

Shall we hesitate to see in the name Luwàyeh the modern representative of Luhith, and to believe that the pass derived its name from the honeysuckle, in which it doubtless abounded then, as now?

Just as in the English Lake District a natural object has given us the Kirkstone Pass, so another gave to Palestine the "Honeysuckle Pass."

Luhith is commonly derived from a Hebrew word meaning "boards," but from the above coincidence I suspect it really comes from another very similar word signifying to weave or twist as a crown or garland.

(C) As to the ruins.

Tell esh Shâghur is merely marked on the American map as a hill, just on the south bank of Wady Hesbân, near the foot of the mountains, a mile east of Tell er Râmeh. No description is given of it, as far as I know.

It seems to me, however, so extremely probable that Canon Tristram ("Land of Moab," 347) unconsciously describes Zoar (or else its cemetery), that at the risk of being wrong I transcribe his words. He had been descending Wady Hesbân on its south side, and (on the same side, we may hope), to use his own words, "We descended on the edge of the Ghor Seisaban and entered on an open, undulating plateau.

"On the last rocky eminence which pushed forward into it were the most perfect primæval remains we had found in the country. Round the slightly-elevated crest at the western end of the ridge was a perfect circle of dolmens, each composed of three upright and one covering stone. Several of them had fallen, but the stones were in their places, and it was clear that they had been arranged in a circle round a great cairn, or central pile of stones, which crowned the "tell," and doubtless marked the burial-place of some hero, famous in his day, but who lived before Agamemnon."

If this hill should indeed prove to be Tell esh Shâghur, then the Gospel harmonists will perhaps hereafter allow that our Lord previous to *passing through Jericho* may have beheld these very monuments of ancient Zoar or at least the plain of Sodom while he uttered those solemn words, "Remember Lot's wife."

W. F. BIRCH.

TRANSFERENCE OF SITES.

TALKING the other day about the traditions of the Holy Sepulchre, and that many of them were traditions which belonged originally to the Temple Mount, it was suggested that a few notes on the Transference of Sites would be interesting. On considering the subject, it is doubtful if this is a correct title to express in all cases the true idea relating to this matter; Transference of Tradition would be even more doubtful. Identity of Tradition attached to Sacred Sites comes nearer, and the question of transference would be thus left out, or at least would not be

assumed as a necessary inference by the writer. The title adopted is, however, the simplest, and with this explanation it may be retained.

The sacrifice of Isaac is undoubtedly an event which belongs to the Temple Mount; the name Moriah is given in connection with it in Gen. xxii. 2. Josephus (Ant. i. 13. 1, 2) states that it was "the mountain Moriah," and that Abraham took Isaac "to that mountain, upon which King David afterwards built the Temple." This event is, at the present day, located at the Holy Sepulchre; the bush where the ram was caught entangled is now shown in the Abyssinian Convent; it is an old thorn, and pilgrims hang rags of bright colours on it. Here is what would be called the Transference of a Site, or the Transference of a Tradition. This is not the only case; Jerusalem was considered to be the centre of the earth. Where would that central point be? It could not have been at the spot which was afterwards to be the Holy Sepulchre, for that was "without the wall," and consequently not in Jerusalem. We must naturally conclude that it would be in the Temple,—for it was to the Temple that the Jews turned in prayer when in places distant from Jerusalem. We have an illustration of this in the Jews' wailing-place at the present day. Benjamin of Tudela associates the spot as connected with the Holy of Holies. The centre to which they turn is within the Haram Area, and not at the Holy Sepulchre. It is also the custom of the Jews to "orient" their synagogues to Jerusalem. That the Jews and Christians also accepted the same idea we can prove, according to Eutychius, from the words of Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to Omar, who describes the place which he allots for the building of a Temple:—"I give to the Commander of the Faithful a place where he may build a temple, which the Grecian Emperors were unable to build; viz., the Rock on which God spoke to Jacob, which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven, and the Israelites the Holy place of Israel, and is held by them in such veneration that, wherever they are, they turn their faces towards it when they pray." This quotation gives us, so far, the ideas entertained on this point by Jews and Christians towards the end of the ninth century. Under a theoretic form of government, the centre was the seat of religion and power. It is a symbol to which many oriental ideas can be traced and explained. The Emperor of Delhi was called the "Centre of the Universe." Buddha was a Chakra-varta Rajah, but the Chakra is the wheel or circle of universal power, and the Chakra implies a centre. In the Judaic system, the seat of supreme power was the Temple, that was the true local of the centre. According to the Mohammedan belief the Sakrah is the centre of the world (see "History of Jerusalem," by Walter Besant and E. H. Palmer, p. 419). At this day, however, the centre of the world is pointed out to pilgrims in the nave of the Greek Church, at a point facing and not far from the door of the Holy Sepulchre. Adam's Grave seems to be a purely Christian tradition; but had the Jews made use of that as a type or figure, the Temple ought to have been the shrine of this holy place. Perhaps this may not be a familiar subject to most readers, and it would lead far beyond the limits

