

We have been very fortunate during the past two years in finding the Arabs so quiet. The safety of the country owes much to the honest administration of Ibrahim Pasha, the Governor of Jerusalem. In all that concerns our work his Excellency has been kind and helpful. I hope that in the interests of honest government he may remain long in Jerusalem. His worst enemy cannot accuse him of taking a bribe, and he does his best to secure honesty among his officials.

LETTERS FROM HERR BAURATH SCHICK.

I.—REFLECTIONS ON THE SITE OF CALVARY.

1.

In writing a paper on my views as to the true site of Calvary, I wish to say first that this subject has been exhaustively treated by more competent persons than myself, and that all I can do is to express my own humble and poor opinions respecting it; and, secondly, that I have never considered this matter of such great importance, as if our salvation depended on it, but am rather convinced that the Lord has so ruled that there should always be some uncertainty respecting it. As it has been in the past, so it will most likely be in the future.

Yet notwithstanding this, it is still for the Christian and the scholar an object of interest to inquire where the most important event for mankind took place, and I have therefore studied the question with some diligence, and am sorry that the result of so many years' thought and study are not more satisfactory. I will now give a review of the whole, as it has passed through my thoughts, and mind, and life.

2.

When in the autumn of 1846 I and my companion, Mr. Palmer, arrived at Jerusalem, we found there the English missionaries, and besides the Prussian Consul, Dr. Schulz, only one German family and one single young man, a carpenter from Bavaria, who had been a ready several years resident in Jerusalem, and knew the Arabic language. He was a great help to us, showing us, amongst other things, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and "Calvary." I had expected to see Jerusalem standing on a mountain, and was surprised to find that, after crossing the highest ridge, the road *descended* to the gate, and that inside the city the streets still descended to the house of our host, the said carpenter, which was situated in the Wady. I was led to "Calvary," which, instead of being outside, seemed to me to be nearly in the middle of the town, and not on a hill, but on the side of a long ridge. My thoughts were: This cannot be the real

site, as Golgotha was outside the city,¹ and the old city must have extended at least as far as the present one, if not farther, because the people on the wall could hear and understand the words of Rabshakeh, who was (2 Kings xviii, 17; Isaiah xxxvi, 2) standing at the "upper pool," which I took to be the present Mamilla pool. I had also brought with me a little German book ("Biblische Geographie für Schulen und Familien") in which it was said that the Church of the Sepulchre is situated in the wrong place, as Golgotha was outside, and very likely was the rocky knoll north of the present town, called now the Hill of Jeremiah's grotto.² I went and examined this spot, but came to the conclusion that the hill is not like a skull, unless one uses a good deal of imagination. It is also too high, and the priests and other nobles who mocked Jesus would not have taken the trouble to go up such a hill and by doing so show some honour to Jesus; but they spoke to the people standing round the cross, from the road passing near it, and so I came to the conclusion that the smaller hill, west of the Damascus road, would better answer to the requirements; and for myself, I from that time, for two dozen years, called this little hill "Golgotha," and on it there are Jewish rock-hewn tombs.

Before the year 1860 I made a small model of the configuration of the ground on which the Holy City stands, with its environs, marking thereon the lines of the *old* and the *present* walls, and put to the figure of the said little hill, "By some supposed to be Golgotha." Several years later, when an elderly gentleman was for several months a guest in the British Consulate (if I remember rightly it was the father of the English Consul, Mr. Moore), he came one day to me and said he had heard that I had a model of the City of Jerusalem, and would like to see it. So I showed it to him, and, after examining it for a few minutes, he said, "How remarkable! I thought I had found out, by my walks around the city, the *real* site of Golgotha, and now I see that others had the same idea before me"—thus confirming my own views at that time.

I would remark that from the beginning of my sojourn at Jerusalem, I read as many books (written in German, and later on in English) relating to the topography of Jerusalem as I could get access to, and found that they are of *two* classes; the one holding the genuineness of the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the other denying it, either simply, without pointing out *another* site, or in some cases, in order to be more complete, doing also the latter.

When I read a book of the first class, and considered all the arguments which were brought forward in favour of the genuineness of the site, I received the impression that the author was right in his assertions—but on reading a book pointing out the contrary, and bringing forward

¹ This, my first impression, lasted for 37 years.

² The author of the little German book, the Rev. Hochstetter, cited some traveller who expressed this notion first, but as the little book is no more in my hands, and in the new editions the remark on Golgotha *was left out*, I cannot say who he was.

arguments against the genuineness of the site, I received again the impression that *this* author was right in his assertions. So the more books I read the less I really knew where Golgotha in reality was: all was uncertain. But at the same time I acquired a great deal of *knowledge* bearing on the question, and finally arrived at the conviction that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is situated in the *wrong place*. Many travellers, after having spoken with me on the topography of Jerusalem, regularly asked: "What is your idea of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre?" or, "Now, you can tell us: is the traditional Calvary the real one or no?" When expressing my *negative* conviction, and the enquirer had a different opinion on the subject, he would usually say: "Why? Please give me the proofs;" and so I had to speak *much* and in *vain*, as no one, having already settled the question in his own mind, would lightly alter his opinion. To avoid this, at a later period, when asked the same questions, I answered, "Oh, that is a difficult question; much can be said for and against it, so I am not able to give a positive answer; but if you wish to know my *individual* and *private* opinion, it is that the church does *not* stand on the right place;" and with this answer most were satisfied, but some said, "I am sorry that you have not a different opinion." I found that Roman Catholics, with few exceptions, believe the tradition, and have no inner spiritual freedom to doubt respecting it, fearing to fall into sin. So the controversy is going on chiefly amongst Protestants, first in Germany and America, and now in England; which controversy will hardly settle the matter.

