest of the city? In the place which it ought to occupy is the rocky platform around the mosque, with its numerous rock-hewn cisterns. Unless we believe Dr Pierotti utterly unworthy of credit, we are compelled, after reading his description of the Haram and examining his plans², to acknowledge that a valley cannot have traversed this part of the Haram area, because he discovered the rock a small depth below the surface, at so many points, that no room is left for it. But on the contrary, Dr Pierotti found distinct traces of a valley just outside the Haram wall on the north. Place the valley close to the Sakharah, and the city cannot correctly be said to lie about the temple like a theatre. Suppose that the temple and the Antonia occupied the present Haram area, and the historian's description is accurate.

Finally, we have to consider (iv.). Here I at once admit that the site proposed by Mr Fergusson, so far as the temple is concerned, appears to fulfil the required condition, and the Haram es-Sherif does not. But can Josephus be implicitly trusted in his measurements? In his account of the third wall, he says that it had 90 towers 20 cubits square, divided by intervals of 200 cubits, and that the perimeter of the city was 33 stadia³. Now, $90 \times 20 = 1800$ cubits; adding 18000 cubits for the sum of the intervals we have as the whole length of the third wall 19800 cubits, or about 48 stadia. That is, the part is very much greater than the whole! Mr Fergusson himself does not hesitate to admit this⁴. As moreover it appears that a wall enclosed Ophel⁵, Mr Fergusson must either abandon his theory about the extension of the wall

¹ *Ant.* xv. 11. §§ 3, 5. Cf. *Jewish War*, iv. 5, § 4.

² *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. Ch. iii. Vol. II. Plates iv. xi.

³ *Jewish War*, v. 4. § 3.

⁴ *Essay*, p. 43. Mr Fergusson in his remarks on the second wall does not appear to be aware that 14, not 40, is, according to the Greek, the number of towers in that wall.

⁵ *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. pp. 25, 26.

to the north of the present enclosure, or allow Josephus to be wrong again—this time in defect. In the matters of the size of the temple-gates and the population of the city he sets the historian's statement aside (rightly in my opinion) without a scruple¹.

Again, in order to obtain the right perimeter for the temple and the Antonia, he is obliged to make that fortress project considerably to the west of the temple. But surely this is a very strange position for a fortress; the outworks down in a valley, commanded by the opposite hill on the west, and built upon the made ground near the Hammam es-Shefa². Again, just on the east there would have been the Sakharah, quite large enough to afford cover to the troops of an enemy, and form an excellent *point d'appui* for him in a siege; a worse strategic position could not be selected. If the temple did occupy the south-west corner, surely Mr Thrupp's³ conjecture that the Antonia stood upon the Sakharah is far more probable. Most scholars will, I think, agree with me in saying that arguments founded on numerical statements in ancient writers, are, unless supported by undesigned coincidences and other evidence, of no great value; the sources of error being so many and so frequent. Hence, since the only point in favour of Mr Fergusson's theory is contradicted by the Talmud, unsupported by the vision temple of Ezekiel⁴, and unsustained by any topographical evidence whatever, it must be set aside.

Before passing on to condition ii. we will glance at some additional facts stated in *Jerusalem Explored*⁵, which seem fatal to Mr Fergusson's theory.

(1) In the foundation of the present eastern wall of the Haram Dr Pierotti discovered masonry much more ancient than that of Herod, consisting of roughly squared stones, fastened together by tenon and mortise, without metal clamps or mortar. These were some twelve feet east of the present wall and at a depth of fourteen feet, just in the position that they would occupy in a wall rising in a series of steps against the face of a hill.

(2) At various points all round the Haram enclosure masonry is found, the whole of which apparently belongs to the age of Herod the Great.

¹ *Essay*, pp. 23, 46.

² *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. p. 18. This applies to the *Essay Plan*; in that in the *Dictionary of the Bible* the outer wall of the Antonia would touch the Sakharah.

³ *Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 315.

⁴ Ezek. xl.—xlii.

⁵ *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. Ch. iii.

(3) Mr Fergusson's foundation of the first wall of Josephus¹ is a causeway supporting an aqueduct, which is probably of the date of Solomon.

(4) The position he assigns to the south-east part of Agrippa's wall, making a *double* wall all along the east of the temple, is at variance with the statement of Josephus, who says that the city was defended by one wall on every side, except the north.

(5) The north-eastern angle of the enclosure overhung the Kedron ravine².

(6) We read that a subterranean passage led from the Antonia to near the east gate of the temple. The remains of a passage were found by Dr Pierotti extending from near the rock in the north-east angle of the Haram to the neighbourhood of the Golden Gate. We also find mention of another passage called Strato's Tower³ leading from the outside into the Antonia. Dr Pierotti discovered a large gallery on the north-east of the Haram, terminating at the wall. I do not of course mean to assert that every one of these points taken singly is conclusive, but I think that their collective evidence is very strong.

II.

We now come to the second condition—that the distinctive features of the cave allow us to suppose that it may have been a tomb.

Before discussing this point, a few words must be said on the ordinary construction of Jewish rock-hewn tombs about the age of the Herods. They appear generally to have consisted of a vestibule, communicating with one or more inner chambers; in the walls of which were either sepulchral niches, or long deep vaults; so that in the former the corpse lay (in a recess) parallel to the wall of the chamber, in the latter at right angles to it. Occasionally both these kinds of vaults occur in the same catacomb⁴. Tombs are also found in which there is only a single niche⁵. Mr Fergusson's assumption that these open niches must have contained sarcophagi is gratuitous⁶,

¹ *Essay*, p. 17.

² *Jewish War*, VI. 3. § 2.

³ *Ant.* XIII. 11. § 2. *Jewish War*, I. 3. § 3.

⁴ See plans of Tombs of Kings and Judges, *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. II. Plates lvi. and lix. What right has Mr Fergusson to assert (*Dictionary of Bible*, art. *Tomb*, Vol. III. p. 1533) that because Dr Pierotti's plan, made after excavations in the tombs, contains a chamber more than De Saulcy's, it is probably incorrect?

⁵ *Jerusalem Explored*, Plates lvi. and lix.

⁶ *Dict. Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1529.

though probably they were used for embalmed bodies. So far as we can infer from the description given by the Evangelists our Lord's tomb was one of these caves with a single niche on the right side and perhaps a vestibule in front: such a tomb may still be seen on the south of Jerusalem¹.

Let us now examine the cave in the Sakharah. Dr Pierotti discovered it to be a double cave, with an upper and a lower chamber, joined by a pipe, so that its shape is something like a dumb-bell; and he found in other parts of Palestine similar caves in connexion with ancient threshing-floors. Can any instance be produced of a tomb made after this pattern? Mr Fergusson seems to think that the actual grave was a deep vault, of the second class described above, in the side of the tomb. I confess that the accounts appear to me to describe a niche of the former². That, however, is a matter of little moment. Again, is it not rather strange to find a tomb within 200 feet, and a place of execution within 400 feet, of the Jewish temple? We may also feel some surprise that the Mohammedans, if they believed the Sakharah to be the tomb of Christ, treated it so differently from the other reputed burial places of their great saints. In the mosques above the graves of the Patriarchs at Hebron, of David on Sion, and of Samuel at Neby Samwil, cenotaphs are all that the ordinary worshipper is allowed to see; the vaults below are far too sacred for the vulgar eye. But passing by this, the recent discoveries of Dr Pierotti appear to me to render Mr Fergusson's theory untenable. He found that the aqueduct (which, coming from Etham, crosses the Tyropœon valley by a causeway) enters the Haram nearly opposite to the south-west corner of the platform of the Kubbet es-Sakharah. Thence a branch of it is diverted to the fountain in front of the Aksa, whence it descends to the lower cave under the Sakharah; from this cave a conduit runs northward for about 120 feet, when it is joined by another conduit from a cistern on the west, after which it enters a large cistern; from this another conduit descends towards the east, and at no great distance from the Golden Gate enters one of a chain of cisterns, the northernmost of which receives a conduit coming from the Pool of Bethesda; from the southernmost of these an important

¹ *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. II. Plate lvi. fig. 5.