of this article to deal with it. At present the position of Adam's grave is shown in the Holy Sepulchre, and in connection with the rock of Calvary. The traditional grave of Adam has been transferred, or, it might be better to say, is believed also to exist in Hebron and in Mecca. For this last, see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1877, p. 92. For Adam's Grave at Hebron, see Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine," vol. ii., p. 83, according to which Adam's tomb did exist in Hebron, but has now disappeared. It was shown in the time of Arculfus, as "not far" from the tombs of the patriarchs (Bede, B. V., chap. xviii). The place where the red earth was taken from to make Adam is shown at Hebron ("Tent Work," v. II. p. 84), and according to Dr. Manning's work on Palestine, p. 101, published by the Religious Tract Society, the same spot is shown in the Holy Sepulchre.

At Mount Gerizim we have another transference or identity of tradition. Rivalry of closely allied faiths seems to have something to do with the matter—for here the Samaritans believe that "King Joshua" founded their temple, on this mountain they have their Sacred Rock, the counterpart of the Sakrah at Jerusalem—this they believe is the site of their altar, and to this "they turn in prayer, wherever they may be" ("Underground Jerusalem," by Captain Warren, p. 218). Close to this is the spot where, according to the Samaritan tradition, Abraham offered up Isaac; "here also Melchizedek met Abraham and received his tithes." "Here Jacob dreamed his dream, and he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of that city was called Luz at the first." "Here, also, was the altar that Jacob built on his return from Padan-Aram, and called Elelohe Israel. On this holy of holies the Ark rested," &c., &c. (*Ibid.* p. 219). Thus we find what seems to be a natural tendency of these traditions to gather round what may be called a sacred centre of worship.

Connected with the Sakrah at Jerusalem there are associated all the principal events of Scripture history, such as the Creation of Adam; it was the site of Paradise; Noah's Ark rested on the spot; Abraham's Sacrifice was offered; and it was also the place of Jacob's dream; all the rivers of the world flow from under this Sacred Rock—clearly a transference of the symbolical four streams of the first Eden. The mediæval travellers who visited Jerusalem repeat all these traditions. Sir John Mandeville gives a very long list of events connected with the Sakrah, making it the scene of New Testament as well as Old Testament history. The Mohammedans have long held this sacred spot, and to them we no doubt in this case get the localising of some of these traditions—and it is important to note that this tendency is not peculiar to any one faith.

The Sakrah, according to some theorists, has nothing to do with the original temple. The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions a "*lapis pertusus*," to which the Jews came and wailed; this, Mr. Fergusson thinks, was a stone, "bored with two holes," mentioned in the Middoth, which stood at the south-west corner of the spot where his theory places the altar of

the Temple. This was the corner stone of the altar, and "was the Sakrah not only of the Jews, but at one time of the Saracens also" ("The Temples of the Jews," p. 184). Now the present Sakrah is a "holed stone," or *lapis pertusus*; a large hole communicates with the cave below, but it stands about 500 feet to the north of the position given to it by Mr. Fergusson, thus suggesting, according to his theory, a very important transference of site. In the Black Stone at the Kaaba of Mecca we have perhaps some of the earlier traditions which the Mohammedans transferred to the Sakrah. This Black Stone is the "corner stone" of the Kaaba; it is a veritable bit of Paradise, and will return to whence it came on the last day. Here is no doubt the source of the tradition that when Mohammed made his "night journey" from the Sakrah, that the Holy Rock wished to ascend with him, and was actually doing so when the Angel Gabriel held it down, leaving the impression of the hand, which is shown to pilgrims at the present day. At least we have here an identity of tradition in the belief that both are to go to heaven at the last day. The Mohammedan pilgrims perform the Tawwaf, or circuit round the stone, as they do round the Kaaba, with its stone, the only difference being, according to Professor Palmer ("Jerusalem," p. 418), that they must be careful to reverse the direction of the circuit; at Jerusalem they must pass round with their right hand to the rock, and at Mecca with the left. The Black Stone is the sacred object which makes the Holy House—the "Beit Allah"—the Kibleh, or the central point of prayer, and to that spot the faithful turn in prayer from all parts of the world. This we have seen is the case with the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim, and it is a very important identity, for it tends to confirm the tradition which comes to us that the Jews had also a Sacred Rock, the Eben Shatiyeh, or "Stone of Foundation's Foundation," in their temple, and which no doubt was their sacred centre. In the Mishna it is stated in relation to the Holy of Holies, that, "when the Ark was removed a stone was there from the days of the first prophets, and it was called "Foundation." It was three digits high above the earth, and upon it he (the high priest) put the censer. This may find confirmation in the repeated use of the rock in a symbolical sense in the Old Testament. Deut. xxxii. may be referred to, where it will be found as a type of the Most High. Strange to say that the Hadjis pray to the Black Stone, and although in all other cases they are true to their idol-aborring rules, yet they address it as "Allah." Burton in his book says that in thus praying to it, and asking for mercy and pardon, in which case he did like the others, he raised his hand to the stone and kissed the finger tips of his right hand. Near the same corner where the stone is placed is the Well of Zem-Zem, the water of which the pilgrim drinks and also uses to wash with, thus destroying all power of sin. Here no doubt is the source of the Mohamedan tradition of the waters under the Sakrah. Exodus xvii. 6 might also be the original story.