3.

For 37 years, from 1846 to 1883, I had then, as above stated, the private conviction that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is standing on the wrong place, although I could not prove this, nor point out with certainty and without doubt the real site. Then it happened that the Russians got possession of a piece of ground east of the said church, on which lay much *débris*, which had, by order from St. Petersburg, to be cleared away. The Russian Archimandrite here, the Rev. V. Antonin, had the work under his charge, and he wished me to look to the matter, and in some measure to direct the work and report on the result, which I did.

The work went on for several months, but few things of interest were found and not what we expected. We found no cisterns nor remains of old walls, except those which were known before, but we found a *fine pavement*, and that the rock rises higher than the streets outside.

And now comes something, which I would rather give in parenthesis, as not belonging properly to the matter. When the work was going on, Dr. Zagarelli, Professor of the Georgian language at St. Petersburg, came here for some weeks. He paid me several visits, and we spoke about this exploration work, when he made the remark that it was a pity there was no competent person here who might give a proper report

on the state of things. I requested him repeatedly to appoint me an hour, when he would be there, in order to give me the necessary hints on those old remains. He promised so to do, but nothing came of it. When the work was ended, and I was about to write the report, I found it not an easy matter; for *merely* to say that this and this was found, would have been to show that I did not understand things of antiquity. So I worked and studied very earnestly—first the lines of the walls of ancient Jerusalem, secondly the siege by Titus, thirdly the kind of churches built in the time of Constantine, and fourthly, *how all this may agree and be reconciled with the present buildings and the old remains which were found.* Thus I had not only to do with the Russian ground—but with the whole neighbourhood round about, examining all the cisterns, whether they were hewn in rock or built, the drains, the cellars of the houses, &c., and making a plan of the whole. In the course of this work I found the continuation of the old Jewish wall, consisting of large stones, in a long line northward, and that Byzantine work was first built upon it, then Crusading, and finally Mohammedan. In a vault I could point out clearly masonry of five different periods. So that it became evident to me that Constantine on this eastern side of the present church built his Basilica on the remains of the old Jewish walls—which had here once formed a fortress—perhaps the residence of Nehemiah (chapter iii, 7), the throne or seat of the governor on this side of the river, and perhaps the tower mentioned by Josephus (“Wars,” V, vii, 4)—as the middle one of the northern (the second) wall, which was defended during the siege by a cunning man named Castor. When this part of the wall was taken by the Romans, they came soon to the market or bazaars of the goldsmiths and apothecaries, or spice sellers, which are still here—and they, in Nehemiah’s time, repaired the walls here. I found further, that on the west of this fortress there runs along a ditch, in which several cisterns are now built, and a part of which is still the “Chapel of Helena.”¹ Beyond this ditch stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and hence Constantine’s building was of great length. In the west the circular church “Anastasis” over the sepulchre; then a large court surrounded on three sides by cloisters, and on the fourth or east side, by the western face of the magnificent Basilica or “Matyriion,” crossing over the ditch; and hence Eusebius speaks of pillars going into the ground, and of others above ground. I found, further, that the walls of this building and the rows of pillars stood where the walls of the present buildings now are. All this was to my own disappointment and astonishment, for I now became overwhelmingly persuaded and convinced that really Constantine built his church here, and that the second wall ran here, so that the places of Calvary and the Holy Tomb were *without* the wall—although very *near* to it: and this is just what the Gospel says—John xix, 20. Many other things brought me to the same

¹ Thinking this to be my *own* idea, I found afterwards to my astonishment that even several old Christian pilgrims have mentioned this in their writings.

result, viz., that *very likely* this is the real place where Our Lord suffered, although I cannot fully prove it, and so, at present, I stand almost alone amongst the Protestants in Jerusalem in holding this view; as the majority believe the so-called "Skull Hill" to be the true Calvary. When, a few years ago, many visitors came to see my model of the Temple, a late English Bishop also came and was pleased with what he saw and heard; but when, coming to the question of *Calvary*, I confessed my belief that the Church of the Sepulchre is genuine, his Lordship became so displeased that he left unfriendly, as if he would have no more communication with a man believing such things! But a few days later, this was balanced by another Bishop, from Canada, who came and saw the models; and, as usual, at the end asked my opinion on the site of Calvary; and when I answered that the church stands in the right place, and explained how I came to this conviction, his Lordship blessed me and said: "It is quite a relief to my mind, what you have told me now, and that you believe the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to be genuine!" Other people have spoken in the same manner, and so I find all are divided into two classes, from religious motives. Of those without religious motives who have spoken with me on the matter, who at once say: "You must know—I don't believe *anything*" (which forms a *third* class), I will say nothing, as their testimony is of no value; and such I answered according to the rule of Solomon, Prov. xxvi, 5.

And now again comes a parenthesis not belonging directly to the question, but still, perhaps, interesting to the reader:—

My report on the result of the excavations made to the east of the church caused great sensation in St. Petersburg. I had said in it that the granite pillars near the eastern street belonged once to the "Propylæum" of Constantine's Church, and similar things; and so Herr von Manzoorof, who had bought the place eighteen years before, and who was President of the Oriental Orthodox Mission,¹ was censured in high quarters for having let such an important place lie waste. His reply was that "Herr Schick is wrong in his assertions," and then he came here and stayed for five months, gathering materials for writing a book, in which he intended to overrule all my assertions and statements, and to show that I was wrong in everything. Many hours he talked with me on the subject, but all that he said convinced me more and more that I was in the right, and so it was decided in St. Petersburg to build up the waste place; which has since been done in a rather expensive way. The old remains are spared and covered in, so that every traveller may see them. The place is at the same time a kind of sanctuary to which Russian pilgrims flock. From the Emperor I myself received a high Order.

