

## THE ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN WÂDY ER-RABABI, JERUSALEM.

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IN the following article an attempt is made to give a fuller description of the series of tombs in the so-called Valley of Hinnom than has hitherto been printed. A catalogue of them is to be found in Tobler's *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, illustrated by conventional diagrams representing the disposition of chambers and graves; but this is not wholly satisfactory, and most of the inscriptions are incorrectly given. The plans and descriptions contained in the present notice have all been prepared from observations freshly made on the spot, while the transcripts of the inscriptions are the result of many examinations, both of the originals and of squeezes or rubbings in various conditions of lighting. These inscriptions have heretofore been published in printed copies, or in facsimiles of eye-copies—the latter a proceeding worse than useless—and I have therefore considered it advisable to prepare facsimiles of each one (except the fragmentary No. 12) in illustration of this paper. In the case of incised inscriptions these facsimiles have been reduced from squeezes or rubbings by the method of squares; the representations of painted inscriptions are copies of measured drawings made directly from the originals.

The kindness of friends in Jerusalem, who have from time to time rendered me valuable assistance, has materially lightened the labour of this work. Before proceeding further I desire to express my acknowledgments to Dr. Schick, for giving me access to books in his library; to Miss Gladys Dickson and Mr. C. Hornstein, for making the necessary measurements and observations and in preparing some of the squeezes and rubbings of inscriptions; and to the Rev. Pères Lagrange and Vincent, of the College of Saint-Étienne, for their invaluable criticisms upon my readings of the inscriptions. I have endeavoured to give due credit to these eminent epigraphists for every emendation due to them; when my readings have the support of their approval, I put them forward with all the more confidence.

It seems more convenient to discuss the inscriptions and the tomb-chambers separately, as attention is thereby not distracted

from epigraphic to architectural details and *vice versa*. This paper is accordingly divided into two parts, of which the first is devoted to the inscriptions, the second to the excavations.

### 1. THE INSCRIPTIONS. .

The following catalogue will be found to comprise all the epitaphs hitherto reported from Wády er-Rababi with the exception of: (1) an inscription in square Hebrew letters, somewhere at the western end of the valley, reported and copied by Robinson; (2) certain Hebrew inscriptions of no great antiquity, mentioned by Tobler as having been destroyed shortly before his visit to the valley, and (3) the Armenian inscription in the so-called "Aceldama" charnel-house. Of these there is no trace now to be seen. On the other hand, inscriptions Nos. 8 and 15, in the present list, previously reported as lost, have been found to be still *in situ*, and are given in their proper place below, while Nos. 12, 13, and 14 appear to be now printed for the first time. The inscriptions (as well as the tombs in the second part of this paper) are given in order from west to east.

1. (Plate I).—At the left side of the entrance of a single-chambered tomb:—

+ THC ΑΓΙΑC | CIWN

in incised letters picked out in red. The rock is much abraded and weather worn, and the letters are difficult to make out. The chisel and weather-marks in places assume a very letter-like appearance. Tobler thought he saw an € in a line above the first line of writing, and I myself was half-persuaded at first sight that I could make out .. ]ΦΕΡΟ[ ..: so difficult is it to dissociate the impression on the mental from that on the bodily eye. But the initial cross prevents our accepting any writing in this portion of the rock-surface. Over the doorway is a large plain equilateral cross.

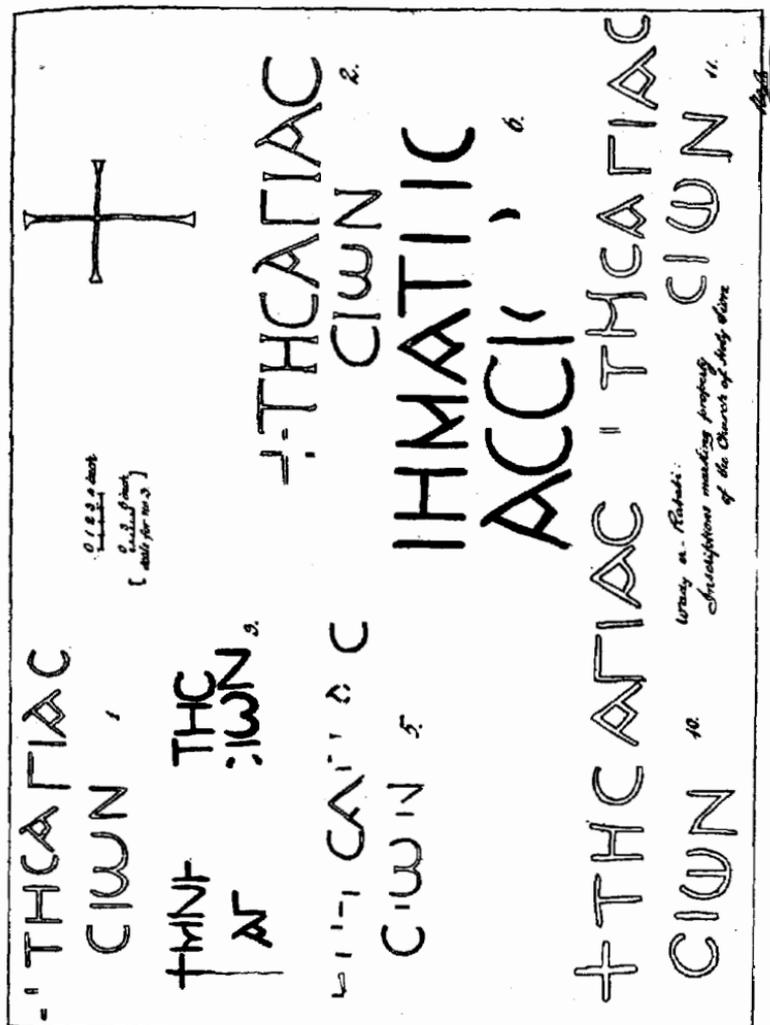
In a small broken tomb to the east of that containing the above epitaph are a series of chisel marks, exactly simulating the appearance of two short lines of writing; these are quite meaningless.

2. (Plate I).—Over the entrance of a three-chambered tomb beside the road leading southward from Neby Daúd:—

+  
+ THC ΑΓΙΑC | CIWN

incised in beautifully-formed capitals. Both crosses have intentionally been defaced by hammering.

Plate I.