In some of the cases mentioned the Transference of Site is evident;

in one or two of the instances we see that the tradition has been transferred from one side to another, while, on the other hand, many of these sacred spots are of such an antiquity that we cannot say which was the earliest. No doubt but there must have been priority somewhere, but many of these ideas began so far back in the past that we can only now speak of their similarity as the identity of tradition. We can see clearly enough that there was a tendency to locate certain traditions at each holy place. There seems to have been a common property in the ancient religious history of these people, but at times they differed as to the scene of the event, and we see that it was the position of the Sacred Centre which led to this. Wherever their Central Temple was, there they placed the scene of the main events of their sacred history. When this important principle is realised a ruling idea is reached, which may serve so far as a guide, and when applied to any of these sacred localities one may almost predicate a certain set of traditions as belonging to them. It is not very difficult to give suggestions which will so far explain why the one spot was the supposed scene of so many events. The Temple was the accepted place of the Divine Presence. Being so, it became the scene of His works, and more especially of those great typical events which had a reference to Man and the Divine System. The Temple or Church is the theatre of the sacred drama, and as all the scenes have as types the same meaning to enforce, they belong naturally to the one piece, and there was no incongruity to the primitive mind in supposing that they were all performed on the same stage. When the subject is considered from a symbolical point of view, this becomes the true way of regarding it. The craftsman is taught that everything takes place on "the floor of the lodge," and the floor of the lodge is the top of Mount Moriah, thus presenting us with a most effective illustration from the region of "signs and symbols." It will also be noticed that this gives us a case of "Transference of Site" which takes place at the opening of every masonic lodge, and the explanation of which is to be found only in symbolism, and does not require us to fall back on the knavery of Priests and the blind credulity of Mankind, which are the usual modes of accounting for such things. This production of a site in virtue of some function, or from ceremonies being performed at it, is of importance as explaining the probable cause of transference. In some cases we can have no hesitation on the subject, but there are others where the figurative phrase may, from our scant knowledge, lead us to believe that the spot is the real and original site of the event. A good illustration of this may be given. Not long ago I saw over the door of a church in Brighton, noted for its tendency to a high ritual, the words "This is God's House and the Gate of Heaven." Now these are the words applied by Jacob to Bethel. The slightest consideration will bring home to the mind the idea that "Gate of Heaven" is a title which belongs to the Church, or it might be applied to any house of prayer, and that there need be no dispute between Brighton and Bethel as to which of them has got the portal leading to

a better world. "The keys of St. Peter," supposed to be in the possession of the Pope, would imply that the "Gate of Heaven" was at Rome; but it is only a continuation of the symbolism contained in Jacob's words. We have seen that Sophrinus spoke of a rock at Jerusalem, on which God spoke to Jacob, and "which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven." Sophrinus was the Christian patriarch, but the Mohammedans believe that Mohammed began his night journey from the Sakrah, thus giving it a claim to be the Gate of Heaven. They also accept it as the locale of Jacob's dream. This is often referred to, in language bordering on contempt, as being "only a Mohammedan tradition," but the difference is scarcely perceptible between the traditional Mohammedan and the ritualistic Christian. In the one case there is no danger of our being led astray, but in the other, if we had not accurate knowledge, we might be led into a difficult question as to whether Jerusalem or Bethel was the real site of Jacob's dream. Another good illustration of this tendency to evolution is found in the making of Calvarys, and known in many cases as the "Holy Sepulchre," all over Europe, each with the "Stations," at which the worshipper prays as at the Holy Sepulchre. This Transference of Site is still more completely carried out at Easter by the construction of a tomb in the churches to represent the Holy Sepulchre. In England these were called "Easter sepulchres," and in some cases the angels, soldiers, and the three Maries were all represented by priests, who acted and spoke, repeating the words at the tomb as given by the evangelists, thus dramatising the story to make it more realistic; and all this was done without the slightest idea of imposture. If such things were done in Jerusalem there could have been but small difficulty, supposing that the real sepulchre had been lost, in thus evolving a new one. It would be one of the simplest, and at the same time one of the most natural of operations; and it is this very simplicity—this natural action of the human mind—which has led to the complicated puzzle about the site of the Holy Sepulchre. If, as Mr. Fergusson thinks, the dome of the rock had been the real sepulchre, and had been taken from the Christians, and they were left without a shrine, it would have been almost impossible for them to avoid evolving a new one. The realistic character of the ritual, and the natural tendency to represent localities as well as persons, which was essential to the dramatic style of the ceremonies, would require but a very short space of time to clothe any spot with all the attributes of a sacred place. Let any one go to Jerusalem at Easter, even in our own day, and watch the Russian pilgrims, unlettered peasants, to whom archæological doubts and difficulties are unheard of, and we have a fair example of what the early pilgrims must have been—point to a stone, mutter the name of a saint, and they are on their knees in an instant kissing it. With such conditions sacred sites come quicker into existence than a crop of mushrooms.