¹ Which was re-organised in 1882, when the Grand Duke Sergius, brother of the Emperor, was made its President (instead of V. Manzoorof) and Staatsrath v. Hitrowo its Secretary.

4.

About the time when I gave up the idea I had so long had, that the traditional Calvary is the wrong one, and became converted, as above stated, to the conviction that it is genuine, Dr. Selah Merrill, the American Consul, maintained that the so-called "Skull Hill" (*i.e.*, the hillock over Jeremiah's grotto, north of the present town) is the real Calvary, and pointed it out to travellers as such. Also he wrote a pamphlet to prove this, and his arguments, partly such as were used before, partly some new ones, convinced some people, but not all, as the arguments were not striking enough. But now came the late General Gordon with the idea that this rock was intended to be the site for the Temple, but the builders refused it, and built the Temple further down on the ridge, and that Christ was crucified here instead, and that it became thereby the "corner stone"! He called it the "Skull," taking this notion (as he showed me on the map) from the Ordnance Survey Map, scale 2,500, where the contour 2,549 shows in reality the form of a skull; and as at the western foot of the hill a rock-cut tomb existed and had been cleared, he decided that this was the Tomb of Christ. Many travellers, especially English, on such authority, gave the matter attention, and went there and believed, and also Americans, as their Consul showed the place to them, and so the matter became widely known, and the question filled very many minds in such a way that the hill and the tomb were made a kind of "fetish." It seems the enthusiasm has already passed the culminating point, and that the matter will be treated more soberly.

And now with respect to the question: *Where is the real Calvary?* It is not necessary for me, nor is this the place, to cite everything that has been brought forward by English, German, French, and other writers, for or against the traditional site or in favour of other sites. Anyone who wishes to have a vote on this question ought to read and study all that has been written respecting it. For me, it is here enough to give an outline of my views and state the principles on which I deal with the matter.

According to the New Testament, the place of the crucifixion of Our Lord—and hence also His tomb—was outside of the city as it then existed, but there is no hint given on which side it was. So we may look for it on all four sides. The chief necropolis of ancient Jerusalem was on the south, where there are many rock-cut tombs, and some¹ have thought that Nicodemus might have had his there, and as "Tophet" was there, in which unclean things were put, so the place of execution might have been there; and so some have put the place of the crucifixion on the southern brow of the traditional Mount Zion—outside the "dung gate." But as there are also on the other sides of the city rock-cut tombs, and as it seems to me there was no special place for execution either

¹ The late Dr. Krapff for instance.

among the Jews or in the East generally, or with the Romans,¹ I think Calvary was not on the south side of the town.

The east side is more likely, but still stands in the same line with the south. On the east side is the Kidron, in which Asa the King (1 Kings xv, 13) burnt the idols; also Athaliah (2 Chron. xxiii, 15-21) was executed there. So the late Mr. Fergusson put Calvary near the Golden Gate, and the tomb under the Dome of the Rock. Dr. Barclay put Calvary more towards the north-east, on the brow of the hill outside St. Stephen's (or Sitey Mirjam) Gate. An English officer lately wrote to me that he thinks it was near the Garden of Gethsemane. But all this seems to me not likely, as, in the time of Our Lord, the ground from the city walls eastwards, as far as Bethany, was in some degree *sanctified*, so that pilgrims residing there in huts, tents, or caves during the days of the festivals were considered as *residing in the Holy City itself*.² So executions could hardly have taken place on this side.

The west, or rather north-west, side is the most probable spot where one might hope to find Calvary. In old books, and especially in all old *pictures* of the city, Calvary is always shown on the west or north-west side, and travellers coming to Jerusalem or residents there, when asked, "Where would you look for Calvary if the traditional site should be wrong?" generally answer without hesitation, "Somewhere in the north-west."

Here also Dr. Zimpel put it on the testimony of the religious sister Emmerich³ (a somnambulist). Even Robinson, the hero in the camp of the opponents of the traditional Calvary, says: "The place was on one of the (two) chief roads, which from the gates of Jerusalem went down (the one) to Jaffa and (the other) to Damascus;" hence to the north-west of the city (just as the traditional one is situated, only further out), so that in ancient times the site may have been pronounced to be on the north side. Thus it follows from all that I have said that if the traditional site is wrong, Calvary must be looked for on the north side of the present city. Since the Russian establishment many other buildings have been erected outside the town on the north-west. New-comers no more look for Calvary there, but more to the east, north of the town, where there is still much free ground, and as they have the idea it must be some height, they naturally come to the "Skull Hill," or the smaller hill west of it, where I myself first put Calvary, and then Captain Conder,⁴ Dr. Chaplin, and others.⁵

¹ Josephus makes mention of Jews, crucified by the Romans in various localities.

² See Caspari, "Leben Jesu Christi," Hamburg, 1869: Agentur des rauhen Hauses, p. 162.

³ D. Zimpel, "Die Weltstadt Jerusalem," Stuttgart, 1852: Schneitzes-borthsche Verlagshandlung.

⁴ The place is described in the Jer. Volume, p. 381, and *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 78.

⁵ "The Times," September 30, 1892.

5.

Among the many objections made to the traditional Calvary there are only two of great weight, viz. :—

- (1) That it is now inside the town, whereas it was, according to the Gospel, outside ; therefore the site of the present church could not have been Calvary.

My answer : This objection vanished from me, as by observing old remains and the configuration of the rock levels under the present city, I became convinced that the site was formerly outside, as above stated. (See my special paper on this subject.)