² *i. e.* those of Arculf, Willibald, and Bernard.

conduit runs eastward, passes under the Haram wall, and then turning southward can be traced at intervals down to the Pool of Siloam. Besides these there are a number of cisterns and conduits in the Haram, the connexion of which with the above system can be more or less distinctly ascertained. The majority of these appear to be very ancient, and, as we cannot suppose that works of such magnitude would have been undertaken at any period since the days of Herod, they must at all events be prior (how much it matters not) to the date of the crucifixion. Hence they prove, beyond a possibility of doubt, that whatever the Sakharah cave may have been, it cannot have been a tomb.

III.

We have next to consider whether the earlier descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre are more applicable to the traditional site or to the Sakharah. First comes the account of Constantine's church in Eusebius.

Here I take exception, not only to Mr Fergusson's conclusions, but also (in several cases) to the rendering of the original on which he founds them. He states¹ "In Chapter 29 the Emperor commands that a house of prayer worthy of the service of God should be erected *round* the Saviour's tomb,—*οἶκον εὐκτήριον θεοπρεπή ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον.*" I deny that *ἀμφί*, with the accusative, necessarily means *round*—a more probable meaning is *by*². If it were followed by the dative it would be another thing.

The next topographical notice of importance is found in chapter 33³.

"And indeed at the very martyrdom of the Saviour (*i. e.* the spot which was a proof of the truth of the Passion and Resurrection), the New Jerusalem was erected, facing that celebrated of old, which after the pollution of the Lord's death paid the penalty in its impious inhabitants by undergoing the most extreme desolation⁴. Opposite, then, to this, &c."

¹ *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 45.

² See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, *ἀμφί*. Donaldson's *Greek Grammar*, p. 195.

³ *καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, ἢ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοιωμένη, ἢ μετὰ τὴν κυριοκτόνον μαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπέισα, δίκην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων—ταύτη δ' οὖν ἀντικρυσ, κ.τ.λ. (Vitu Const. Lib. iii.)*

⁴ I must ask the reader to pardon the baldness of my translations throughout; I have striven to give as nearly as possible the exact meaning of the original.

I confess that this passage conveys to my mind an idea very different from that which it conveys to Mr Fergusson's. It seems to me to describe a place on the western hill (Sion), commanding a view across the Tyropæon of the devastated site of the temple. Surely this, not the western hill, would in a rhetorical figure represent Jerusalem; this, the pride and hope of the Jew, the place of which Christ had prophesied that not one stone should be left upon another¹.

So also in the parallel passage from Socrates²—

“The mother of the emperor built a magnificent house of prayer at the place of the sepulchre (*ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ*) and called it New Jerusalem, having erected it opposite to the old and deserted city.”

Mr Fergusson³ thinks that these Greek words confirm his view, as if he read *ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ*. *Ἐν* does not imply that it was built *over* the tomb; it might mean that it was built in it; but of course this meaning is impossible here. We must also remember that the western hill is just the only spot on which Titus left any buildings of importance standing, so that less truly than any other part could it be said to have undergone the most extreme desolation, while from the accounts of the destruction of the temple, that quarter must have been left utterly waste.

Again, Eusebius goes on to say⁴,—

“And indeed as a kind of head of the whole, first of all he began to adorn the sacred cave, that divine tomb.... This, then, first, as the head of the whole, the munificence of the emperor began to adorn with choice columns and very much ornament, beautifying it with decorations of all kinds. Thence he passed on to a very large place, lying open to the pure air, which shining stone, laid level upon a foundation, was adorning, surrounded (as it was) on three sides by long enclosures of cloisters. For on to the opposite side of the cave, that, I

¹ S. Matt. xxiv. 2.

² *Eccles. Hist. Lib.* 1, c. 17.

³ *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 46.

⁴ καὶ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ὡσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον ἐκόσμη. μνῆμα ἐκείνο θεσπέσιον, κ. τ. λ. (Ch. xxxiii.), τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὡσάνει τοῦ παντὸς κεφαλὴν, ἐξαιρέτοις κίονσι, κόσμῳ τε πλείστῳ κατεποίκιλεν ἡ βασιλέως φιλοτιμία, παντοίοις καλλωπίσμασι καταφαιδρούσα (ch. xxxiv.). Διέβαινε δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παμμεγέθη χώρον, εἰς καθαρὸν αἶθριον ἀναπεταμένον· ὃν δὴ λίθος λαμπρὸς κατεστρωμένος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκόσμη, μακροῖς περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλεύρου περιεχόμενον (ch. xxxv.). Τῷ γὰρ κατασκευαστῆρι πλευρῷ τοῦ ἄντρου, ὃ δὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἔωρα, ὁ βασιλεὺς συνῆπτο νεῶς, ἔργον ἐξαισίον εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἡρμένον, μήκουσ τε καὶ πλάτους ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐρυνόμενον κ. τ. λ. (ch. xxxvi.)

mean, which looked towards the rising sun, the royal temple was joined: a magnificent work, raised to a boundless height, and extending very far both in length and breadth."

The words τῷ γὰρ καταντικρὺ πλευρῷ κ.τ.λ. are thus translated by Mr Fergusson¹, "For opposite that side of the cave, which looks towards the rising sun, is placed the Basilican Temple," which is entirely wrong; and his commentary on the passage is no better. "I do not know how he (Eusebius) could find words to express more clearly the relative position of the two buildings. The junction of κατὰ with ἀντικρὺ may not in itself be sufficient to prove that the one building was on a different level with the other, but it is just such a compound as would be used by an author having that idea present in his mind!"

I confidently assert that there is not one word in the above description to countenance the notion that Constantine built *two* churches. It is evident that the projecting rock, in which the cave was excavated, was in some way or other encased or ornamented with marbles, that it stood in a kind of court, either square or nearly circular in form, surrounded on three sides by cloisters, with a magnificent church, of considerable breadth as well as length, forming the eastern side, and perhaps approaching nearer to the rock than the cloisters. These conditions Mr Fergusson thinks satisfied by his Anastasis church (the Kubbet es-Sakharah), his *long* church on the south-east, (the axis of which, if produced, lies some 230 feet north of the centre of the Anastasis church), whose festal gateway (the Golden Gate) by way of giving a pleasing finish to so grand a basilica has its axis inclined at an angle to that of the basilica².

Again, Mr Fergusson says³ "Eusebius then concludes with a short chapter (the 40th) entitled 'of the number of his offerings,' in which the words 'μαρτύριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως' again occur, but certainly here as applied to all that is found in the preceding chapters. The words do

¹ Notes, pp. 48, 49: cf. Preface, p. 6. Mr Fergusson does not seem to be aware that the usual sense of καταντικρὺ is "right opposite to," "facing." The instances upon which I suppose he relies are in Homer, where the word is used as a preposition.

² Plan in *Essay*. I see that in his last published plan, Smith, *Dict. Bible*, Vol. I. Jerusalem, this "crick in the neck" is altered, and the whole basilica is twisted northward so as to be in the same line with the gateway, and consequently do more violence to Eusebius' description. See Plate I.

³ *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 51.

not occur in those chapters in which the basilica is described or spoken of." The words of Eusebius are *τόνδε μὲν οὖν τὸν νεών, σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐναργὲς ἀνίστη μαρτύριον βασιλείς, κ.τ.λ.* The preceding chapters contain a description of the basilica (*νεώς*), and if these words do not assert that it was a *μαρτύριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, I do not know what they mean.¹

We may also quote the words of Eusebius in another work.² "Is it not surprising to see this rock standing alone in the centre of a level space with a cavern inside it?"