3. (Plate I).—Over the doorway leading from the first to the second chamber of the same tomb:—

+MNH[ $\mu\alpha$ ] THC | AW[ $\epsilon\alpha\sigma$   $\sigma$ ]IWN

in bold red letters. The red paint has trickled down from the foot



4. (Plate II).—Over the doorway of a tomb approached by rock-cut steps, north of the last. This inscription has long been a theme of contention; it was originally engraved in crowded letters, and has become much weather-worn, especially at the ends of the lines of writing. The first line, and the commencement of the second, are accepted by all as reading + **MNHMA ΔΙΑΦΕ | PON**; after which are many differences of opinion, which may thus be tabulated:—

<b>ΘΕΚΑΛΙΥΡΕ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	Scholz (reported by Tobler).
<b>ΟΕΚΛΑΝΑΔ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	Berggren " "
<b>ΘΕΚΑΑΝΔΡΟΝ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	Krafft " "
<b>ΘΕΚΛΑΜΑΡΟΥ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	de Saulcy and Germer-Durand.
<b>ΘΕΚΑΑΜΑΡΟΥ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	Tobler.
<b>ΘΕΚΛΑΜΑΡΕΥ</b>	<b>ΛΦΟΥ</b>	de Vogüé and Conder.

after which all read **ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗ | C**, except de Vogüé and Conder, who have recognised the **N** that follows the final **C** in the fourth line.

In endeavouring to choose among all these differences of opinion, we must notice first that a want of epigraphic perception is displayed by those who have confused the **A**'s and **Λ**'s. This inscription is peculiar in the whole series because of the uncial form of some of its letters, noticeably its **A**'s, which are all made thus, **Δ**, and should not be confused with **Λ**. This lays aside all readings that do not give **ΘΕΚΛΑ . . . | ΛΦΟΥ**. After **ΘΕΚΛΑ** all the later copyists give **ΜΑΡΟΥ**, except de Vogüé and Conder, who read **ΕΥ** at the end. There is, however, no sign of the cross-bar of the **Ε**, and the termination **-ΟΥΛΦΟΥ** (= wulf) looks much more feasible in a German's name. For that the word following the name is **ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚ-** is certain; the weathered termination alone is ambiguous. I can see the marks read **H** by all my predecessors, but to my eye they seem rather weather than chisel marks; while on the other hand a curved line can be traced after the **K**, which would suggest the more natural reading **ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ**. Of the **Υ** nothing is to be seen, but there is room for it. There were certainly no letters engraved before the **C** in the fourth line; between it and the **N** is a small mark resembling a **†**, probably a mark

of abbreviation, for **C-N** can hardly mean anything else than **CIWN**.

One difficulty alone remains. I cannot persuade myself (though I am thereby opposed to the best of the epigraphists who have published copies of the inscription, as well as to the Dominican Fathers who have helped me with their advice) that the initial of the name following **ΘΕΚΛΑ** is not **N** rather than **M**. The accompanying facsimile, prepared from a squeeze checked by drawings of the doubtful letters made from the original, will show the nature of the difficulty: there are fractures which may be taken as either chisel or weather marks, and which will favour either reading. While the epigraphic evidence, drawn from a careful comparison of all the **M**'s and **N**'s, in the inscription with the ambiguous letter seems to favour the reading **ΝΑΡΟΥΛΦΟΥ**, it must be admitted that the philological evidence is opposed to this reading. A doubt as to the existence of such a name as *Narulf*, first suggested to me by Père Vincent, has been confirmed by the kindness of Professor Skeat of Cambridge, whom I consulted on the subject. He writes: "I do not think there is any such name as *Narulf*, or any prefix *Nar-* with which it can be connected. *Marulf*, on the other hand, occurs; the true and older spelling is *Mærwulf*, and it is compounded of two common elements, namely, *mær*, equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon *mære*, 'illustrious,' and *wulf* 'a wolf.'" Under the circumstances, the reading *Narulf* can be explained only as the incorrect reproduction by the native carver of an imperfectly heard and unfamiliar foreign name. On the whole, therefore, my reading is *Μνήμα διάφέρον . Θέκλα Ναρούλφον Γερμανίκον . Σιών*. "Private tomb; Thecla, daughter of the German *Narulf* [for *Marulf*] . [Tomb of the Church of] *Sion*."

This memorial of a wandering Teutonic family cannot but be regarded as of singular interest.

5. (Plate I).—On the left side of the entrance to a tomb south of the road from *Neby Daûd*:—

+ **THC A[γ]IAC | CIWN**

in incised letters; much damaged. Tobler incorrectly inserts **MNHMA** before **THC**.

6. (Plate I).—On the right side of the entrance to the same tomb:—

[+ **μν**] **HMA THC | [αγυ]ACCI[ων]**

in bold red painted letters. These are worn and defaced. The cutting of holes in the wall of the tomb has injured both inscriptions.

7. (Plate III).—Over the entrance of a tomb on a lower level than that of the others. This inscription has long been recognised as a *crux*. Schultz's reading, accepted by de Vogüé and printed also in the Jerusalem volume of the "Survey of Western Palestine," runs: + **MNHMA ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ | ΑΦΟΥ ΡΟΜΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ**. This is unsatisfactory Greek, and as Père Germer-Durand<sup>1</sup> justly remarks, the ΑΦ at the commencement of the second line existed in his imagination only. The latter skilled epigraphist ingeniously suggests *Μνήμα διάφερο' τῶν θυρόρ[ων ἁ]γίας Σιών* ("Private tomb of the gate-keepers of Holy Sion"), which is most attractive; but after frequent and prolonged examinations, I must regretfully dissent from this solution of the enigma. The first line is certainly + **MNHMA ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ**. The peculiar Α's will not escape notice. Père Germer-Durand admits that the penultimate letter is now an Η, but he considers it to have been turned into this from an original Ω in some unskilful restoration of the letters. The final ΤΗΝ is certainly thin and wiry as compared with the rest of the characters, as though by another hand; but I can trace no certain corroboration of Père Germer-Durand's theory.