- (2) That the knowledge of Calvary was lost, and the site had to be looked for, and the finding of it was described as a miracle wrought by God.

To these objections many answers were given and at great length. Perhaps the most effectual was by Chateaubriand,¹ to which even Robinson showed great attention, but he proceeds to contradict it point by point in such a way as to give the impression that he *wished* to controvert it.

My own humble opinion and conviction is this : Our Lord had told his disciples that when they should see Jerusalem besieged they should leave the place ; and so they did, residing in Pella, beyond the Jordan, till the war was over, and they were able to return to Jerusalem, which they certainly, or at least the greater part, did. For Jerusalem was not so thoroughly destroyed by the Romans as is generally believed. In the upper (or western) town not much was destroyed, but the eastern, or lower town, with the Temple, thoroughly.

When Titus had taken the latter and besieged the upper town, this was still standing, and not much destroyed, and when it was taken on the western site, and the towers came into possession of the Romans, Josephus tells us, that the "fire raged, and the town became destroyed ;" but he also says that Titus left a garrison there, in the towers and the western city, so it could not have been entirely destroyed. And for what reason would the Romans have destroyed what still remained, after they had got possession of it, and were resolved to stay there, and keep the country in check from there ? Also nothing is said of the rebuilding of the town, and yet only 60 years later, Hadrian ordered that walls and many other things should be built, so there must have been some population there, and, as it seems to me, continuously. The Christians were first in favour with the Romans, as not having taken part in the revolt, and so there was no hindrance to their staying there, and having in their possession their former houses and churches, or places held in veneration by them.

¹ Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 411, Boston, 1856.

But when the persecution of the Christians began, and their churches and whatever else they had of the kind were destroyed or otherwise disposed of, so we hear it was also done with the place of the Martyrdom and the Resurrection, so that it is clear people did then know it. In the course of 200 years, the appearance and configuration of a piece of ground or the site of a building may become quite altered, and yet the general site be known, though not the exact spot. And if search happens to be made just on the right point, one may certainly call it the leading of God, and it is quite natural to be astonished when at once the looked-for object comes to light. Anyone who makes excavations will often make this experience. We know, for example, whereabouts the "Tombs of the Kings" must be looked for, and if, one day, excavations for them are begun at a point carefully selected, and the shaft really meets the entrance to the tomb, everyone connected with the work will marvel, and ascribe it to the leading of God, if he is a Christian, and if not, he will say it was an accident. Would this be a proof that the people did not know where to look for the place?

These Christians knew, as well as we know, that Jesus was crucified outside the town, and if they had not known where to look for the place, they would certainly have looked for it more outside, just as now the opponents of the tradition do—not under the *débris* within the walls of the city!

Then one must think, further, that the Christians of those ages were less learned than the people of our day, but that they saw in everything the *ruling of God*; otherwise they would not have had the power to undergo so many sufferings and martyrdoms, which I fear our wise generation will scarcely do. So when they attributed everything to the ruling of God, this cannot be an argument against the truth of their sayings. Writing and reading were in those ages very little understood. About 200 years later Procopius, describing the buildings of Justinian in Jerusalem, writes in the same manner, and says when pillars were wanted, and the Emperor was grieved about it, "*God pointed out in the nearest mountain a bed of stone of a kind suitable for this purpose.*"¹ He ascribes here to God what a builder could have found out by himself.

Such a grand building as Constantine erected would not be made without historical and good grounds. Finally, I may say that *we* were also astonished when we found the fine pavement, and that the rock, where once the Martyrian Basilica of Constantine stood, *came out much higher* than the level of the streets round about. So the astonishment when the *tomb* was found was quite natural.

Robinson makes a further objection against Chateaubriand, and so against the traditional site, that from the death of Christ to the Emperor Claudius the city outside the second wall could not in only ten years have been rebuilt so far as to want a new protecting wall.

¹ Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's "Buildings of Justinian," London, 1886, p. 142.

To hear this from an American is rather strange, as in America cities are often built in ten years, and it may be remarked that before the death of Christ many houses were certainly built outside the wall, scattered here and there, as is now being done again, and still with unoccupied spaces between, fit for places of execution. Moreover, when Agrippa built the third wall not all the ground he enclosed was covered with houses, for the Romans, when they had taken the wall, could pitch their camp inside it without pulling down the houses. And so it is with all the other objections.

As *curiosities* I will add the following :—

- (a) Falmereyer, in order to explain the difficulty, the Church of the Sepulchre being now *inside* the town, and yet Christ was crucified outside, interpreted that it means outside the "city" —the *old*¹ or *chief one*—just as in London the inner part is called City, so he thinks it was at Jerusalem.
- (b) One should think, if the place of the crucifixion is wrong, the tomb must be also wrong; not so Schweiger, who pronounces Calvary to be a forgery but the tomb to be genuine, and Jacob Ammon says the tomb is a forgery but Calvary is genuine.²
- (c) What I have to say on the tomb, by some considered to be the tomb of Our Lord at the foot of the Skull Hill, I have already said in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 120.