And again those of Cyril³—

"The cleft which was then at the door of the Salutary Sepulchre and was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal there was a cave in the face of the rock."

Surely these words can never have been spoken of the Sakharah.

The passages in the Onomasticons of Eusebius and Jerome⁴, stating that "the sepulchre is situated on the northern parts of Sion," are disposed of⁵ as "at best but a mere assertion without any detail or circumstantial evidence by which to test its credibility, and just such an expression as any meddling monk or commentator, copying the book after the first crusade, might easily alter, supposing it to be a mistake." But, really, they are independent witnesses. Mr Fergusson also tries to shew, as an alternative, that Jerome might have used Sion to express all Jerusalem, by quoting a use in the Placentine Pilgrim, which is not really a parallel. Besides, could the Sakharah, under any circumstances, be said to be on the northern parts of Sion?

The next witness cited by Mr Fergusson is the Bordeaux Pilgrim, of whom he says⁶ "His testimony to the

¹ I may also remark that Mr Fergusson, *Notes*, pp. 67, 68, takes the words *μεθ' ας (πύλας) ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς* to mean that "in front of the Propylæa was a broad market-place; they do not however necessarily imply that the market-place was close by. "In the direction of the very middle of the broad market" is more literal.

² Theophania (Lee's *Transl.* p. 199. Camb. 1843).

³ *Catech. Lect.* xiv. (*Library of Fathers*, Vol. II. p. 169.) Other passages, in which the Holy Places are mentioned, are cited in Williams' *Holy City*, Vol. II. p. 253.

⁴ *Sub. v.* "Golgotha."

⁵ *Essay*, p. 90.

⁶ *Notes*, p. 52.

locality is that passing *outwards* from the Sion Gate, a person going to the Neapolitan Gate, *outside the wall*, 'foris murum,' has the house of Pilate 'down in the valley on the right, and the Sepulchre and Golgotha on the left,' thus confirming my views to the fullest extent." Further on we find (p. 67), "Taking the text, however, as it stands, the Pilgrim could not have turned to the right when he went out of the Sion Gate, or passed round the wall by the Citadel and the Jaffa Gate, first because there is no route in that direction, and because then the sepulchre and the house of Pilate, wherever situated, must have been both on his right hand. On the contrary, he must have turned to his left, as any one would naturally do, and passing along the brow of Sion he would leave the house of Pilate down in the valley on his right, where the tradition of the middle ages generally placed it. After this, whether he went to the Golden Gateway (which is, I believe, the one he calls *Porta Neapolitana*, *i.e.* of the New Jerusalem, mentioned by Eusebius), or to the Damascus Gate, as Dr Robinson insists, he would have had Golgotha on his left, and passed within a stone's throw of the buildings of Constantine, if they were where I have placed them; and I defy Dr Robinson or any one else to translate the passage fairly and make sense of it, unless he adopts literally and entirely the view I have promulgated."

Very good: let us examine the original. It runs as follows: (First is a description of the site of the Temple, the "lapis pertusus," and the house of Hezekiah king of Judah, then)

"Moreover¹ to you going out into Jerusalem that you may

¹ Item exeunti in Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistrâ, et deorsum in valle juxta murum, est piscina, quæ dicitur Siloa.....In eadem ascenditur Sion, et paret ubi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est in quâ Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autem intra murum Sion, paret locus ubi palatium habuit David et septem synagogæ, quæ illic fuerunt, una tantum remansit, reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur, sicut Isaius propheta dixit. Inde ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive prætorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistrâ autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertiâ die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris basilica facta est, id est, Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur, et balneum, a tergo ubi infantes lavantur. Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam, quæ est contra Orientem, ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti, &c. *Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque*, pp. 591—594. (*Vetere Romanorum Itinera*, Wesselingius. Amsterdam, 1735).

ascend Sion, on the left side and below in the valley near the wall is a pool which is called Siloa... In the same (way) Sion is ascended and (the place) appears where was the house of Caiaphas the priest, and a column is still there at which they beat Christ with scourges. But within, inside the Sion wall, appears the place where David had a palace, and seven synagogues (appear) which were there (but) one only is left, for the rest are ploughed and sown over, as Isaias the prophet hath said. *Thence in order to go outside the wall (i.e. to follow the course you would take in quitting the city) to those going to the Neapolis Gate, on the right hand, below in the valley are walls where was the house or prætorium of Pontius Pilate. There the Lord was examined before he suffered. But on the left hand is the little hill Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. Thence, about a stone's throw distant, is a crypt, where his body was laid and (whence) on the third day he rose again. There lately by the order of the Emperor Constantine a basilica has been built; a 'Lord's Church' of wondrous beauty, with reservoirs at the side whence water is drawn up, and a bath behind, where infants are washed (baptized)."*

Afterwards he speaks of the east gate leading from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives, and of other matters.

That the pilgrim is a sorry scholar I readily allow; but as an author's meaning may be plain though his Latin be bad, I maintain that "foris murum" (rect: foras murum) cannot mean "when making a tour of the walls or of any part of them." When foris (or foras) is used as a preposition with a verb of motion, it simply expresses the act of going outside (from within) of the word which it governs; therefore "ut eas foris murum" does not in the least imply that you ever get outside the walls, only that you start with the intention of going. So much for the tour of the city! Again, with regard to the Neapolis Gate: it is very remarkable that the last place but one before Jerusalem, mentioned by the pilgrim, is "Civitas Neapoli" (now Nablous): it therefore seems very likely that he first entered Jerusalem by the north gate (now the Damascus Gate), and so naturally used it afterwards as a point of reference. He appears to me to have descended from near the S.W. corner of the temple area¹, and mounted the hill of Sion (which name he plainly applies to the western hill) in the direction of the Cœnaculum; whence any one turning northward, and going straight through the city towards the Neapolis (Damascus) Gate, would pass near to the Castle of David (the present citadel), and then

¹ See Plate II.

leave the ruins of the Prætorium below him on the right and the present site of the Holy Sepulchre on the left. I therefore maintain that the pilgrim speaks of only *one* church, standing on the traditional site, and that Mr Fergusson has neither translated the passage fairly nor made sense of it.

There is also a very important description of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, by Jerome, in the account of Paula's journey¹—

“Why delay I longer? Leaving on her left the mausoleum of Helena, who, queen of the Adiabeni, had aided the people with corn in a time of famine, she entered Jerusalem ... Having entered the sepulchre of the resurrection, she kissed the stone which the angel had removed from the door of the monument... Going out of this, she ascended Sion, which is turned into a citadel or watch tower. David formerly conquered and rebuilt this city... There was shewn to her the column sustaining the porch of a church stained with the Lord's blood, to which (He) was said to have been bound and scourged. The place was shewn where the Holy Spirit descended upon a hundred and twenty souls of the believers.”

Here we again have mentioned in order, the Sepulchre, the Citadel, and the Cænaculum. The Citadel is about seventy feet vertically above the Sepulchre, and stands on the highest part of Sion proper, the latter lying on the northern slope.

The words of Antoninus Placentinus² are supposed by

¹ Ad Eustochium virginem, Ep. cviii. (Ed. Migne). Quid diu moror? ad levam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto, quæ Adiabenorum regina in fame populum frumento juverat. ingressa est Jerosolymam urbem... Ingressa sepulchrum resurrectionis, osculatur lapidem quem ostio monumenti amoverat angelus.... Unde egrediens ascendit Sion, quæ in arcem vel speculam vertitur. Hanc urbem quondam expugnavit et reedificavit David... Ostendebatur illi columna Ecclesiæ porticum sustinens infecta cruore Domini ad quam vincetus dicitur flagellatus. Monstrabatur locus, ubi super centum viginti credentium animas Spiritus Sanctus descendisset.