In the second line I cannot regard the first letter as anything but Ο. Here, again, I have the authority of my friends Pères Lagrange and Vincent against me, for they agree with Père Germer-Durand in reading Θ. The mark they consider as a cross-bar is a natural flaw in the stone, extending, as will be seen from an examination of the facsimile, far beyond the letter on each side, and crossing the circle of the letter rather above its centre. I have made a minute examination of the portion of the flaw intercepted within the circumference of this circle, and have failed to detect any certain sign of chiselling upon it. The following letters, **ΥΡΟΡ**, are perfectly distinct; after this comes the upper portion of Υ, or (as Père Lagrange has suggested to me) of Ϝ (*ov*). The bottom half of the letter is scaled away, and a fracture wide enough to hold two letters follows it. After this is **ΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ**, which would be immediately accepted as the

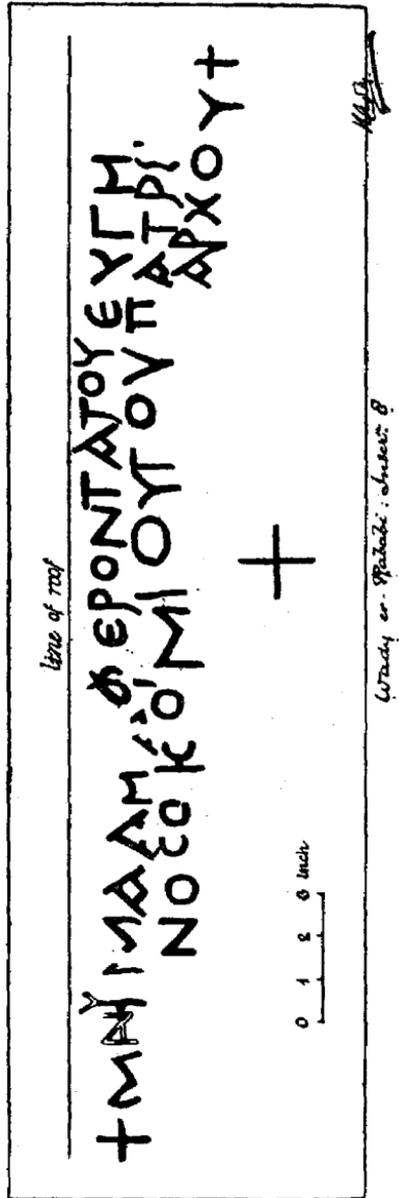
<sup>1</sup> "Epigraphie Chrétienne de Jérusalem," in "Revue Biblique," vol. i, p. 560.

greater part of ἄγίας Σιών, were it not that under the free end of

Plate III.



Plate IV.



the horizontal bar of the Γ there is a short vertical line, giving

the whole the appearance of a Hebrew  $\Pi$  reversed, so that the character might possibly be a  $\Pi$ .

My transcript, therefore, runs as follows :—

+ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ | ΟΥΡΟΡ  $\frac{\nu}{\sigma\nu}$  × ×  $\frac{\gamma}{\pi}$  ΙΑΚΚΙΩΝ

There seems to be no noun for  $\tau\eta\nu$  in line i, taken as the article, to agree with; and I can see no admissible alternative to regarding *Μνήμα διαφερότην* as an extraordinary barbarism for *μνήμα διάφερον*. As in all the other tombs marked as “private” the owner’s name is given, I am inclined to regard *’Ουρόρον* as a proper name: it defies all attempts to analyse it into Greek words. If we might read  $\theta$ , the word would certainly be *θυρωροῦ*, “door-keeper,” but this seems to me impossible.

8. (Plate IV).—This is another difficult inscription. In this case the difficulty is increased by the faintness of the lettering: it is painted on an exposed surface of rock and has suffered much from the weather. Careful wetting is required to bring out the writing; this should be done with caution, as (*pace* Tobler) the red paint is not quite impervious to water, and is apt to be injured in the process.

The reading here given is partly due to Père Lagrange, who determined the true interpretation of the concluding letters. The shapes of the different characters as shown in the facsimile were obtained after repeated examinations of each letter separately.

The very inaccurate copies published before the inscription was lost sight of need not be referred to. It should, however, not be overlooked that no small credit is due to Père Germer-Durand for deducing from them the word *νοσοκομίον*, which actually exists in the epitaph.

The reading finally approved by Pères Lagrange and Vincent is as follows :—

+ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΑΜΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΗ  
 ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙ  
 ΑΡΧΟΥ +

—the only character for which I am solely responsible being the final cross, which I found on examining the inscription after their visit. Several suggestions for the interpretation of the legend—all more or less unsatisfactory—have occurred to me.

(a) As it stands the inscription seems to fall into words thus :

Μνήμα ἅμα φέρον τὰ τοῦ Εὐγγη . . . νοσοκομείου τοῦ πατριάρχου, "Tomb at once bearing the [names?] of E. of the hospital of the patriarch." The sense is incomplete; some noun, such as ὀνόματα, seems required after τὰ, and a second owner seems to be postulated by the word ἅμα.

(b) These difficulties may be evaded by regarding the μ in ἅμα as really an ν; as the facsimile shows, this is just barely possible. The τὰ can be got rid of by treating ἀναφέροντα as a barbarism for ἀνάφερον, taken in the general sense of διάφερον (like διαφερότην in the previous inscription). It may, however, be justly asked whether such violent measures are legitimate.

(c) Again, we are not justified in reading Εὐγγη . . . and treating it as an imperfect name. The surface of the stone has been scraped immediately after the Η, but the right vertical bar of that letter has survived the ordeal, and there is no reason why traces of other letters, if they ever existed, should not still be seen. In any case the length of space available is only 1 foot 5 inches, which would not hold more than five more characters. The νοσ- at the commencement of the second line supplies a termination; but that is at the expense of νοσοκομείου, unless we are to assume these three letters iterated (like the numismatic Edgarex = Edgar rex). The anacolonthon τοῦ Εὐγγηνος need not distress us, as it is evident in any case that the inscription was painted carelessly. The writer evidently omitted the ν or the η of μνήμα, and was constrained to insert it afterwards by making an awkward ligature.

The alternative readings (besides that already mentioned) are therefore:—

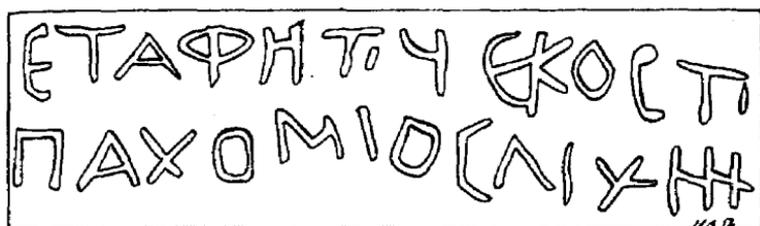
- (1) Private tomb of Eugenos of the hospital of the patriarch.
- (2) Private tomb of Eugenos son of Komios, the patriarch [μνήμα ἀναφέροντα τοῦ Εὐγγηνος ὁ Κομίος τοῦ πατριάρχου. There does not appear, however, to be any record of such a patriarch].

9. (Fig. 1).—This inscription was first published by Père Germer-Durand in the paper already referred to. It is peculiar as being incised on the face of a bench tomb inside the chamber, not outside as are all the others. It runs—

ΕΤΑΦΗΤ . ΥΕΚΟΣΤ . | ΠΑΧΟΜΙΟΣΛΙΨΗ +

The accompanying cut shows the forms of the letters and of the final ligature. Père Germer-Durand's reading is ἐτάφη τῆ υ

είκοστή Παχώμιος λυκάβαντος ψνή [*sic*, query ψνή]—"Pachomios was buried on the twentieth day of — month, in the year 758" [rectè 718]. For the use of the abbreviation Λ, and for the inversion of the date-letters, an exact parallel is afforded by an inscription from Damascus reported in the "Revue Biblique" for January, 1900, p. 92. But to me the insertion of the proper name in the middle of the date seems a difficulty. My own reading I prefer to withhold till after the discussion of another inscription in the cemetery, which seems to me to offer a parallel to it.