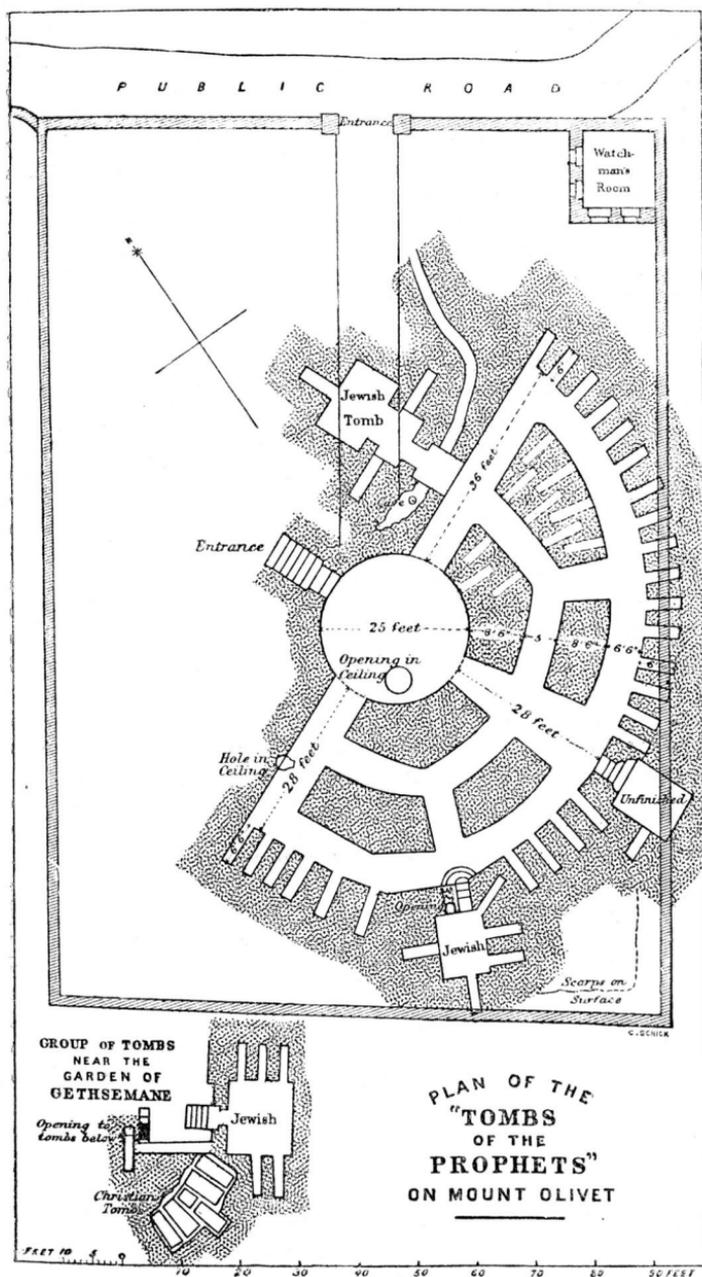
II.—THE TOMBS OF THE PROPHETS

Are mentioned in nearly every book on Jerusalem, but are seldom visited by travellers, or properly discussed by scholars, and, so far as I am aware, no correct plan of them exists. So when I heard several months ago that the Russian Archimandrite had bought the field in which they are situated, and was surrounding it with a wall, and people spoke of "passages" going through the Mount of Olives, and of inscriptions being found, I wished to go there and see, but was told I should wait until some disputes were settled. The Jews brought a law-suit against the occupation by the Russians, and it was decided in Constantinople that the place shall belong to the Russians, but they shall let the Jews visit their old tombs in it whenever they please. So of course I also could go there.

I found the place surrounded with a stone wall, with a wide and high iron door, and in one of its corners a little room, in which a black watchman is living with his family. The surface of the ground has been in some places cleared of earth, and several rock-cut tombs of the Christian period have come to light. The entrance to, and even the inside of, the "tombs of the prophets," I found nearly untouched, almost as I had seen

¹ The City of Solomon within the first wall.

² Tobler "Golgotha," St. Gallen, 1851, p. 164.



PLAN OF THE
"TOMBS
OF THE
PROPHETS"
ON MOUNT OLIVET

them many years ago. And in regard of inscriptions, I found those which are known for a long time already, and are of little value, being only slightly ingraved in plaster. I had taken with me a plan which I found in "Sepp's Jerusalem," Schaffhausen, 1873, vol. i, p. 286, and this plan I suppose is a copy of Pocock's, or Chateaubriand's, or of some one who visited Jerusalem from sixty to ninety years ago. I found the plan incorrect, and took measurements, so as to be enabled to make a more correct one, which I enclose herewith. These tombs appeared to me now in a new light, and I may perhaps be allowed to make some suggestions respecting them. All descriptions of them to which I can get access are more or less copies from those before. Robinson did not visit them. Tobler gives some details beyond others, but the Memoir of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Jer. vol., p. 403, gives a fuller account, as follows:—"The so-called tombs of the prophets on Mount Olivet are situate near the top of the spur due east of the south-east angle of the Haram, some 300 yards south-west of the Church of the Ascension (in Ordnance Survey Map of Jerusalem, scale $\frac{1}{10000}$, where at the sharp bending of the road the word 'tombs' stands). There is a circular chamber (25 feet diameter), with two radiating passages leading to a semi-circular passage with twenty-four¹ kokim tombs. There is a parallel curved passage intersecting the radii nearer the central chamber, and at the end of this is a chamber reached by steps (going downwards), containing unfinished kokim. Two of the kokim in the semi-circular passage are tunnels leading to two inner chambers, one having two kokim, of which one is unfinished."² (Compare my plan with this description.) After speaking of the inscription, the account proceeds: "There can be little doubt that these, tombs are Jewish, although the arrangement is unusual. Some circular chambers, with radiating kokim, have, however, been found during the survey in the western plain." (See Memoir, vol. ii, p. 32, &c.) But these are rather small ones,³ and the chamber not circular, but oval, as if the intended square was not worked fully out, as I have observed in several other tomb chambers, where the corners were rounded. All my explorations and studies of these matters have brought me to the conviction that the round form is Canaanitic, and the square Jewish. The Tabernacle, the altar, the Temple, and nearly everything which was connected with them were square; the laver and the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, were exceptions, the circular form being natural for these. Among tombs also some exceptions may occur. But I cannot help considering the greater part of the "tombs of the prophets" as a Pagan form,⁴ although I am not able to say positively when they were made, or by whom.