² *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, xvii—xxiv.; *Ugolini Thesaurus*, Tom. vii. MCCXIII—xvi. “Portam civitatis (quæ cohæret porte speciosæ, quæ fuit templi, ejus liminare et tribulatio stat) inclinanter proni in terram ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem, in qua adoravimus Domini monumentum. Ipsum monumentum, in quo corpus Domini positum fuit; in naturalem excisum est petram... Et ipsum monumentum in modum ecclesiæ coopertum ex argento; et ante monumentum altare positum. A monumento usque Golgotha sunt gressus 80. Ab una parte ascenditur per gradus, unde Dominus ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam in loco ubi fuit crucifixus, apparet cruor sanguinis. Et in ipso latere petræ est altare Patriarchæ Abraham... Juxta ipsum altare est crypta, ubi ponis aurem, et audis flumina aquarum; et jactas pomum aut aliud quod natare potest, et vadis ad Siloa fontem ubi illud recipies. Intra Siloa et Golgotha credo esse milliarium; nam Hierosolyma aquam vivam non habet, præter in Siloa fonte. De Gol-

Mr Fergusson to favour his theory. Let us then examine them. He, contrary to the usual practice of travellers, approached Jerusalem from the east, ascending from the Jordan by Bethany to the Mount of Olives; whence he descended to Gethsemane and the valley of Jehoshaphat, entering the city by the east gate. After describing what he saw during this journey he continues,

“ Bending low unto the ground, we entered the gate of the city (which is close to the ‘ Beautiful Gate’ which belonged to the temple, whose threshold and step (!) is standing) into the holy city, in which we adored the monument of the Lord. The monument itself, in which the Lord’s body was laid, is hewn out of the living rock.”

After this the pilgrim describes the way in which the monument is adorned, then continues,

“ And the monument itself is like a church covered over with silver, and an altar placed before the monument. From the monument to Golgotha are 80 paces. In one part there is an ascent of steps, by which the Lord went up to be crucified. For in the place where he was crucified the stain of the blood appears. And close by the side of the rock is the altar of the patriarch Abraham.....Near the altar itself is a crypt, where you place your ear and hear running water; and you throw in an apple or anything that can swim, and go to the fountain of Siloa, where you will find it again. *Between Siloa and Golgotha, I believe, there is a mile’s distance*; for Jerusalem has no springs of water, except at the fountain of Siloa. From Golgotha to where the cross was found are 50 paces. In the basilica of Constantine, built close by the monument or Golgotha, in the atrium of the basilica itself, is a little chamber, where the wood of the cross is kept.....Hence we went up into the tower of David, where he composed the Psalter. It is very large; in each of the chambers, which are quadrangular, there is a tower, and carved work, without a roof.....Thence

gotha usque ubi inventa est Crux sunt gressus 80. In basilica Constantini coherente circa monumentum, vel Golgotha, in atrio ipsius basilicæ, est cubiculum, ubi lignum crucis reconditum est...Inde ascendimus in Turrim David, ubi decantavit Psalterium. Magna est valde: in singulis cœnaculis, quæ quadrangula, turris est: et opus sculptum. non habens tectum...Deinde venimus in basilicam Sion...De Sione usque Basilicam S. Mariæ, ubi congregatio magna monachorum, ac mulierum mensæ innumerabiles, lecta languentium plus quinque millia ad minus tria: Et oravimus in Prætorio, ubi auditus est Dominus: et in eo basilica S. Sophiæ. Ante ruinas Templi Salomonis sub platea aqua decurrit a fonte Siloa. Secus porticum Salomonis in ipsa basilica est sedes, in qua sedit Pilatus, quando audivit Dominum...Inde venimus ad aram, ubi fuit antiquitus porta civitatis: in ipso loco sunt aque putridæ, in quas missus est Jeremias Propheta. Ab arcu illo descendantibus nobis ad fontem Siloa per gradus multos, est ibi basilica, &c.

we came to the basilica of Sion. From Sion, as far as the basilica of S. Mary, where there is a large assembly of monks, and innumerable tables of women, from three to five thousand beds for sick folk. And we prayed in the Prætorium, where the Lord was tried, and in it is the basilica of S. Sophia.

"Before the ruins of the Temple of Solomon water runs down from the fountain of Siloam, under the street. Near Solomon's porch, in the basilica itself, is a seat, on which Pilate sat when he tried the Lord.....Hence we came to an altar, where in former times was the gate of the city. In the place itself are putrid waters, in which Jeremiah the prophet was thrown. From that arch we descend by many steps to the fountain of Siloa. There is a church."

Mr. Fergusson argues from the above passage that the Holy Places were in the Haram; that the basilica of S. Mary stood near them on the vaults at the S. E. angle; that the mention of the crypt in connexion with Siloam proves beyond a doubt that the description is not applicable to the present church, and that the crypt is the Bir-Arruah¹. On the contrary, this passage seems to shew that the pilgrim visited first the Holy Places on their present site, then ascended Sion to the present castle, thence went along the hill to the Cœnaculum, or its neighbourhood, and then, crossing the Tyropœon, visited Justinian's Church, now the Aksa, with the ruins of Solomon's Temple and of the Prætorium; after which he descended (by the Gate of Huldah?) to Siloam. Hence this passage seems to be far more intelligible, if we suppose the Holy Places to be on their present site, than it would be if they were in Mr Fergusson's positions². There are conduits from the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which run down to Siloam³, so that his argument on that point is worth very little, and I may also observe that the pilgrim's words shew clearly that the crypt was not *in* the Sepulchre.

¹ Mr Fergusson does not quote, *Essay*, p. 128 (published 1847), the words which I have placed in Italics; this omission is noticed by Mr Williams, *Holy City*, Vol. II. p. 99 (pub. 1849). In the *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. art. 'Jerusalem' (pub. 1861) and in his *Notes*, p. 53 (pub. 1861) he again quotes Antoninus, still suppressing these words. The omission is most important, for from Siloam to the Sepulchre (measured on the map) is $5\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs, but from Siloam to the Sakharah is only $4\frac{1}{2}$. The Roman mile is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs. Will Mr Fergusson, who is so ready at asking explanations from others, clear up this *suppressio veri*? He also assumes that the *gressus* of the pilgrim is the Roman pace of nearly 5 feet.

² Plates I. and II.

³ *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. pp. 126, 260.

The inflated account given by Procopius of the Mary Church of Justinian is too long to be inserted here, and does not contain any topographical indications so minute as exactly to fix its site. All are agreed that it stood somewhere in the southern part of the Haram area; Mr Fergusson thinks just north of the vaults at the south-eastern angle, Dr Pierotti, with many others, believe that it has been incorporated into the mosque El-Aksa. The only passages which in any way help us in identifying the building, are the following:

“The hills, however, had not sufficient space for the completion of the work according to the Emperor’s order, but a fourth part of the Temple was deficient, towards the south and east, just where it is lawful for the priests to perform their rites. They laid the foundations at the extreme of the flat ground, and raised a building of equal height with the work. When they had brought it as high as its extremity, they placed over the intervening space arches from the top of the walls, and connected the building with the remainder of the Temple’s foundation. In this way the Temple is in part founded on solid rock, and in part suspended, the Emperor’s power having contrived a space in addition to the hill¹.”

Procopius then speaks of the great width of the roof, of the difficulty of finding fit stone for the columns of the church, which was obviated by the discovery of a proper kind in the nearest mountains, of which “extraordinary columns of great size” were made, resembling in their colour the brightness of flame (*ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα.....*) two of which, of unusual magnitude, stood before the door of the church.