Wady er-Rababi: Inscr. 9

FIG. 1.

10, 11. (Plate I).—Over the doorways of two tombs close to the Aceldama Monastery—

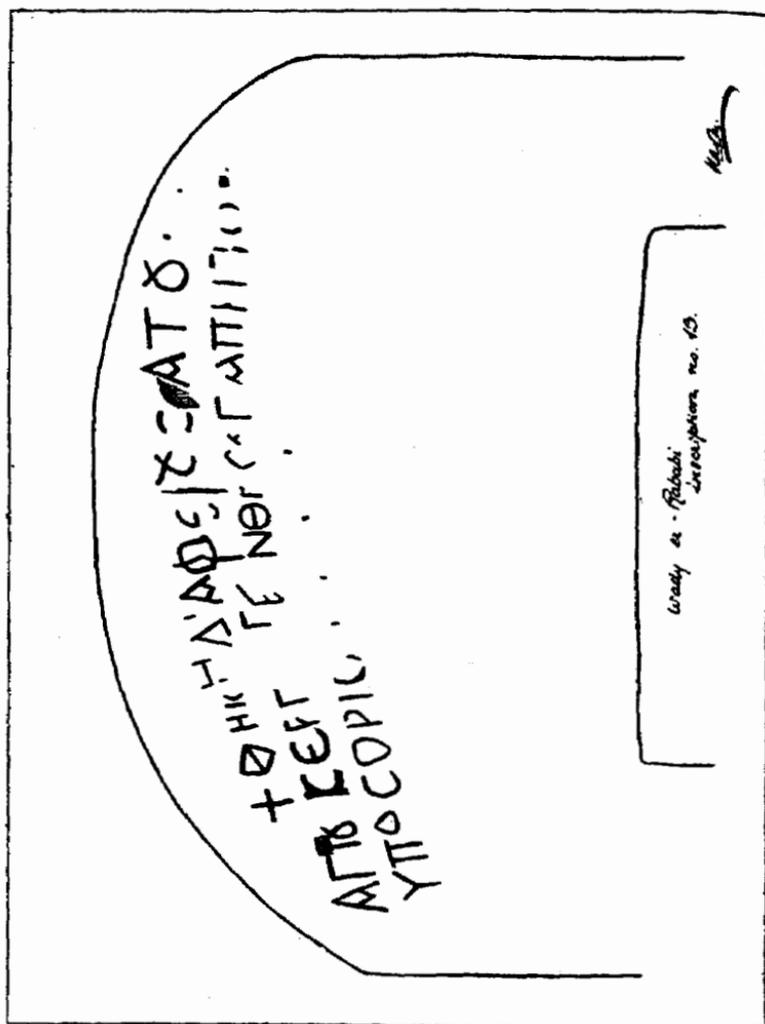
+ ΘΗC ΑΓΙΑC | CΙΩΝ

These are the last of the six excavations appropriated "to the Holy Sion" (including in the reckoning that bearing the inscription numbered 7). The Church of the Holy Sion seems to have stood on the site of Neby Daûd, and to have held these tombs in its own possession. As Père Germer-Durand remarks in the paper to which I have already referred, "we must set aside the extraordinary interpretation given by Volney, who was desirous of finding there [*i.e.*, round the tombs] the mountain of Zion, because it was written several times on the rocks; and also that of the mystics who saw in this expression a reference to the heavenly Jerusalem to which the tomb would furnish the door."

12. Over the door of a tomb inside the Greek monastery is an inscription painted in red letters; it has been, however, not only washed away by weather, but also hacked away intentionally. So little remains that I did not think it worth while preparing a facsimile. The writing seems to have been in four short lines, in large bold capitals; probably the inscription, like No. 15, was

divided into two columns by a central cross. There seem also to have been large crosses at each corner of the inscribed surface. The only decipherable letters are **AC** at the end of the inscription,

Plate V.



preceded by a doubtful **O**, and a still more questionable **B**. The cross-bar of the **A** is angled as in most of the other inscriptions.

13. (Plate V).—Over the doorway of a tomb immediately east of the monastery :—

+ΘΗΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΣΑ ΤΣ  
ΑΓΙΣ . . . . . ΑΓΑΠΗΤΣ  
ΥΠΟ . . . . .

painted in red letters. The characters are faint, and very nearly the same colour as the stone, which seems to be stained in patches with iron oxide. After several hours' work on different days, I have been compelled reluctantly to abandon as hopeless any attempt at filling up the blanks. The legible portions call for no comment, save that the *ὑπό* in the third line is especially tantalising, as it suggests that some topographical information may once have lain concealed in this inscription.

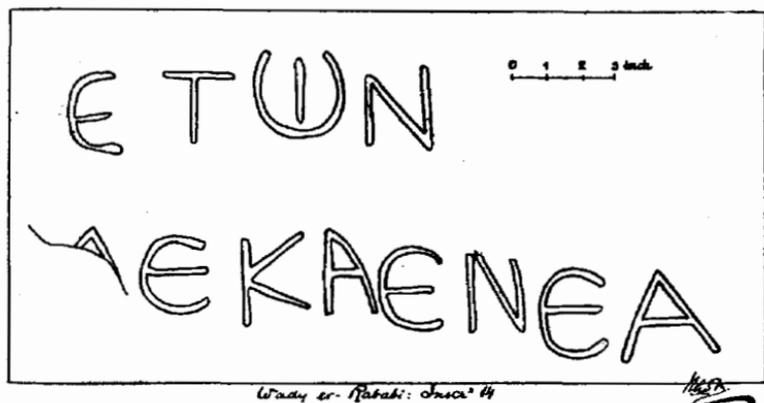


FIG. 2.

14. (Fig. 2).—This inscription, which is incised on the wall of the same tomb as that displaying the last-noticed epitaph, was discovered by Père Vincent when in my company he examined these inscriptions. Unfortunately, it has nearly all been quarried away, and nothing is left but ΕΤΩΝ | ΔΕΚΑΕΝΕΑ, which is apparently meant for “nineteen years.” As the sense is continuous, we must, I think, regard this as the second column of an inscription divided in two by a cross, all of which has, however, disappeared.