¹ They are more in number.

² Hence made when the half-circle passage was made; the other has five kokim, and is older, formerly with an opening from the surface.

³ $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter.

⁴ The symbol of Baal was a circle (the sun), of Astaroth a half circle, or the moon; theatres were round; Herod built his mausoleum round.

There are on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, a very large number of Christian tombs, which are easily recognisable. They are close to one another, fully expressing the *brotherhood* of the departed, whereas the Jewish tombs are always single, *i.e.*, contrary to brotherhood.

There are, besides the Christian tombs on Mount Olivet, also several regular Jewish tombs, which are certainly older than the Christian, and so one of the square chambers (the south-eastern of these "Tombs of the Prophets") is of Jewish origin and most probably older than the rest of the half-circular passages with their kokim. It is also higher, with steps leading up into the chamber; and so it was perhaps also with the north-eastern chamber, although this is on a level with the passages; as the ground there slopes downwards, this chamber could not be situated higher and have a roofing thick enough. But the chamber towards the *east* was made when the passages were made, and this explains the unfinished kokim. To me, it seems as if the *whole* is not finished, or, if it is finished, the purpose of the second half circle and the radiating passages is a puzzle. I think the intention was to make, in course of time, kokim in the remaining massive piers, which from their thickness it was possible to do, as I have shown by dotted lines in the plan. Was there some other purpose? As the passages are rather high (about 12 feet), and as the existing kokim in the large semi-circular passage are situated very near the floor, it gives the impression that the design was to make one or two other rows of kokim over them. If so, then it was meant to form a ground mausoleum, or, as I think, a kind of "Pantheon," if it may be so called—a place where eminent persons might find their resting place among men of their own rank.¹ This is a Pagan idea, not orthodox Jewish, and hence also a Pagan, *i.e.*, a Greek or Roman, form may have been adopted, and we find such a mixture of Jewish and Pagan.²

The mixture of Pagan and Jewish we can only put in the time shortly preceding the Christian era, and whilst this mausoleum was being constructed disturbances may have taken place in the country, which hindered the work, and Jerusalem being soon afterwards destroyed, it was never finished, but was used afterwards by the new population, especially by Christians, who I think plastered the chambers, as several other Christian tomb-chambers are also plastered, and in this plaster the inscriptions were engraved, being either the names of newly deceased persons buried there, or in memory of former occupants of the tombs. As there is a great accumulation of earth, it may be that when the place is thoroughly cleared out, something may be found, throwing more light on the subject. Meanwhile, I take leave to make the above suggestion, which I think is not more unreasonable than that of Mr. Lewin, who thought these caves and passages might be the tombs of the Israelite kings. (Lewin, "Siege of Jerusalem," London, 1863, p. 224.)

¹ Like the Walballa at the Danube, in Bavaria.

² Of the many Jewish and Christian tombs combined I give an instance in the annexed plan; it is situated about 100 feet east of the Garden of Gethsemane.

I may add a few more remarks :—

The workmanship of these tombs is to some degree rude and not so good as that of the "Tombs of the Kings" (so called), but this is partly owing to the more brittle nature of the rock. The plastering gave it a more finished appearance. The kokim in the larger semi-circle are not all at equal distances one from the other; and as will be seen on the plan, the round opening in the ceiling of the round central hall (giving scarcely enough light) is not in the central point, as one would expect, but a great deal out of it, which is rather strange. What might have been the reason for this I am not able to say. The entrance is very plain, it consists of a door not quite three feet wide, surmounted by a semi-circular arch, without proper mouldings.

The northern, or rather north-eastern, chambers, with a few kokim, and a narrow and low aqueduct-like passage,¹ I was not able to examine properly, as we found a large animal there, and we were not prepared for such a case, so my assistants, who were helping in measuring, were afraid to go further on. The cave, resembling a kok, but with uneven sides, marked in the plan, is a natural cleft in the rock.

III.-- ON THINGS WHICH WERE EXPECTED TO BE FOUND IN MAKING THE RAILWAY.

I had it always in my mind to report upon any things of interest which might be found during the construction of the railway from Jaffa. But I heard of nothing, and once, when the chief of the works was here and I was introduced to him by Mr. Frutiger, amongst many other things, I asked him also about antiquities or interesting ruins which they might have discovered. But he said: "We found hitherto nothing of the kind. We do not carry the line through those ancient sites. They always now form smaller or larger hills where we should have more to do, and we choose the level ground as much as possible, and not one of these mounds was opened by us." He also said that there is a tract of land where the natives refuse to work because it is cursed, so that they were obliged to put Italians there. But all of them became ill sooner or later, and they had therefore to change them frequently. The reason of this he could not tell. It was fortunate that not much had to be done there!

Recently I made inquiries again, but with the same negative result, viz., that no antiquities of importance were found.

There was a rumour that an interesting inscription was found at the railway works near Bab El Wad, but when I made close inquiry I learned that it was the one found by Mr. Bliss at Tell el Hesy.

¹ I think this was a drain to carry off the water gathered there in the winter season.

IV.—NEWLY DISCOVERED ROCK-CUT PASSAGES.