In the accounts written by Adamnanus² at the dictation of Arculf, after a description of the walls and gates, in which it clearly appears that the western hill was called Sion in his time³, we find the following notice:

“But in that famous place, where was formerly the splendidly built temple, in the neighbourhood of the eastern wall, the Saracens have now erected a quadrangular house of prayer, which they have meanly constructed with upright boards and large beams over certain remains of ruins (and) themselves

¹ *De Aedificiis Justiniani*, Lib. v. c. 6 (I use the translations given by Williams, *Holy City*, Vol. II. p. 369).

² Adamnanus *De Locis Sanctis* (*Acta Sancti. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. III.* pars 2, p. 502. Achery and Mabillon edd. 1672).

³ *De Locis Sanctis*, p. 503, cf. p. 508, “Porta David, &c.”

frequent (to the exclusion of others): which house (as it is said) is able to contain about 3,000 men at once¹."

Further on comes a description of the Church of the Resurrection, and an account of the Sepulchre itself. This is rather too long for quotation, but I select the most important parts:

"In the middle of this inner rotunda is a kind of round hut (tegorium), hewn out of one and the same rock, in which thrice three men can pray standing, and from the top of the head of a man not of short stature to the roof of that small house is a foot and a half in measure upwards²."

He then says that the opening of the cave is to the east, that the exterior is encased with choice marble and supports a golden cross, that within the chamber, on the north side, is the Lord's sepulchre, a recess about seven feet long and about three palms above the level of the floor; then, as if to prevent any mistake from the use of the terms *tegorium* and *domuncula*, and the way in which the sepulchre is described as standing by itself, he states that it may be correctly called a cave, "*spelæum sive spelunca*."

A figure is then given as a rough sketch of the relative positions of the different Holy Places³. In which we have the sepulchre placed in the middle of the round church (E). The church of Constantine (M) on the east of it, though the line running east and west through the centre of the round church, passes a little to the north of its axis. West of (M) between it and (E) is a small building (F), called *Golgothana Ecclesia*, and south of (F), so as to be south-east of (E) and south-west of (M) is a fourth church (L), called *Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia*, the buildings of which extend westward south of (E). Arculf also states that the Golgotha church is on the spot where the cross was placed, and Constantine's basilica or the Martyrium on that where the three crosses were discovered.

Further on Arculf⁴ mentions a basilica on Mount Sion (in *montis Sion superiore campestri planicie*) in which

¹ "*Cæterum in illo famoso loco, ubi quondam templum magnifice constructum fuerat, in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum, nunc Sarraceni quadrangulam orationis domum, quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias vili fabricati sunt opere, ipsi frequentant, quæ utique domus tria hominum millia simul (ut fertur) capere potest.*"

² "*In medio spatio hujus interioris rotundæ domus rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegorium, in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare, et a vertice alicujus non brevis stature stantis hominis usque ad illius domunculæ cameram pes et semipes mensuram in altum extenditur.*"

³ Plate III.

⁴ *De Locis Sanctis*, p. 508.

were the place of the Lord's supper, the scene of the descent of the Holy Ghost, the column at which our Lord was scourged, and the spot where the Virgin died.

Before offering any remarks upon this passage and Mr Fergusson's manner of dealing with it, I will quote two other notices of the Holy Places. The first of these is from the account of S. Willibald¹, found in a history of his life, written by a Nun. This is neither so minute nor so clear as that of Arculf; but we learn from it that the sepulchre was hewn out of a rock, which stood above ground, and was square in the lower part and narrow in the upper "quadrans (i.e. quadrata. marg.) in imo, et in summo subtilis." That the door was on the east side, and the bed (lectus), on which the Lord lay, on the north, on the right hand to any one who entered in.

The other testimony is that of Bernard the Monk², who writes:

"There (at Jerusalem) is a hospice, where all are entertained who, speaking the Latin tongue, approach that place from a motive of devotion; by which stands a church in honour of Saint Mary, possessing a most noble library, through the zeal of the aforesaid Emperor (Charlemagne), with twelve houses, fields, vineyards, and a garden, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Before the hospice itself is a market-place, for which each person trafficking there pays two aurei annually to the person who maintains it. Within this city, passing over other churches, four churches are conspicuous, joined one to another with connecting walls; that is to say, one to the east, which has Mount Calvary and the place where the Lord's cross was found, and is called the basilica of Constantine: another to the south; a third to the west, in the middle of which is the Lord's sepulchre, having nine columns surrounding it, between which are walls built of the very best stones. Between the aforesaid four churches is a paradise without a roof, where walls glitter with gold; the pavement, however, is laid with most valuable stone. . . ."

¹ Vita S. Willibaldi, Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sæc. III. Pars 2, p. 375.

² Bernardus Monachus De Locis Sanctis, ibid. p. 524.

"Ibi habetur hospitale, in quo suscipiuntur omnes, qui causa devotionis illum adeunt locum lingua loquentes Romana: cui adjacet ecclesia in honore sancte Mariæ, nobilissimam habens Bibliothecam studio præfeti Imperatoris cum XII mansionibus, agris, vineis et horto in valle Josaphat. Ante ipsum hospitale est forum, pro quo unusquisque ibi negotians in anno solvit duos aureos illi, qui illud providet. Infra hanc civitatem, exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesie, mutuis sibi parietibus coherentes: una videlicet ad Orientem, quæ habet montem Calvarie, et locum in quo reperta fuit Crux Domini, et vocatur Basilica Constantini: alia ad meridiem; tertia ad occidentem in cujus medio est sepulcrum Domini, habens IX columnas in circuitu sui, inter quas consistunt parietes ex optimis lapidibus... Inter prædictas igitur IV ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto, cujus parietes auro radiant: pavementum vero lapide sternitur pretiosissimo."

We have now to see how far Mr Fergusson's hypotheses fall in with the descriptions which have been quoted.

Let us first consider the Mary Church of Justinian. The sites assigned to this are not very far apart. Dr Pierotti, with many authors, follows Mr Williams, and supposes it to be incorporated in the Mosque El-Aksa; while Mr Fergusson places it just on the north of the vaults at the south-east angle of the Haram.

The following is a brief summary of the considerations which have led him to this conclusion:

- (1) "The Aksa is built on the very centre of the area of the Jewish Temple, which site was in ruins and covered with filth when Omar took the city¹."

To this we reply by denying that he has succeeded in proving the statement in the first clause.

- (2) "Arculf describes the Mohammedans as having erected a square house of prayer, capable of containing 3,000 persons, in the immediate vicinity of the *southern* wall within the enclosure of Solomon's Temple, on some ancient ruins, and adds the curious architectural peculiarity that the pillars were connected by beams, wishing apparently to point out the difference between this practice of the Mohammedans and the arches or architraves of Christian edifices²."

In answer to this, I for the present call attention to three points.

- (i) "quadrangulam" is assumed to mean necessarily square.
- (ii) "in viciniâ muri ab oriente" is translated "in the immediate vicinity of the *southern* wall"!
- (iii) "subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus" is taken to imply "pillars connected with crossbeams"!
- (3) "It has no apse³ and seven aisles." Dr Pierotti and M. De Vogüé believe that they have discovered traces of an apse, and (with Mr Williams) have shewn that the outer aisles were added at a later date.
- (4) "It faces north and south, which is not the case with any other Christian church in the East." This may be true, but as there is great variation in the orientation of churches, it of itself is worth very little.
- (5) "The Mohammedan historians one and all de-

¹ *Notes*, p. 30.

² *Essay*, p. 146.

³ *Notes*, 30.

scribe the building of the mosque El-Aksa by Abd-el Malek Ibn Merwan in the year 68 Hejra (A.D. 688) with a minuteness that leaves no doubt either as to the site or as to the dimensions or form of the work: and the style of the architecture is exactly what we know it to have been in that early stage of the Saracenic development."