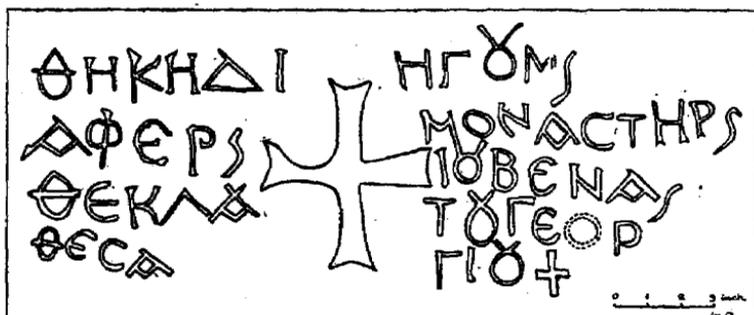
15. (Plate VI).—Over the western door of a group of tomb-chambers ranged round a vestibule, overhanging the valley a

little east of the monastery. The letters are incised in minute characters, and are obscured by smoke-blackening, but all are decipherable with a little patience, as follows :—

ΘΗΚΗΔΙ	ΗΓΩΜ'	
ΑΦΕΡ'	ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡ'	
ΘΕΚΛΑ	+	ΙΒΒΕΝΑ'
ΘΕCΑ		ΤΩΓΕΟΡ
		ΓΙΩ'

that is, *Θήκη διαφέρουσα-Θέκλα θέσα ἡγουμένη μοναστηρίου Ιουβενάλιου τοῦ Γεωργίου*; "Private grave; Thecla *θέσα*, abbess of the monastery of Juvenal of George." Two words call for comment here, *θέσα* and *Ιουβενά*.

Plate VI.



Wady er-Rababi; Inscr. 15.

Passing for the moment over *θέσα*, I proceed to give Père Lagrange's interpretation of *Ιουβενά*, which would have completely puzzled me without his help. In a letter to me on the subject he writes :—

"Je continue à croire que le **ΙΟΥΒΕΝΑ'** que nous avons lu hier dans l'inscription tombale que vous avez retrouvé, cache le nom du célèbre patriarche Juvénal, et que par conséquent le monastère qui portait son nom ne devait pas être très éloigné du lieu de ce tombeau. La question de ce monastère a pris un nouvel intérêt depuis la publication des *Plérophories* de Jean, évêque monophysite de Majuma ('Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,' 1898, pp. 232-239, 337-392). Il y est question (§ xvi) des ruines du monastère où Juvénal était moine avant son élévation à la dignité patriarcale. M. Clermont-Ganneau ('Recueil,' p. 227, tome III) a tiré de ce passage d'intéressantes conclusions sur



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le lieu où Judas se serait pendu. Les ruines du monastère se trouvaient 'sur la route allant de Siloé dans la vallée, jusqu'aux coteaux environnants, à gauche du chemin.' M. Clermont-Ganneau a cru que cette route partait de la piscine de Siloé pour remonter au nord la vallée du Cédron en se tenant au bas de la ville. Mais ce peut être aussi la route qui remonte le Ou er-Rababi, dans la direction de l'ouest. Le tombeau est précisément à gauche de ce chemin près de l'endroit traditionnel d'Hakeldama. Je demeure cependant que l'inscription ne peut être aussi ancienne que les Plérophories (512-518) de sorte que le monastère de Juvénal a dû être ensuite relevé de ses ruines."

The following is a translation of the passage referred to:—

"When I was living at Jerusalem, I followed one day the path which leads from Siloam, in the valley, to the surrounding hills. One of the chief men of the town, who knew all the neighbourhood, was with me. Looking toward the left side of the way, I saw at the foot of the mountain, on that side, a large monastery destroyed and ruined: all round were many different trees, some withered, the others rooted up; and thorns and vines grew there as in waste places. Then, full of amazement, I said to my companion: 'How came it that all these monks have departed from Jerusalem, and were forced to find new retreats, to buy and build monasteries and rest-places, while all these buildings were allowed to fall into ruin?' He answered me: 'This monastery is that of Juvenal; there they went to seek him to make him bishop; then, after the Council of Chalcedon, this monastery, contrary to all expectation, and as though as a result of God's judgment, became ruined and abandoned as you see it, and no one could inhabit it.' I said then, full of amazement: 'In truth, Juvenal is the companion of Judas, as the blessed Dioscorus says; that is why the place has inherited the curse on Judas, of whom the inspired writer says: "may his habitation be desolate and let no one dwell in his pavilion."'"

If, as Père Lagrange supposes, the ruined monastery was at some time rebuilt, and this inscription is a monument of its second period, the sex of the person commemorated suggests that it was turned into a nunnery. But the relation of the inscription, and of Abbess Thecla, to the ruined establishment described in the extract just quoted are so obscure that we must await fresh discoveries to enable us to understand them fully. It will

generally be agreed that Père Lagrange is right in assigning a later date to the inscription than that of the above description.

For collecting for me the following facts respecting Juvenal, which requires access to a larger library than is at my disposal at present, I am indebted to my father, Professor Macalister, of Cambridge.

The date of his succeeding Praylius as Bishop of Jerusalem is uncertain; he died A.D. 458<sup>1</sup> after holding office for 34 years (Bollandus), or 38 (Eutychius), or 40 (Tillemont), or 44 (Cyril of Scythopolis). Leo Magnus describes him as a turbulent and time-serving man, whose ambition was to raise the See of Jerusalem to the level of that of Rome. He claimed to take precedence of the Patriarch of Cæsarea; the Second Council of Ephesus allowed the claim.<sup>2</sup> Here he took second place. At the Third Council (the "latrocinium") he was third in rank on account of the order of Theodosius,<sup>3</sup> coming immediately after Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, the papal legate. At the Council of Chalcedon his claim of jurisdiction over Phœnicia and Arabia was disallowed; but he was permitted metropolitan jurisdiction over Palestine.

Leo the Great, in a letter to Anatolius (Ep. LXXX), refers to his removal from the list of the orthodox on the Diptychs at Rome for suspected heresy. In Ep. CXIX he speaks of him as a user of forged documents and generally unworthy. On the other hand, Basil of Seleucia speaks of him in high terms (Oratio XLI). At the Council of Chalcedon he went over to the side of the Eastern Church and deserted the Western, but he afterwards returned, and after a short time was driven from Jerusalem by a popular rising under a fanatic monophysite monk named Theodosius.<sup>4</sup> (It is not impossible that his monastery was destroyed in this rising.)