A few weeks after the work of the railway began at Jerusalem I heard that large aqueducts had been found near the German colony. So I went there and inspected the place—but was disappointed. I hoped to find a real aqueduct, but it was simply a rock-cut tunnel or passage of no great length, with its floor rapidly falling towards the south. Opposite was another, which people thought to be the same, but they are situated at different levels, although both are of the same kind. They are cut entirely into the rock about 2 feet or more wide and 5 feet high. At the place where the new road was made I could go in to the northern one, and found that it ends abruptly under the middle of the (new) road. Its bottom rises towards the north, but there is an opening in the roof by which much earth had fallen in, and so I could not go further; but got the idea it very likely goes into the pit or "cave" there,¹ under the Greek orchards, which at first sight seems to be a Jewish rock-cut tomb, but on closer examination is found to have been originally a cave-dwelling and afterwards used as a tomb. What was the use of these passages? This is rather difficult to say. To me it seems they were places where treasure, or perhaps corn, might be put in time of danger, at a period when people lived in caves. The southern passage is full of earth, so I cannot tell its length.

V.—THE SEB'A RUJÛM.

In the *Quarterly Statement* of 1890, p. 22, I reported on the seven large stone heaps called "Seb'a Rujûm," and suggested that if they were opened something interesting might be found in their inside. Having heard that the railway people are taking materials from them for the railway, I went there to see what might have been covered up. I found that only from one or two of them had stones been removed and not enough to show what was *inside*. I found a temporary *rail* from one of them to the railway, on which cars were running to and fro, and on that side a good many stones were removed, but the centre had not been nearly reached. The stones inside are of the same size as those on the surface, the largest not being larger than a man could carry. One could also see that there is no earth between the stones and that they lie on the surface of the red earth, not on rock. That is, when the mounds were made, no earth was removed in order to erect the pile on the rock itself. The land is now being sold there—so very likely houses will be built in the neighbourhood.

¹ It is marked thus  in the Ordnance Survey Plan, scale $\frac{1}{2500}$.

VI.—OLD REMAINS AT THE SANATORIUM.

In the Ordnance Survey Map of Jerusalem, scale $\frac{1}{10000}$, there is inserted on the north-west of the city a piece of ground with a building in its centre and named "Sanatorium of Protestant Mission," near the point where the roads from the Jaffa and the Damascus Gates unite. This ground belongs to the London Jews' Society, and I had to build there a rather large building for a girls' school. On clearing the ground I found towards the west-end of the field some rock-like large stones in two lines about 18 feet distant one from the other, as if there had once been a tower or chamber there, although I did not find any *corners*. Between these rows of large stones were found a great many pieces of *pottery* of all sorts, and as it seemed to me, according to Professor Flinders Petrie's theory, of all ages. So I hoped to find here at least a cistern, or a pool, if not a spring. But when all was cleared away I found only the bare rock. That these remains dated from very ancient times was clear, not so clear what they might have been. One of the rows formed a slight curve, so I thought it might on this side have been semicircular. *Outside* the rows of large undressed rock-like stones not *any* pottery was found.

VII.—KHURBET RAS EL-ALWEH AND BURJ EL-TUT.

Fourteen years ago, when so much rain fell that the torrent carried away the stone bridge in the Kulonieh Valley, over which the main road to Jaffa passes, I was asked to erect a temporary bridge of wood as quickly as possible, which was done. This bridge lasted six years, and was then replaced by the present stone one.

When erecting the wooden bridge I levelled from the river bed up the road towards Jerusalem, and especially the steep ascent, in order to find for the carriage road a better line than the many and small zigzags, which were not according to my ideas. In doing so I came on the eastern slope of the valley, near the top of the hill, to a ruined place where I found a round thick pillar standing in the earth, and, as it seemed to me, still *in situ*; on asking some natives of Lifta, who were assisting me in the work, for the name of the ruins, I was told "Khurbet Ras el-Alweh," which name I found in later years inserted in the large map of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The natives spoke of a church which was once standing there. Traces of a road once leading from the place to Jerusalem are still visible. Some years later, when I read in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1888, p. 263, the suggestion by Dr. Chaplin that the place of Eben Ezer might be looked for between Nebi Samuel ("Mizpeh") and the modern village Deir Yesin, which he took to be "Shen," and "Beth-car" to be the present 'Ain Karem (1 Sam. vii, 11, 12), the pillar in the ruins of Khurbet Ras el-Alweh came into my mind, and the desirability of digging there to ascertain what the pillar

really indicates; the more so, as the late General Gordon took up the same idea, only he put Eben Ezer a little more east, and nearer Jerusalem, at Khurbet el-Bukeia.

A man of Lifta asked me for work, whom, with his sons, I had often employed as labourers, when erecting new buildings. I told him he could, with his two boys, work on my account for a few days at this place, and mentioned expressly the pillar—to which he agreed, saying that the place belonged partly to him. After a few days he came and reported what they had found. But from his description I found that he had worked at another place, and not at the one I meant. Then he said, "Oh! you mean the more distant ruin?" and as of this also he is part proprietor, he undertook to dig there and bring me a report. When he had done this I went there, but found not what I wished or expected. The pillar is not *in situ*, but standing on its top (*i.e.*, upside down), and simply on earth or rubbish. It is clear that it once stood a little higher up the slope. Its foot is squared, as if once intended to be put into a square hole, either of masonry or hewn in the rock. The man also spoke of a former "church," but I found no signs of one.