The historical question we will discuss presently; as for the architectural, Mr Catherwood¹, Dr Pierotti², and the Comte de Vogüé³, all of whom have personally examined the Aksa, are of opinion that although the building has been greatly altered by the Saracens, it was originally a cruciform church, and that many parts of it belong to the age of Justinian.

I may add that the words of Procopius appear to imply that the vaults were built solely to support the building, whereas the vaults at the south-east angle of the Haram are outside the walls of the Mary Church, as laid down on Mr Fergusson's plan.

Mr Fergusson concludes by asking why Justinian chose so bad a site, and one so far removed from the other Holy Places (as now assigned), giving a reply in the following words⁴: "It appears impossible to give a satisfactory answer to these questions, unless we assume that he chose this spot as the only available spot in the immediate proximity of the Holy Sepulchre and the Golgotha,—among the most holy group of churches on the face of the globe, and which only wanted a Mary Church to make it complete, according to the then newly-introduced and fashionable doctrines of Mariolatry." The difficulty of the site is applicable to either position of the church, but perhaps the key may be found in the expression attributed to Justinian on the completion of S. Sophia, 'I have vanquished thee, O Solomon.'

With regard to the testimony of Arculf, we may remark:—

- (1) That the passage about the temple is quite distinct from the account of the Church of the Resurrection.
- (2) That the tomb had its door to the east; the

¹ *Essay*, p. 118.

² *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. p. 80. He found also that the columns in the Aksa, though coated with plaster, were made of red Palestine breccia.

³ *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Plate xxx.

⁴ *Essay*, p. 125.

- opening in the Sakharah is to the south-east, rather more to the south than the east.
- (3) Nine men could stand to pray in the cave. This Mr Fergusson says is impossible in the present sepulchre¹. Its dimensions are, I believe, about seven feet by five, so that its area is about thirty-five feet, a space which would even now just allow nine men standing room, so that there is no impossibility in that number having stood in prayer (stantes orare) within it, when its size had not been diminished by a lining of marble. The area of the Sakharah cave is about 600 feet².
- (4) The positions assigned to the churches on Mr Fergusson's plan do not accord at all with that given by Arculf.
- (5) Mr Fergusson³, using Bernard to "correct" Eusebius, translates his statement thus: "Besides others, there are four great churches connected one with another by walls: one towards the east, in which is Mount Calvary, and one in the place in which the cross was found, which is called the Basilica of Constantine; another to the south, and a fourth to the west, in the middle of which is the sepulchre of the Lord." To which he appends the following note, "I use Willis' translation, lest I should get into a scrape.—See *Architectural History of Holy Sepulchre*, p. 136." At page 264 of this work, we do find this translation, but at the same time we have the following note given, which Mr Fergusson ought to have quoted: "I have substituted *fourth* for *tertia* in translating this passage, as the readiest mode of correcting the evident obscurity of it; for as it stands four churches are mentioned, and only three described; but there are other obvious instances of careless transcription in it which are not worth discussion." I must, however, protest against so violent an alteration in the text, which not only requires "quarta" to be read for "tertia," but also "altera quæ habet" to be inserted before "locum." The obscurity is, I venture to think, not very great, although the writer has expressed himself clumsily. His statement in fact amounts to this: "in the city is a great church in honour of S. Mary:

¹ *Essay*, p. 151.

² Catherwood, *Bartlett's Walks*, p. 167.

³ *Notes*, p. 49.

there are four remarkable churches in the city; one to the east, called the Basilica of Constantine; another to the south; and a third to the west, containing the sepulchre." So that, in reality, he includes the church of S. Mary in the four, the last three being numbered first, second, and third respectively, because they were in the writer's mind the first, second, and third, in the group that he was adding to the first-named church to complete the four. Thus interpreted, the description is plain, and the only difficulty is that the Golgotha is placed in the Basilica instead of in the southern church, a point of no great importance, as from a comparison of the accounts, there appears to have been some little confusion about the position of this place. The church of S. Mary, there is no doubt, is the same as, or on the site of, that described by Arculf, and probably identical with that afterwards known as S. Maria de Latinâ, said by William of Tyre¹ to have been founded (i.e. restored) by the Amalfi merchants.

I have yet to refer to the passages in the *Annals of Eutychius*, Patriarch of Alexandria, which I omitted in their proper place, in order not to interrupt the course of the argument. He² gives an account of the surrender of the city to Omar by the Patriarch Sophronius, of the visit of the Khalif to the Holy places, and of the foundation of a mosque, from which the following extracts are made.

"The gate of the city having been opened to him, Omar, with his companions, sat in the church of the Resurrection. And when the hour of prayer was come, he said to Sophronius the Patriarch, 'I desire to pray.' To whom the Patriarch said, 'O commander of the faithful, pray where you are.' Omar said, 'I will not pray here.' Being then conducted out into the church of Constantine, he spread a carpet in the middle of the church, but Omar said, 'Here too I will not pray'; and having gone out on to the steps at the east door of the church of Constantine, he prayed there on the steps alone."

Omar then tells the Patriarch the reason why he refused to pray in the church, which was through fear that the Mohammedans would, after his death, make it a reason for taking the church from the Christians; and gives him a

¹ Lib. xviii. c. 4. Cf. *Gesta Franc. expugn. Hierus.* c. xxiv.

² *Eutychii Annales*, Tom. II. p. 284 (Oxf. 1656).

deed confirming him in the possession of the church. The history then continues:

“Then Omar said also to him, ‘There is now a thing due to me from you by the right of the treaty. Grant me a place on which I may build a temple.’ To whom the Patriarch said, ‘I give to the commander of the faithful a site for a temple (which the Greek Emperors were unable to build) that is the rock on which God spake to Jacob, which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven, but the Israelites the Holy of Holies¹—it is in the middle of the ground, and was the holy place of the Israelites, who hold it in great veneration, and, wherever they may be, turn their faces towards it when praying;—on this condition, that you write a decree for me that no other house of prayer (Mohammedan) be built in Jerusalem.’ Omar then wrote a decree on this matter, which he gave to him (the patriarch). Indeed, when the Romans had embraced the Christian religion, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, had built churches at Jerusalem, the site of the rock and its neighbourhood had been laid waste, and so left. But the Christians heaped up dust on the rock, so that there was a large dunghill over it. And so the Romans had neglected it, nor given it that honour which the Israelites had been wont to pay it, and had not built a church above it, because it had been said by our Lord Christ in the Holy Gospel, ‘Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate’; and beside, ‘There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be cast down and laid waste.’ On this account the Christians had left it deserted, no church having been built upon it. Then the Patriarch Sophronius took Omar by the hand and led him to the dunghill.”

It is then described how Omar and his followers cleansed the rock, until it appeared in a clear space. Then when some proposed to build the temple, so that the rock should be in the direction of the Kiblah (i.e. south of the structure), Omar replied that it should be built so that the rock should be behind it².

Mr Fergusson makes the following remarks³ upon the Mohammedan buildings which he conceives are supported by the passage quoted above and the statements of other historians. “I assert that the Sakrah which Omar dis-

¹ This is still the Arab tradition of the Sakharah. *Jerusalem Explored*, Vol. I. p. 291.

² The Latin translation of this passage is “verum ita templum struemus ut petram ad partem ipsius posteriorem collocemus.” Mr Fergusson has misunderstood this passage in taking it to imply that the rock was inside the mosque. It was no doubt just outside, on the North, so that it did not interfere with the kiblah of Mecca. I do not understand Arabic, but I have enquired from a friend who does; he informs me that I have given the correct meaning of the original.