The Santa Casa of Loreto comes in as a good case of the transference of a site. A visit I made to that shrine about a year ago led me to

consider the problem as to how such a story could have come into existence, and the conclusion I arrived at was that of natural growth, instead of the usual one of a concocted imposture. The house at Nazareth existed as late as 1291, but in that year the Saracens, under the Sultan Khalit, took the place, and the monks were no doubt turned out. The tradition is that the house went first to the town of Tersate, or Flumen, in Dalmatia, where it remained for three years, coming over to the Italian side of the Adriatic on the 10th Dec. 1294. Now, supposing that when the monks left Nazareth, and they carried off whatever they could belonging to the church, the figure, "framed by St. Luke," of the Virgin;* would no doubt be carefully preserved. Such a precious relic would certainly have been an object of sanctity wherever it went. Crowds would be attracted, and the place would become a shrine. We can easily imagine how the monks would be questioned about such a sacred spot as the house where the Virgin had lived in. How often they would have to describe every detail, and it would not be long till the idea would occur of making a house of similar size and appearance. Such a proceeding would be in perfect keeping with the times. No deception would be intended, but when the house once existed, the step from its being understood as only a representation, till it was believed to be the veritable house from Nazareth, would be very short indeed. The story of a house flying through the air is not one that would occur to any person who wished really to deceive, something nearer to the limits of probability would have been selected. It is by getting the figure of the Virgin coming from Nazareth as a starting point, and the dates given above make it likely that it was brought from the Holy Land by the monks, which suggests a reasonable and probable origin of the tradition, and in this we have one of the most remarkable transference of a site on record. Supposing the theory here suggested should be correct, it would give some interest in the Santa Casa, for being made by the men who had just come from Nazareth, it may be assumed to be a fair copy of the original. In this view it becomes a record of some value. It is formed of stone, and not of brick, as generally described. There are some remains of old paintings on the walls. Loretto naturally recalls the Scala Santa at Rome, in which, according to Murray, the "stairs consist of twenty-eight marble steps, stated by the Church tradition to have belonged to Pilate's house, and to have been the identical ones which our Saviour descended when he left the Judgment Seat." In these cases a new site is produced by the transference, or at least supposed transference, of the structures connected with events. In the Coronation Stone at Westminster we have the transference of an object, and with its legendary character of being "Jacob's Pillar," we have transferred with it some of the attributes which have been already

* This celebrated "*vierge noire*," is said to be made from cedar, and the work of St. Luke. It is 2ft. 8in. high, and stands in a shrine over the altar, for the Santa Casa has been made into a chapel. It was carried off to France by the French in 1797, and brought back to Loretto on the 8th December, 1802.

alluded to as belonging to the Sakrah, the Sacred Rock of Gerizim, and the Black Stone of Mecca, as central points of faith. At the present time there is no religious signification attached to it, but as the Coronation Stone, it becomes the centre on which our monarchs receive their power and authority to rule over the kingdom. It is thus, in a secular sense, the Eben Shatiyah, or "Stone of Foundation," of the Government of this country. The attributes possessed by this stone can no doubt be explained from what we know of Celtic archæology, still the identity of ideas is in this case, as it gives us a sacred stone, with something of the character of a Sakrah, which has been transferred within an altar, so close to the centre of our political system, is worthy of consideration in relation to this subject.

To return to the dome of the rock. The Cathedral at Bosrah, which is figured in Fergusson's last work on "The Temples of the Jews," the date of whose completion is 512 A.D., presents such an identity in its general design, as well as in its details, that it should be considered that in this there is at least one point settled. The section of the Baptistery of St. John Lateran, given in the same book, is a further confirmation on this head. There is one point which weighs strongly with me as evidence that the building was not erected as a mosque, and I am rather surprised that I have not seen it noticed by any of the numerous writers on this subject. When I visited the spot, on the theory that the place was a mosque, I looked out for the Mihrab, but in its place there is a door opening towards the Kiblah at Mecca, and the Mihrab is placed on the left hand, where no Mohammedan architect could possibly have arranged it, if he had designed the building at first, and proving that it is a *later insertion*.*

If the architecture of the dome of the rock permitted of the theory that it was built by Mahomedans, the only supposition that would explain it would be that it was constructed as a Kiblah, like the Caaba, which is not an ordinary mosque, and changed afterwards. According to the Mahomedan historians, Omar seemed to have been uncertain as to what ought to be the direction of prayer at Jerusalem. The tradition of the Night Journey, which had been related by the prophet himself to Omar, I should say, must have been the reason of this, for that story gave the spot a claim to the character of being "the Gate of Heaven," and as the rock tried to ascend with Mahomed it thus got transferred to it the attribute which belongs to the Black Stone, of being a veritable bit of paradise, and that it will go upwards on the last day.