What then is *θεῖρα*? The letters of this word are cramped and difficult to read, and I did not arrive at a final conclusion as to their decipherment till after I had consulted the Dominican Fathers. The only result of our joint deliberation on this part of the inscription was that the published reading, *σεβα*, is quite inadmissible. This reading, therefore, rests on my own responsibility; but I feel pretty sure of it, as I carefully considered each

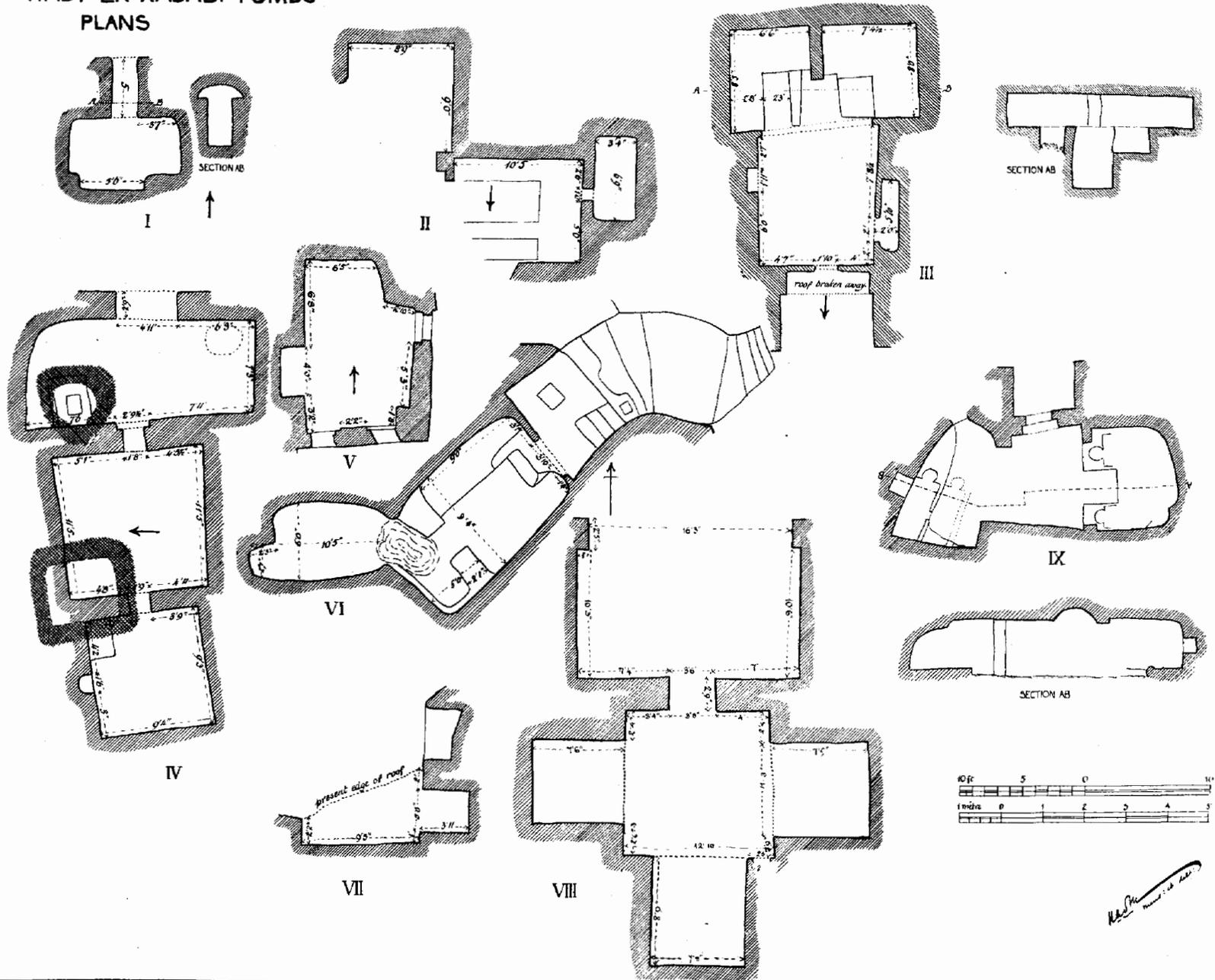
<sup>1</sup> Tillemont, "Memoirs pour servir a l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premières siècles," xv, 867.

<sup>2</sup> Labbe, iii, 455.

<sup>3</sup> Labbe, iv, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, Life of St. Euthymius.

# WADY ER-RABABI TOMBS PLANS



letter, and weighed all possible decipherments separately. It is clear that it must be taken as a separate and a complete word in itself. For the sense is disturbed if we regard it as an intrinsic part of either the preceding or the following word; and that it is not an abbreviation is demonstrated by the absence of the mark of contraction plentifully sprinkled over the inscription elsewhere, for which there would here be ample room. The latter consideration prohibits such an expansion as *θησαυρόφυλαξ*, which was my first idea. There is no such word as *θείσα*, and so far as I can see it can stand only for *θείσα*, which makes nonsense; or *θησσα*, "a female menial." The latter I take to be the interpretation. I regard it as an appellation of humiliation, adopted in self-depreciation by the person commemorated. Some very curious examples of such "names of humiliation" have been collected. The spirit which prompted their use is exemplified by the seventeenth-century Archbishop Harsnett, who describes himself in his monument at Chigwell, in Essex, "out of his unbounded humility," as "the most unworthy Archbishop of York."

The construction in which the words *τοῦ Γεωργίου* are to be taken is a little uncertain. Either we must assume that Juvenal's monastery was dedicated to St. George—for which there seems to be no other evidence—or else, having regard to the fact that the first three lines in the two columns make complete and satisfactory sense by themselves, we must read the remaining words apart, and interpret *θησσα τοῦ Γεωργίου* as implying that Thecla considered herself in some special way devoted to the cultus, or under the patronage of St. George.

Let us now return for a moment to the Pachomios inscription (No. 9), and re-examine it in the light afforded by the epitaph of Abbess Thecla. For here, too, I think an expression of humiliation is to be detected. In analysing the upper line, the word *ἐτάφη* separates itself at once; it is followed by a symbol resembling a **T** followed by a dot. The same symbol, slightly modified by a natural crack which connects the dot with the end of the crossbar of the **T**, occurs at the end of the line. Let us try the effect of regarding these marks as word-separators: the reading then follows naturally and grammatically—

ἐτάφη ὑεκὸς  
Παχόμιος λ. εὐψή +

The word *ivekós*, "swinish," cannot be anything else than an expression of self-depreciation.<sup>1</sup>

## II.—THE TOMBS.

We now return to the western end of the valley, and proceed to an examination of the tomb-chambers themselves. I have omitted two or three near the Birket es-Sultân because they are now used as dwellings. The following enumeration commences near the site of the British Ophthalmic Hospital, and proceeds eastward to Bir Eyûb:—

1. (Plan I).—A small tomb with a single chamber. The interior is much corroded by the decay of the stone, so that exact measurements are of no value. The opening faces northward: this is a passage 5 feet long, 2 feet across, with arched roof. There seem to be steps in the floor, which, however, are concealed by the earth. There are *arcosolia* on three sides. The maximum height of the chamber above the *débris* covering the floor is 5 feet. This is perhaps the *Kämmerlein für ein Grab*, reported by Tobler as the sole survivor of the tomb in this part of the valley.