³ *Essay* p. 130.

covered was not this Sakrah; that the mosque he built still exists to the eastward of the mosque el-Aksa, and bears his name to this day, that the Aksa is the building, and only one of Abd-el-Malek; and, further, that no eastern author to whom I have had access, who wrote before the time of the Crusades, ever ventures to assert that either Omar or Abd-el-Malek or any other Moslem had anything to do with the building of the Dome of the Rock." In reply to this, I must observe that the description of Eutychius appears to me to require Omar's mosque to have been erected by (probably to the south of) a rock, of some size, projecting above the ground with a tolerably level space around it. The greater part of the Aksa stands on vaults; and the adjacent mosque of Omar (some seventy feet by twenty, a poor thing for the only Mohammedan temple in Jerusalem) has no rock in it, and can never have had, as it is close to the south wall of the city. Moreover, Eutychius says that Abd-el-Malek Ibn Merwan

"enlarged the temple at Jerusalem until he brought the rock within it, and ordered men to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but forbade them to go to Mecca because of Abdullah Ibn Tobar¹."

And again, that Al-Waled Ibn Abd-el Malek

"built up the temple at Jerusalem, and adorned it with plaster, the rock being placed in the middle of the temple, which (rock) he surrounded with a building which he overlaid with marble; and also he pulled down and then put up over the rock the dome, made of copper and gilded, which had belonged to the Christians, on the church of Balbec; he ordered men to make pilgrimages to the rock²."

As I suppose that no one will deny that this last passage refers to the Sakharah, and as it seems in the highest degree improbable that the historian can be speaking of more than one rock (for he would surely have explained that the rock mentioned in one passage was not the same as that mentioned in a former), I think that a comparison of these three passages shews that the testimony of Eutychius renders Mr Fergusson's theory in the highest degree improbable.

It may be asked how it is that so little is said about the Aksa in the Christian writers. I imagine that the reason is that the building was soon appropriated by the Mohammedans, who infringed upon Omar's compact³, and

¹ *Annales*, Vol. II. p. 364.

² *Ibid.* p. 372.

³ *Ibid.* p. 291.

that it then ceased to be of any interest to the Christian pilgrim. It is remarkable how insignificant in their eyes even the memorials of the Jewish religion seem to have been; a brief allusion is, at most, all that is given to the ruins of the temple; by which they hurry to the goal of all their toil and travel, the scene of the Passion and Resurrection of their Lord.

I might go on to quote from Sæwulf¹, William of Tyre, and other mediæval authors, to shew that their accounts harmonize perfectly with those cited above, and contain nothing that would lead us to suspect that the Holy Places had ever occupied any other site than that revered by them, which unquestionably is the same as that now in possession of the Christians; but their testimony would perhaps be unavailing, as Mr Fergusson would probably impute to them either ignorance or fraud².

His objections to the present sepulchre as being within the former circuit of the walls, and as being entirely constructed of masonry, have been disposed of by Professor Willis, Mr Willians and Dr Pierotti. The last named found the rock in two places under the marble with which the structure is cased. There is still a niche in the north wall of the so-called tomb, which marks the site of that described by early travellers, and it is a curious fact, that according to the plans the tomb-chamber is placed unsymmetrically with regard to the outer walls of the building: a most singular arrangement if the *whole* building is a mere structure of masonry.

In the above remarks I have entirely passed over the architectural part of Mr Fergusson's argument for two reasons; first, because I have never seen the places myself, and second, because Mr Fergusson says³, "In so

¹ Apropos of this author's name I must point out another instance of Mr Fergusson's reckless manner of making assertions. In his *Essay*, p. 103, he says of the Dome of the Rock. "It is not now wanted to prove that the building was or was not built by Hadrian, or Constantine, or Justinian, but whether it was erected by Constantine or the Mahometans. No one I believe, claims or can claim it for the first of these Emperors, and no one, that I know of, except Sæwulf, ever claimed for the latter." Sæwulf's words are: "Quidam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Justiniano Imperatore restauratam et templum Domini similiter sicut est adhuc: *sed illi dicunt secundum opinionem et non secundum veritatem.*" Again *Essay*, p. 183, he translates: "Descenditur autem de Sepulcro Domini *quantum arcus balista bis jactare potest ad Templum Domini*" by two *bow* shots.

² *Essay*, p. 182.

³ *Notes*, p. 54. I should however mention that Catherwood, Dr Pierotti, and Count De Vogüé, *who have seen the place*, consider that the columns in the Dome of the Rock bear evidence of having been brought from some other building; and the latter attributes the older parts of the Aksa and the Golden Gate to Justinian.

far as the argument is concerned I would be prepared, if necessary, to waive the architectural evidence¹ altogether, and to rest the proof of what is advanced on any one of the four following points:

- (1) The assertion of Eusebius that the new Jerusalem, meaning thereby the building of Constantine, was opposite to and over against the old city.
- (2) The position assigned to the Holy Places by the Bordeaux Pilgrim.
- (3) The connexion pointed out by Antoninus between the Bir Arruah and Siloam.
- (4) The assumed omission by Arculfus of all mention of the dome of the rock, and, I may add, the building of a Mary Church by Justinian, within the precincts of the Haram area."

To these four points I have mainly confined myself, with what success an impartial reader may judge. I have endeavoured to prove that not only cannot any one of these points be established in Mr Fergusson's favour, but that the site which he proposes cannot have been outside the city walls, and the cave in the Sakharah cannot have been a tomb; while the words of Euty chius render it plain that Omar built his mosque by the sacred rock, nearly on the site of the present Kubbet es-Sakharah. I have done my best to represent fairly the meaning of the authors whom I have quoted. I have not intentionally omitted anything that I thought could possibly be of importance, or striven to wrest the meaning of the original;

¹ Even in architectural matters I fancy Mr Fergusson sometimes errs. A professional friend writes to me, "In Fergusson's *Handbook*, Vol. II. p. 722, there is a woodcut of 'Spires of the Chapel of St Sang, Bruges. From a sketch by the author.' At the top of page 723 a description is given of these spires; they are said to take the Eastern form. He argues thence that it is only one, however, of the numerous instances that go to prove how completely art returned at the period called the Renaissance to the point from which it started some four or five centuries earlier. Unfortunately for this theory, my note-book says that in *Flandria Illustrata*, Antonio Sandero, Folio, Cologne, Vol. I. 1641, the towers of the Chapel of the Holy Blood are shewn in two views, different from what they are now; the heights and plans vary. When in Bruges, I was not content with merely walking the streets and looking at the buildings, I ascended to the roof of the Hotel de Ville (which adjoins the Chapel of the Holy Blood) and had a distinct view of the spires given in Fergusson. I observed that they were compounded of fragments of various work and various styles; upon enquiry I learnt that they were rebuilt a few years previously; and the mason employed used up fragments from various places, but chiefly from the magnificent church of S. Donat, which had been pulled down in the vicinity."

above all, I have endeavoured to write temperately and courteously. Truth is not likely to be elicited by reckless imputations, nor can invective, in the long run, take the place of argument. Though Mr Fergusson may be confident in the justice of his cause, he certainly weakens it by his intemperate advocacy. However, I cannot but think that in his calmer moments he will regret the persecution (for I can call it by no other term) to which, acting too hastily upon suspicions of plagiarism¹, for the most part unfounded, he has subjected Dr Pierotti, who, as a stranger and a poor man, was entitled to consideration and forbearance. If I have shewn that he is not infallible himself², he will do well for the future to be more lenient to the faults of others.