We have here the suggestion of a possibility that the building forming the visible centre of a faith may be of a peculiar construction, and entirely different from all its other temples.

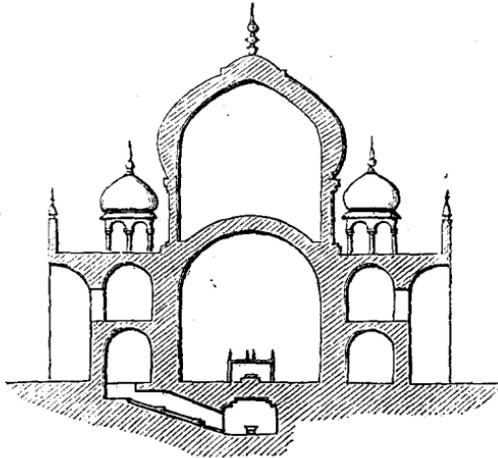
Lieutenant Conder's statement of the rock levels round the Sakrah is

* It has been pointed out by the Count de Vogüé, and it is strongly insisted by Prof. Palmer (see Jerusalem, Besant and Palmer), that the dome was never built for a mosque at all, but is identical with a wely or oratory, over a Muslim saint's tomb.

of some value, and tells so far, but does not seem to me to be demonstrative evidence—perhaps I undervalue its force. At the same time I would say that the absence of rock on the surface, or on the level, at the point where Mr. Fergusson's theory places the Holy of Holies, is a weak feature on his side. I allude to these only before giving what has all along been to me the greatest difficulty in Mr. Fergusson's views. The position Mr. Fergusson gives to the Temple, in order to leave the present Sakrah "without the gate," or without the wall, till the cave under it became the Holy Sepulchre, is to me very hard to accept. The cave, according to this theory, could not have been ever used before as a tomb, "for it was a new one in which no man had lain." It is, I think, difficult to believe that such a very remarkable rock, and its singular association with a cave, forming the summit of the mount, could have been left out, and receive no functional character in connection with the Temple and its worship till the death of Christ. The force of this point of view is a matter of probabilities, and I submit that this must have been highly improbable. Mount Gerizim has a cave on its summit in connection with its sacred rock. The region all round is noted for its sacred caves. Mr. Fergusson's own adopted term of "Tree-Worship" may be followed, and Palestine might be called a land where *cave-worship* is the striking peculiarity. In our own day Christian and Moslem have their shrines in caves. In Hebron, and Bothlehem, and Jerusalem almost every holy place is a cave, and yet, perhaps, the most remarkable of all these caves is that which exists on the highest point of the Temple Mount; so striking a feature is it that I cannot believe but that it must from a very early period have been looked upon as a sacred spot. Indeed, if the question were put, why did this height receive its first character of sanctity, the probability, I should say, was owing to this remarkable circumstance of the cave on its summit. I do not think we must necessarily assume that the Temple stood on the highest point, it may have been lower down, but were I to attempt a restoration of the old plan of Jerusalem the wall would be made to enlose the Sakrah. As a question of defence I should think that the military engineers would take this view of it also. On the north side of the platform on which the Dome of the Rock stands there is yet visible a depression, and it is this lateral hollow which gives to the ground on the south of it the character entitling it to be called a "mount." The Middoth calls it the "Mountain of the House." I think I am supported in this by the words of Josephus (A. J. xv. 11. 3), where he says: "This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall." Immediately after he repeats this: "This hill was walled all round," and again he distinctly declares that these walls were joined together "as a part of the hill to the very top." Ezekiel's vision is supposed to have been based upon the Temple, and he confirms the words of Josephus, "This is the law of the house; upon the top of the mountain the whole limits thereof round about shall be most holy. Behold this is the law of the house" (Ez. xliii. 12). A passage in Conder's "Tent-Work in Palestine" (vol. i.,

p. 366), on the separation of the Temple hill might mislead. He there refers to a rock-cut trench forty feet deep, which separates the traditional Antonia from the Mahomedan quarter. This may be the military and defensive separations, but the lateral valley on the north side of the Dome of the Rock is the original condition which made the spot a "mount:" without this depression the site of the Temple would only have been the lower end of a spur.