2. (Plan II).—Two chambers arranged with their axes at right angles to one another. The door-ends of both are quarried away, so that it is impossible to trace their original connection. The first chamber is 8 feet 9 inches by 9 feet, and is 3 feet 6 inches high. This has no feature calling for notice. The second chamber is 10 feet 5 inches by 11 feet 3 inches. In its floor are two sunk tombs, now full of earth. At the end of the chamber is a small ossuary (?) apartment, 6 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 4 inches. A fracture in the floor near the corner at the junction of the two main chambers shows that there is a lower room (or, perhaps, a natural hollow in the rock), but it is blocked with *débris*, and nothing can be said of it.

3. A small chamber, much ruined, 9 feet 5 inches by 6 feet 4 inches, close to the first chamber of No. II, but not apparently connected with it in any way. No graves.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see a paper by Edmond Le Blant, entitled "Recherches sur quelques noms bizarres adoptés par les premiers Chrétiens" ("Revue Archæologique," new series, vol. x, p. 4 [1864]).

4. Section of a tomb destroyed by quarrying. The remaining portion apparently consists of a loculus 7 feet long, running from the corner of a small chamber.

5. Section of a chamber of which the northward side has been quarried away. It was 8 feet east to west, 6 feet 3 inches north to south. One much damaged bench tomb remains on the south side, and there seems to have been another opposite it. In the western end is a doorway 2 feet 5 inches high, 2 feet across, giving access to a small square cell, probably an ossuary, 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches on plan; the floor is cumbered with rubbish, and the original height reduced to 3 feet 4 inches. This is the tomb whose wall bears the pseudo-inscription already mentioned. One jamb of the entrance remains, facing eastward; it is revealed on the inside and has a bolt hole.

6. A very small and awkward chamber, under a projecting ledge of rock, with a yet smaller cell at its end. It is blocked up with stones and rubbish.

7. (Plan III; Tobler, 22).—A single rectangular chamber approached by a round-topped doorway, splayed and revealed on the outside. The doorway is recessed within an open vestibule of small dimensions; only a small fragment of the roof of this vestibule remains. Inside the chamber, on the right, is a doorway that gives access to a passage running parallel to the main axis of this chamber; it extends for a length of 5 feet 10 inches, and then stops abruptly, the excavators having broken through the rock, and being therefore obliged to abandon this part of the work. On the left side of the chamber is a vertical recess the height of a man, 1 feet 11 inches across, 10 inches deep. The exact height cannot be given, as the floor is covered with stones and rubbish. The southern side of the chamber is open, and communicates with a wider and lower annexe, which contains four bench tombs, one on each side and two at the end, separated by an uncut block of rock. In the floor are two sunk graves, now partly concealed with earth. In the south-west corner of the roof of this chamber the excavators again broke through the rock. There is a lamp-niche near the door leading to the passage above mentioned, but it looks fresh and modern.

Outside the door is inscription No. 1.

The above group of tombs are all situated in a plot of ground west of the old road leading southward from Neby Daûd. It is

now used as a cemetery by the Karaite Jews, and a few modern tombstones, inscribed in Hebrew, are scattered about. The following tomb (8) is in the bottom of the valley, under the precipitous southern rock wall. The four which follow are ranged along the west side of the road just mentioned :—

8. A group of small chambers consisting (*a*) of a single rectangular room with wide entrance much blocked with *débris*, and (*b*) an open vestibule, having a single *kok* or shaft-loculus on the eastern side, the entrance to a square chamber on the southward, and a side door to the chamber (*a*) on the westward. The rooms are all nearly inaccessible and not worth measuring owing to the accumulation of *débris* within them.

9. (Plan IV; Tobler, 19; Baedeker, 22).—A series of three large chambers with (so far as known) two subsidiary apartments. There is much earth inside, and possibly other apartments may remain hidden. The entrance is sunk below the present level of the ground. The three chambers are rather irregular quadrilateral apartments; the north-east angle of the first chamber is rounded. In the ceiling of the south-east corner of the same room is a hole, apparently natural. Close to the north-west corner is a slightly raised block, covered with plaster, in the top of which is a hole 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot, communicating downward with a small bell-shaped cell, now 4 feet 4 inches in height. Tobler regarded this as the water-store of a hypothetical hermit inhabitant of this cave; it is more probably an ossuary. The second apartment presents no feature of interest. The doorway between the second and third chambers is round-headed. In the northern wall of the third chamber is a niche, 1 foot 6 inches across, 1 foot 2 inches deep. In the floor of this chamber, in the north-east angle, is a rectangular opening 3 feet by 2 feet, leading downwards by steps to a small room 5 feet 6 inches by 5 feet, the floor of which is sunk 6 feet 4 inches below the floor-level of the third chamber. The first and second doorways are revealed for the insertion of doors, but in the first the reveal extends over the lintel only, not down the jambs. There are no graves visible in any of the chambers.

Over the outside of the entrance is inscription No. 2, and in the first chamber, over the door to the second, is No. 3.

10. (Plan V).—A single chamber immediately north of the above, filled with earth to almost 3 feet of the roof. It has

three entrances, one facing eastward, the other two facing southward. The eastern doorway is adapted for a turning door, the sweep of whose upper edge is cut in the roof. This door was bolted on the inside. The method of fastening for the two southern doors is a little doubtful; the indications seem to show that each was bolted independently, and further secured with a long beam crossing both. No trace of graves is to be seen in the visible portion of the chamber; and though owing to the accumulation of earth this is not a certain indication, yet combined with the internal fastenings of the doors, and especially the presence of horizontal water-grooves over the entrances on the outside, it suggests that the excavation under discussion may have been a dwelling rather than a tomb.