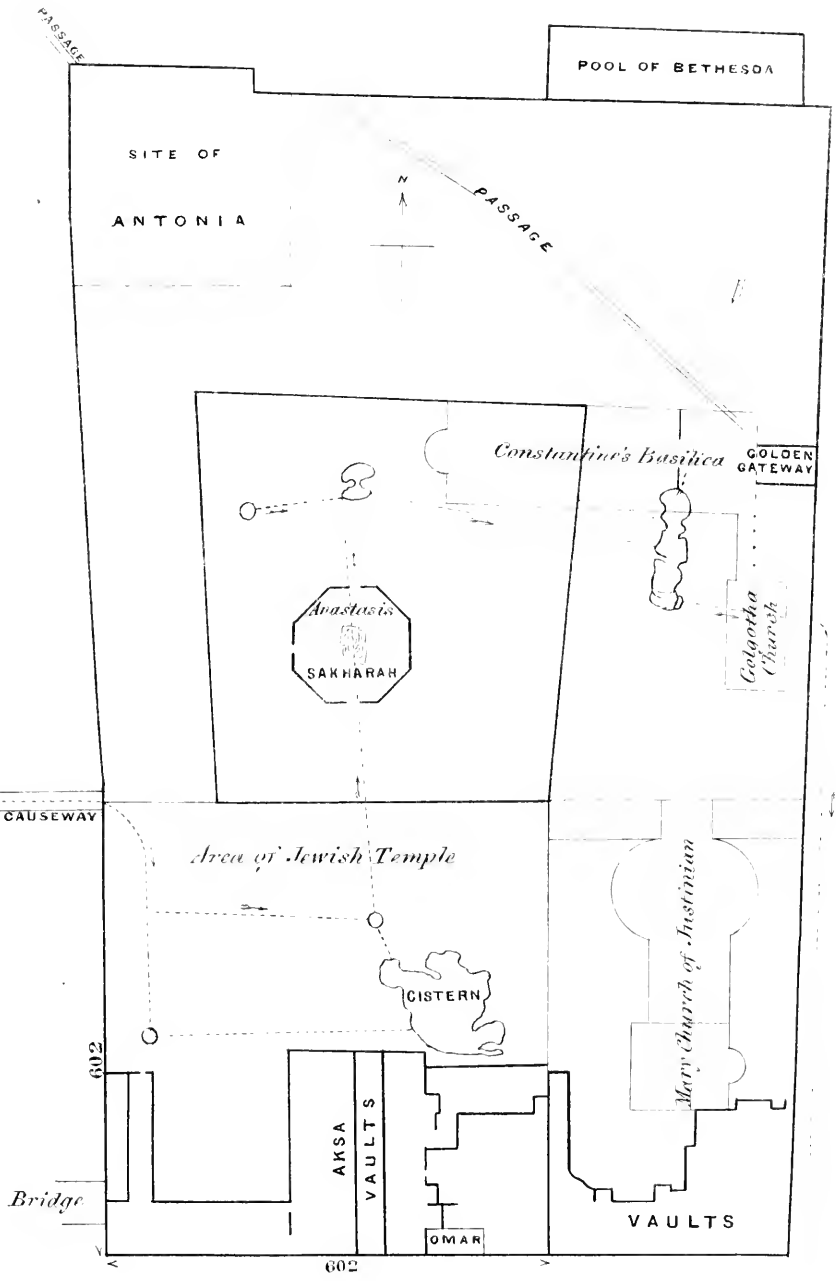
¹ Mr Fergusson does not seem to be quite the man to throw stones at others for appropriating the labours of other workers without proper acknowledgment. Will he explain the following 'suspicious circumstances.' At a Discussion before the Royal Institute of British Architects (*Transactions* Session 1854—55, pp. 18, 19) a particular theory of the construction of domes was brought forward by Mr Papworth. In the *Dictionary of Architecture*, published by the Architectural Publication Society, 1859, we find, under Article 'Dome' (signature J. W. P.) the following, 'These diagrams and calculations with considerable portions of the reasoning and inferences were subsequently adopted by Fergusson, p. 422.' On turning to Mr Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, we seek in vain for any hint that the theory is not the author's own.

² These two passages which I print below, shew that even among men 'of such calibre' as Messrs Fergusson and Grove, where, of course, we expect at any rate to have our doubts set at rest, differences of opinion may exist.

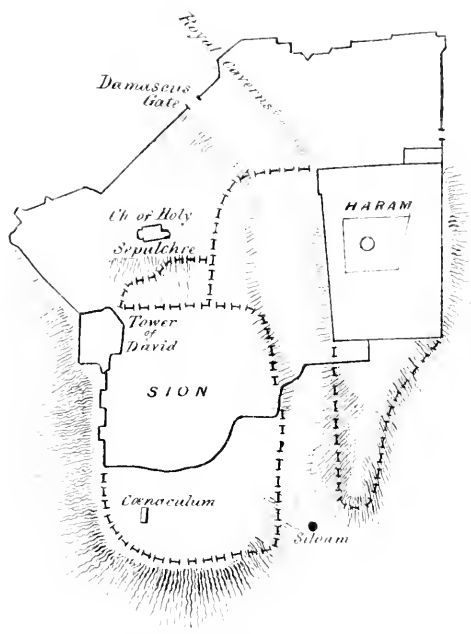
Of the Mosque at Hebron :

The wall which encloses the Haram, or sacred precinct in which the sepulchres are reported, and probably with truth, still to lie—and which is the only part at present accessible to the Christians—is a monument certainly equal, and probably superior, in age to anything remaining in Palestine.—G. Grove, in *Dictionary of the Bible. Art. Machpelah.*

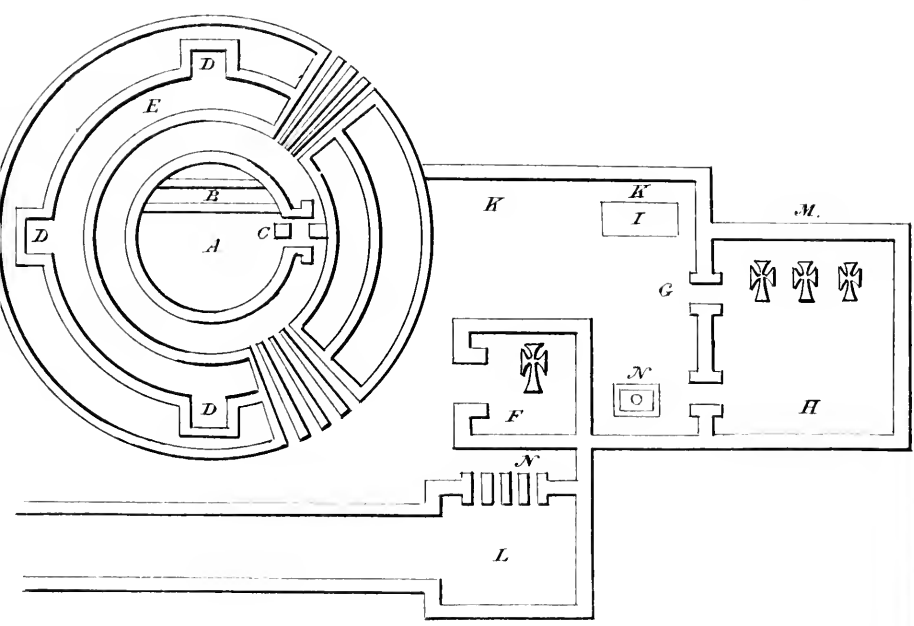
There are not any architectural mouldings about this wall which would enable an archæologist to approximate to its date; and if the bevelling is assumed to be a Jewish arrangement (which is very far from being exclusively the case), on the other hand it may be contended that no buttressed wall of Jewish masonry exists anywhere. There is, in fact, nothing known with sufficient exactness to decide the question, but the probabilities certainly tend towards a Christian or Saracenic origin for the whole structure both internally and externally.—Jas. Fergusson, in *Dictionary of the Bible. Art. Tomb.*



Conduits discovered by Pierotti -----



Old Walls according to Pierotti - - -





C. S. Talbot
for her master
M.

Book

SLAVERY AS AFFECTED BY CHRISTIANITY.

“Christianity never began by external alterations: for these, wherever they did not begin from the inward man and fix there their first and firm foundation, would always have failed in their salutary designs.” NEANDER.