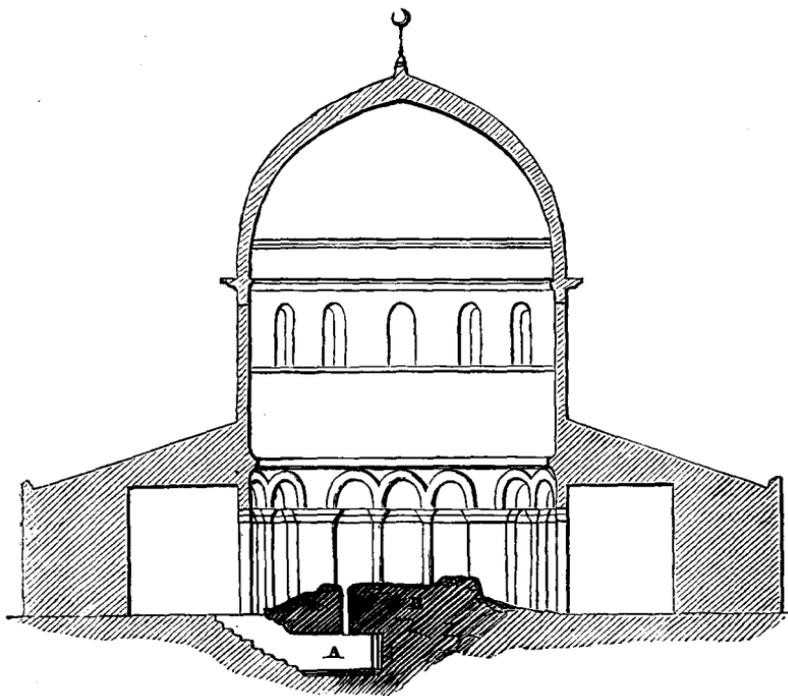
The Dome of the Rock, considered as a temple, is one of the most impressive shrines I have seen. No doubt but the dim light and the rich mosaics and colour from old stained glass help much to produce part of the effect, but the real source of the influence is the rough-looking mass of rock which forms the floor under the dome. At



SECTION OF TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

first it looks as original and untouched with a tool as the top of a high-land mountain. A canopy of green, red, and yellow silk hangs picturesquely above it, and no marble floor, however artistically designed, or minutely or carefully wrought, could possibly affect the mind of the visitor as this grey and solemn mass of rock. I could accept a sanctity as belonging to it which could never be derived from sculptured stones or anything built by the hand of man. I know of no temple equal to this for its effect on the mind, and my experience of such places extends over the whole of India, and as far as Tibet, China, and Japan. The curious thing is that this splendid place of worship is as yet a puzzle, an archaeological nut of the hardest kind to crack—not that we are deficient in theories—the difficulty is as to which is the true one. One explanation offered is that it is the building erected over the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine. This idea is supported by the theory that the archi-

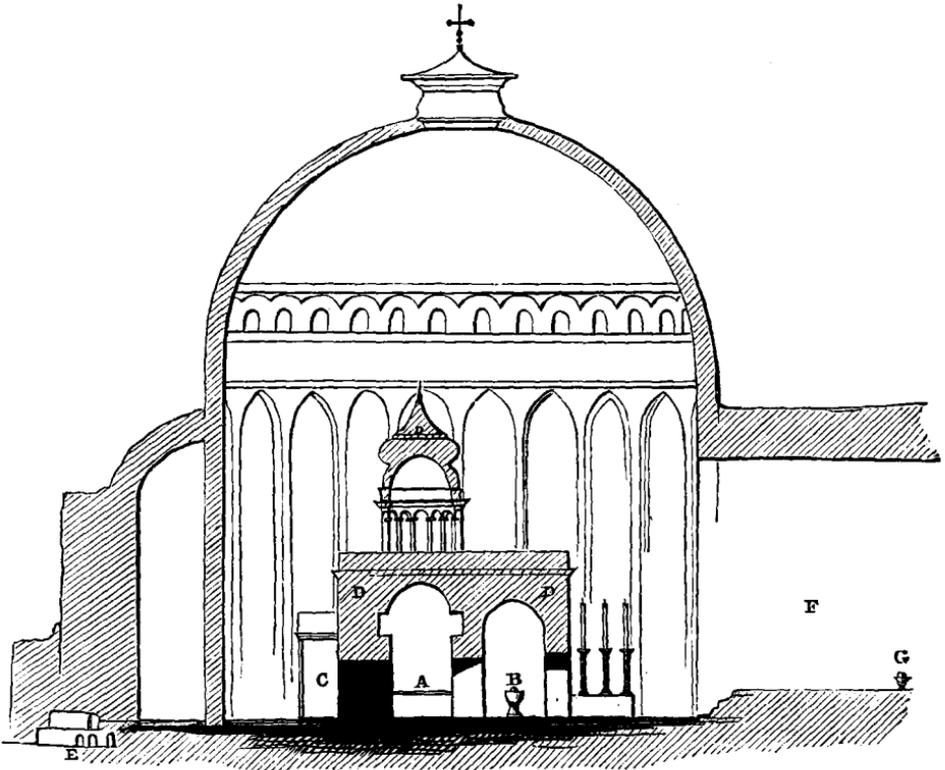
ecture agrees with the period of that Emperor, and also by the fact that the arrangement of the building is identical with so many oriental tombs, and strikingly so with all the principal tombs of India. There seems to have been a typical idea of a tomb, which may be traced all over the east, and which in large and important examples assumed certain main features, and these features are to be found in the dome of the rock. If we take the Taj Mahal at Agra, or the tomb of Mahmud at Beejapoor, we have a large square or octagonal structure surmounted by a dome. Instead of the sepulchral cave, as in the Dome of the Rock, there are in