I do not know that there is any evidence for the establishment of permanent guards resident in important cemeteries or family tombs. If valuables were deposited with the dead, such a precaution would seem necessary: and there are one or two structural indications that some such step was taken in certain cases. A notable instance is the well-known "Tombs of the Judges." The outer fastening of this tomb was a door secured by a movable bolt running in a chase. Such a bolt could not possibly have been opened or fastened from the outside; there must have been a living person permanently within, and we are forced to conclude either that a guard was kept there by the family to whom the tomb belonged, or that it was at some time converted into a dwelling, and that the door-fastening was cut at the later period. Which hypothesis is to be accepted cannot be decided for lack of sufficient indications; but the presence in the Wâdy er-Rababi of a chamber, apparently a residence, with a number of doors unnecessary, except for the purpose of commanding a wide range of the cemetery, suggests that the guard theory is at least admissible.

11. To the north of No. 10 are the remains of a tomb, so much destroyed by quarrying and by the formation of an olive press and other vats (one of them plastered with *humra* plaster) in the rock, that the original plan can no longer be worked out. There is a sunk grave 5 feet 6 inches long, with the west end rounded.

12. (Plan VI; Tobler, 20; Baedeker, 23).—A winding staircase of 11 steps cut in the rock, leading up to the landing

in front of the door of this tomb, renders it conspicuous. The principal chamber is an irregular quadrilateral, 4 feet 8 inches in maximum height above the earth and stones now covering the floor.

The entrance doorway is roughly formed. It shows signs of having been fitted with a hanging door turning on a pivot fitting into a socket on the north side. There is no sign of a bolt-hole. Two steps, not centred with respect to the doorway, lead down from the threshold to the chamber floor. On the north side of the chamber is a bench tomb raised a few inches above the level of the floor, extending behind the steps mentioned; these steps would form the screen for the head of a body resting in this grave. A horizontal groove, especially noticeable at the head end, is cut into the wall; it was no doubt designed for the reception of a slab leaning on the edge of the steps and the foot of the grave, fulfilling the double purpose of a cover to the tomb and a shelf for a second interment. At the west end of the chamber is another tomb sunk in a raised bench, so that its bottom is probably about the level of the floor of the chamber; it is now full of earth. In the middle of the front of the bench is a large fracture. An opening in the north-west corner gives admission to the second chamber, which has every appearance of having been a natural hollow in the rock, slightly worked in order to adapt it for sepulchral purposes. It is very irregular, and shows but few marks of the tool. Its floor is about 2 feet below the level of the floor of the first chamber.

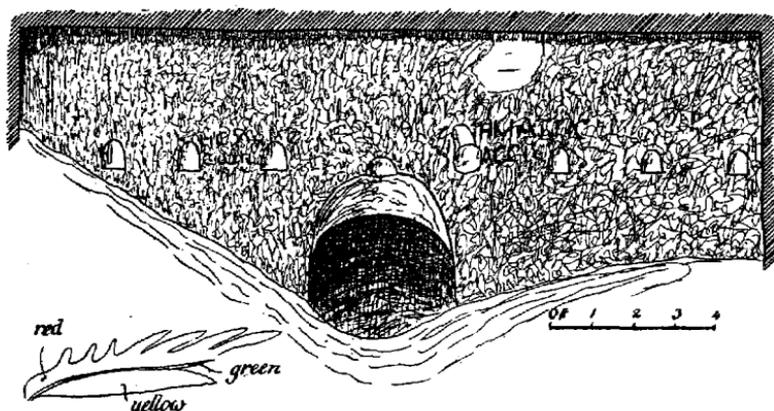
The outside of the tomb, with the staircase leading up to it, will be best understood from an inspection of the view. On the landing to the spectator's right of the doorway a small olive press has been cut. Round the corner of the mass of rock, to the right of the doorway, will be noticed a depression. This is a rock-cut grave, 2 feet wide and deep, and about 6 feet long, cut in the open air.

Over the doorway is inscription No. 4.

The following tombs extend at the top of the precipitous south wall (or on its face) of the valley, from the road from Neby Daūd to the charnel-house:—

13. (Plan VIII; Tobler, 18; Baedeker, 21).—A tomb with two chambers. The first, which occupies the place of a vestibule, is much ruined. An elevation of the southern face is shown in

the annexed cut, which indicates the positions of the inscriptions with the row of holes that have at some time and for some purposes been cut in the wall. There are two periods in the history of this chamber; the first, indicated by the inscriptions which are incised or painted on the rock; the second, by these holes which interfere with the inscriptions and plaster which at some time covered them. But few fragments of the plaster remain; a portion on the western side shows traces of an ornamental frieze in three colours, of which a sketch is annexed to the figure. The inner chamber is remarkable for three extraordinarily deep arcosolia (*see* the dimensions figured on the plan); I know of no example even approximately comparable with these.



Excavation would show whether (as is most likely) they were prepared for a number of bodies lying side by side; it would also open up a passage or loculus, the top of which is just visible above the *débris* at the east end of the south side. Close to this tomb are two cisterns with troughs.

The inscriptions on the south wall of the vestibule are Nos. 5 and 6.

14, 15. Two holes quarried in vertical steps: probably tombs, but if so, their original plans are quite erased.

16. A rectangular chamber on the face of the rock precipice, quarried open and destroyed.

17. (Tobler, 17).—A square chamber, which cannot be entered, as it is filled with *débris* to within a foot of the roof. By looking

through the narrow hole that now represents the doorway an entrance, with reveal, to an inner chamber can be seen.

18. (Tobler, 16).—A natural cavern, tooled at the mouth on the west with a  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch chisel, and on the east and roof with some fine-edged tool.

19. A hole quarried in vertical steps (compare 14, 15).

20. An irregularly quarried hole.

21. The top of a scarped corner, just appearing above the soil.

22. (Plan VII).—A small chamber, at the eastward end of which is a rather irregular cavity. A fillet, with a vertical face of 4 inches and a soffit of 2 inches breadth, runs round the ceiling. The front has been quarried away.

23. (Plan IX; Tobler, 25; Baedeker, 18).—A very irregular excavation. It consists of three chambers, one of which is the central vestibule, and the others contain the graves. The entrance is to be found in the precipitous south wall of the valley. The plan and section show the disposition of the graves, which are much broken in the westward chamber. The sinkings for the heads will be noticed. In the west chamber is a niche, and also a hole broken by careless quarrying. The whole is so irregular that nothing is to be gained by figuring the dimensions.

Over the entrance is Inscription 7.

24. A single chamber of which the southward side (8 feet 6 inches long) alone remains perfect. No graves visible. There are some peculiar indefinite markings in black on the surface of the wall, but it is doubtful whether they have any purpose.

25. (Tobler, 15).—A single chamber, of which the south and west sides alone remain; it is 13 feet 8 inches long, 7 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Under the ceiling on the south side is Inscription 8 in red, and below it a large cross in black. Tobler reports two inscriptions here, but this is probably an error.

26. A single chamber, of which the southward side (10 feet 6 inches long) alone remains perfect.

(To be continued.)

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