The place was once of some importance, not on the very top of the hill, but on its southern slope, although the upper parts are near the top, which is now a flat piece of ground, and, as it seemed to me, once embraced with a wall, in which was towards the west a tower, and in the north-eastern part is a large cistern. There is also a cistern in the ruins themselves, which once covered a square about 100 paces long and broad, the south-eastern corner of which is fully occupied with *débris*, whereas the rest towards the west and north-west had only a few small buildings. The southern wall is better preserved than the others, being lower, so that the *débris* fell upon it and covered it. It was of stones 2 feet 3 inches high and 3 feet long, very nicely cut, with smooth faces, and without any bevel or marks. The pillar is only a fragment 3 feet 8 inches long, and 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. One side of it is well preserved, the other weather-worn. It stands now about 15 feet from a lintel of a former door. Close to the latter and a little higher is a conical heap of *débris* and stones, round which is a free space, as if once a road about 18 or 20 feet wide went round it, and then joined the road going towards Jerusalem. I think the pillar stood on this separate building, and when the place was destroyed tumbled down the slope. From these ruins one has a very nice view towards the south and south-west, especially down the large valley and the mountains on both sides, to Kúryet S'aideh, Sâtáf, &c., and from the top of the hill there is a view all round up the deep valley to Beit Hanina, Er Ram, and other places on both sides.

On the old road towards Jerusalem from this place there is, on the north, the highest peak of this range of hills, covered with a heap of stones (not given in the map), which is called Rujum Medafeh, the Cannon Heap, or Heap for the Cannons; and a little further to the south a ruin called Kasr el-Beda, the white tower.

Burj 'el-Tut, a little north of the Jaffa road. It was here the man had digged first, as above stated, so he brought me to the place, to show what he had done. In the "Memoir," vol. iii, p. 91, it is said, "a vault, rock-cut cisterns, and tombs—square chambers without loculi—these belong to the village of Lifta." To this short description I wish to add: The vault consisted originally of a three-fold one, each parallel to the other, and apparently Crusading. Besides, there were a few other houses, also a large cave—a pool cut in the rock, and water channels. The "pillar," of which the man had spoken, proved to be the stone of a press. It is round, 3 feet 10 inches in diameter, 3 feet 9 inches high. On the upper surface, which is straight and smooth, is a round depression 1 foot 9½ inches deep, a little conical upwards, and so on the top 1 foot 3 inches wide, and at the bottom only 10 inches. On opposite sides of the pillar are two recesses, cut into the stone, 4 inches deep, 9 inches wide, and 1 foot 9 inches long, or downwards from the upper surface, below a little wider than on the top, so that a beam of wood, shaped in the same way and put upright, could not move. Several pieces of glass, and a good many small tesserae were found, also another stone which belonged once to a mill, similar to that which I have described as found at Khurbet Jubeiah.

VIII.—ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1893, p. 68, are some notes and queries to which I would give answers.

"II. Mr. Schick does not state the general position of the mosaic he describes in *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 190. . . I conclude the lozenges are made too narrow, &c. . . He states that they are not square. . . It seems to me this cannot be. . . *This* is probably the error in his drawing which he refers to, as compared with a photograph."

Answer: The position of the place is fully described for one who knows all that has been published respecting the ground of the Dominican brethren, especially *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 211, where the traces of a church are described.

With regard to the narrowness of the lozenges, I can only say they are narrower than long, and hence not square.

III. That I have not given the measure of the eastern chamber of Gordon's Tomb.

Answer: Finding by experience that people become disgusted and weary by so many details of measurements being brought into the text, and pass them over and do not read them, I give as little as possible, but refer to the plans where all measurements may be obtained, and all my plans are drawn to the annexed scale. Also I am not an infallible man, and may sometimes forget something which I ought to mention. The mistake in the direction of the magnetic needle is not mine, but the lithographer's.

IV. Tomb near Bethany, *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 249. "Some of the measures do not exactly agree with the text."

Answer: I have compared both carefully, and found this to be the case only in the innermost chamber. This also may arise from the lithographer not fully understanding the meaning. In numbers written on a small scale and on thin tracing paper, it is very easy to misread. But the real measures can always be found by the student with the compasses on the drawing itself.

So far as concerns my own work; but the gentleman goes on to ask further:—

"V. Can anyone state the accurate dimensions of the chamber in" (he probably means under) "the Sakhra."

Answer: They are given in the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, made by Sir Charles Wilson, and published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, 1865. Plate 2 gives the "Kubbat Es Sachra" in scale $\frac{1}{2000}$ and also the rock and its cave.

"VI. Can anyone say whether a window into a tomb is very rare?" Answer: Yes, very rare. "Or are there other caves like 'Gordon's Tomb' and 'Conder's' in this feature?" Answer: There are some other tombs which have such openings. For instance, that of Simon the Righteous. The two holes in "Conder's Tomb" (Jerusalem Vol., p. 433) on either side of the entrance are small holes broken in, as if not there originally. South of Jerusalem, near Aceldama, there are also a few tombs which have small windows, but such tombs are rare.

ANTIQUITIES FROM CÆSAREA, &c.

By F. ROBINSON LEES, F.R.C.S.

THERE has been another discovery of antiquities at Cæsarea. A very fine head was brought to me a few days ago which I photographed (copy enclosed), but returned without purchasing, as the price was too high. You will see by the photograph that it was in a fair state of preservation, the nose, lips, and chin being but slightly damaged. It was about 10 inches high and 18 inches in circumference, very artistically and tastefully carved, evidently resembling some Roman maid or matron.

Glass and Pottery.—From the same place I received some very fine pieces of glass, pottery, and lamps. The former are among the finest specimens I have ever seen, not only on account of their iridescence, but more especially their shape and delicacy of form.

Unfortunately very few particulars of the place of their discovery came to hand with them. They were brought by a peasant who was under the impression that he had found something of great value, and through fear of the Government hastily removed them from their original resting place without paying the least attention to its position and