DOME OF THE ROCK.

these cases constructed chambers below the surface which contained the body; under the dome is a cenotaph, and which occupies the same position as the Sakrah. In fact, a section of the Dome of the Rock and the Taj Mahal present a remarkable resemblance, so far as the parts just described are concerned; and these are the essential features of such structures. Now, the curious thing is that the Holy Sepulchre contains all these characteristics, that of course is natural from its being a tomb; but the striking fact is that of its being in this respect a repetition of the Dome of the Rock. It belongs to quite a different period of architecture, and is a ruder kind of work. The sepulchral chamber is of the kind now known

under the old name of *Kokim*. They were small tunnels, arched in form, cut into the rock, and the body was pushed into them. In the Holy Sepulchre the upper portion of the rock has been cut away to make the interior of the tomb larger, so that it could be entered, and the whole has been covered with marble, and now none of the rock is visible, but originally it was an artificially formed cave as a sepulchral chamber,* covered with rock. Had the rock not been cut away, and the marble edifice not



HOLY SEPULCHRE.

been constructed, the Holy Sepulchre would have been another Dome of the Rock.

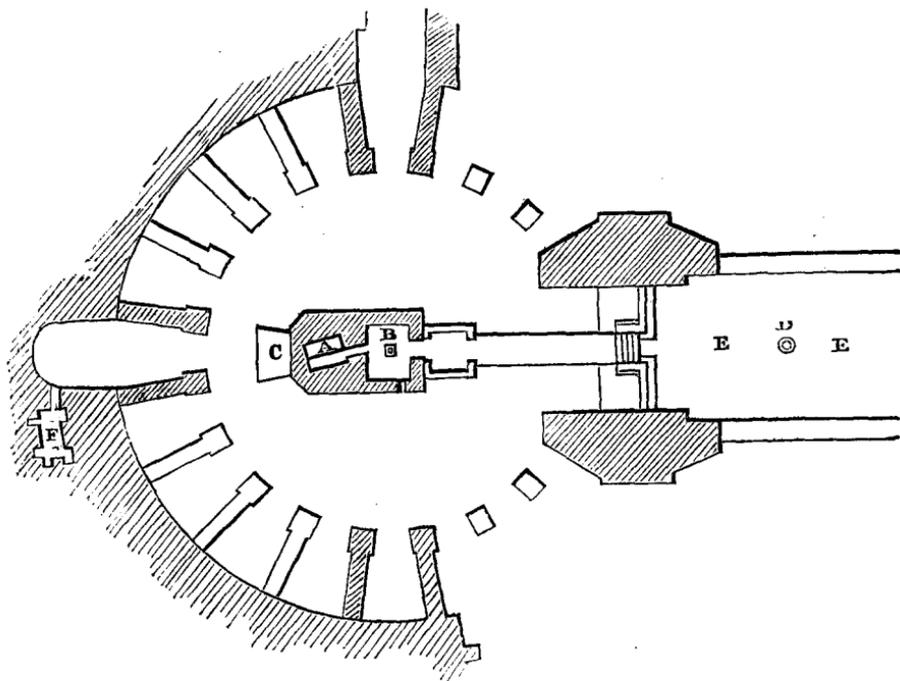
Although this seems very like a Transference of Site, yet there is no reason, at least from what has been here stated, to suppose that an imitation was intended. There is a similarity in these oriental tombs, and this one only repeats the usual features. Caves and rock-cut tombs being a peculiarity of the locality will explain why the remarkable coin-

* "In the middle space of the inner circle is a round grotto cut in the solid rock."—*Arenulf*.

cidence, just described, would have existed. The Holy Sepulchre becoming the Head, or Centre Church—the Mother Church of all Churches—becomes the successor of the Temple. We are apt to look upon the Temple as the early Christians did, as a place to be hated, and are thus led to forget that the one is only a continuation of the other. The Church is the legitimate heir of all that belongs to the Temple. The Temple was the centre for the Jews, and now the centre of the earth is at the Holy Sepulchre. It is the same with the story of Abraham's sacrifice, and with all the typical events—they are all fulfilled in the One Death. The Holy Sepulchre thus becomes by the single event the representation of a great many, and hence the reason why so many sites are transferred to it. Scæwulf, who on visiting Jerusalem in 1102, writes of the Holy Sepulchre,—“For all things which were foretold and forewritten by the holy prophets of our Saviour, Jesus Christ were there actually fulfilled.” The realisation of the idea which has been here dealt with is not without some practical value, and I can give a good instance to illustrate. Many of those who go to Jerusalem, and are not satisfied with the present Holy Sepulchre, begin to study the ground in order to discover the true site, and one idea seems to guide them all—that it must be a mound in the shape of a skull, which is the mode in which they interpret the word Golgotha. By referring to the old pictures of the crucifixion, we see always at the foot of the cross the representation of a skull. This is understood to be Adam's skull. In some pictures the whole figure of Adam is given; there is, to give an example, a group of this kind over the central west door of Strasburg Cathedral: He is rising to life again from the blood which is shed. By a reference to 1 Cor. xv. 22, we find that in Adam all die, and in Christ all shall be made alive. Here we have the simple connection between the Crucifixion and Adam's grave. It is a piece of very beautiful symbolism. Its consideration will save explorers from wasting time which may be better spent than trying to find a rock shaped like a skull. According to the rule of the Roman Catholic Church, this site is transferred to every altar where the mass is celebrated. According to the decrees of the Church, the sacrifice of the mass cannot be performed without a relic, that is, a portion of a dead body, being placed on the altar. This is one of the essential rules, from which there is no deviation, and by it the altar becomes a Golgotha, the place of the dead Adam, over which the ceremony is performed.

The twelve columns in the Sakrah are said to be one for each of the twelve sons of Jacob. And I find in Mr. Bonomi's diary the tradition, no doubt a Mahomedan one, that the twelve heads of the Beni Israel are buried under the Sakrah. This helps the tomb theory of the Dome of the Rock. Perhaps the breastplate of the high priest (Ex. xxviii. 9) is the starting point of this typical number of stones, and it is repeated in the crossing of the Jordan, where Joshua commands that twelve stones be brought up out of the river, “according unto the number of the tribes of the Children of Israel” (Jos. iv. 5). These stones

were erected at Gilgal. The Samaritans say that Joshua brought these twelve stones to Gerizim. All they can show now of their Temple is a part of the foundation formed of these traditional "Twelve Stones." In 1 Kings xviii. 31, Elijah, is described as taking twelve stones "according to the number of the tribes of the Sons of Jacob," and built an altar with them. The Christian also found an attraction in these twelve stones, for Arculph, as early as A.D. 700, mentions the church "on the site of Galgalis," and that within it were the twelve



PLAN OF SEPULCHRE.

A Slab on which body lay. B Fragment of stone which formed door of tomb.
 C Coptic Chapel. D Centre of the Earth. E E Greek Church.
 F Tomb of Joseph of Armathen.

stones which Joshua ordered to be carried out of the Jordan. Willibald, who was only a few years later, mentions Galgala, which had a "wooden church," in which were these twelve stones. Sir John Mandeville describes Rachel's tomb as having in his day twelve great stones, which Jacob had placed over her in token that she had borne twelve children. Sir John forgets here that this one of Jacob's wives was not the mother of all the twelve sons. Benjamin of Tudela again says that the tomb was constructed of "eleven stones, equal to the number of the Children

of Jacob." At the present day there is a Mahomedan mosque at Nablus dedicated to "the ten sons of Jacob." Here the one idea is preserved in Jewish, Christian, and Mahomedan symbolism. There is an identity of words in the Hebrew connected with son, and stone, or rock; and there results from it the use of the term to "build up a house," meaning thereby the children, which are the stones, by which the family is built up. Euripides makes Iphigenia say, "For sons are the pillars of the house" (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, v. 57). Showing that the notion is not peculiar to the races of the Holy Land.

We have it stated by Arculph that the Holy Sepulchre "is encompassed by three walls, and supported by *Twelve Columns*" (Bede v. 117). According to Mr. Fergusson's theory this would be the Dome of the Rock, because he believes that the transference took place in the eleventh century, and Arculph's date is about A.D. 700. But if the transference did take place most probably the twelve pillars, which we have seen has been such a favourite number with Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, would have been transferred also in constructing the new shrine. At least it might be put that if the twelve columns were found in the new shrine it would not surprise any one. The Dome of the Rock rests not only upon twelve columns, but there are also four strong piers, one between every three columns. In the present Holy Sepulchre the complete design of the columns is broken into by the Greek Church on the east side, but on the western half the arrangement is still entire, and if we take the two square columns at the cardinal points to represent piers, it will be found that it leaves four divisions of three columns, which if continued all round would give the oft-repeated twelve. This will be understood better by the shading on the plan, which is done to convey the idea. This, I know, is far too speculative to be assumed as a certainty, and I only give it as an idea which grew out of this question of Transference of Sites.

One curious point is worth calling attention to here, and that is that the tomb turns to the left hand on entering, which is the angle at which the altar or chancel of so many old churches diverge from the line of the nave. If that angle, which has had so many theories by way of explanation, could be traced back to the Holy Sepulchre it would in itself be a very interesting transfer.

I have tried to show that in the multitude of traditions and the confusion of sites, although seemingly a maze, that it is not altogether at times without some indication of a plan, and that by study and classification something may be made out of them which is of practical value, and that the whole subject may be worthy of more careful and serious attention than it has yet received as a branch of Biblical archaeology.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.
