of a succession of Oriental conquerors. The predominance of the Canaanites in Palestine lasted about 2,000 years, the country depending in great part on Egypt, and still more on Chaldea. The celebrated earthen tablets, inscribed in the Babylonian tongue, discovered by Sellin in the regal treasury of Taanach (a subterranean cavern which had been supposed to be a canteen), now show decisively that, at the time of Moses, Babylonian was the language for epistolary communications between the Canaanite nobles; the Phoenician writing of our Semitic alphabet not yet existing. Yet Canaanite culture and civilization display much original vigour, and the Hebrew people, pouring down from the heights of Sinai and Moabite Table-lands, eager for conquest, were barbarians as compared with their enemies and rivals. After the first victory of the Mosaic period in the Valley of the Jordan, the work of conquest dragged slowly on until the time of David, Solomon, and others. The civil history of the Jews is, in fact, the absorption to their own advantage of the previous Canaanite civilization, with its failings and terrible superstitions; but the Hebrews failed to assimilate the artistic and industrial genius of the conquered people, though they possessed in excess their intuitive will and religious instinct. From this their world of interior light arose the men destined to influence history—whose inspired words built up religion on the ruins of every superstition—the Prophets.

THE TRADITIONAL SITES ON SION.

By Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A.

The traveller to Jerusalem, after he has visited the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock, naturally wishes to see the traditional sites on Sion. Leaving the Jaffa Gate and the Tower of David (see Plan I), he walks due south by the street which passes the Turkish barracks and leads to the Armenian quarter. On the right are the gardens of the Armenian Patriarch, while, on the left, about three hundred yards from the Tower of David, stands the Convent of St. James the Great (Site 2), which contains a twelfth-
century church, built on the spot where it is said the Apostle was killed by order of King Herod Agrippa. A small chapel on the north side of the church is shown as the exact spot of the martyrdom. To the south-east of the Church of St. James is the Convent of the Olive Tree (Site 3), which is said to be on the site of the House of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, to which Christ was first brought after being taken prisoner in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Leaving this convent and continuing south, the traveller soon reaches the south wall of Jerusalem, and, passing through the Sion Gate, comes to the House of Caiaphas (Site 4), an Armenian building in which is a chapel called the Prison of the Lord. The stone of the altar in this chapel is said to be part of the great stone which was rolled to the door of the Holy Sepulchre. A little farther to the south is a mass of buildings (Site 5), known to Christians as the Coenaculum, or site of the Last Supper, and, to Mohamedans as Neby Daud, or place of the Prophet David.

This building is in possession of Mohamedans, and the only place shown to Christians is a chapel on the first floor, approached by a flight of steps, which is the traditional site of the Last Supper. Below is another apartment (not accessible to Christians), said to be the place of washing of the Apostles' feet. A number of other sacred sites are supposed to be in or near the Coenaculum. These include the place where Jesus appeared to the Apostles after the Resurrection, the place where the Apostles assembled after the Ascension, the place where the Holy Ghost descended on the disciples on the Day of Pentecost, the house in which the Virgin Mary lived and died, and the sepulchres of King David and King Solomon.

Lastly, down the eastern slope of Mount Sion, and about a quarter of a mile from the Coenaculum, is the cave (Site 7) to which it is said St. Peter fled and hid himself after his denial of the Lord at the Palace of Caiaphas.

After seeing these places and hearing the traditions connected with them, the intelligent visitor is, perhaps, curious to know the history of them; to learn on what ground and to what extent can they be regarded as really being authentic sites. This is a question which deserves careful consideration, and, having studied the matter for some time, it has occurred to me that a few remarks upon the subject might be helpful to those who take an interest in such investigations.
Fortunately, there are a considerable number of documents, dating from early times, which describe what pilgrims to Jerusalem actually saw, and translations of the most important of these have been printed in the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. But a study of the accounts of these pilgrims is not without difficulty, and it is necessary to go carefully through them again and again, comparing one with another and weighing the evidence of each, before it is possible to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

One great cause of difficulty is due to what is known as "the transference of sites," which means that the same site, as described by different pilgrims, is by no means always in the same place; and, on the other hand, the same place is not unfrequently called by different names. One of the most noteworthy instances of the transference of sites is that of Mount Sion itself. Jerusalem stood on two hills, an eastern and a western, divided by a deep valley, now almost obliterated by accumulations of débris. At the present time, and certainly, since the year A.D. 300, the Western Hill is called Mount Sion, but the Temple and the City of David were on the Eastern Hill, and it is most difficult to understand the allusions to Sion in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, unless it is accepted that, in ancient times, it was the Eastern Hill that was called by that name. This is not the place to discuss the often repeated arguments upon the subject, or to consider when the name was first applied to the Western Hill, and I only mention it as one of the many instances of the transference of sites in Jerusalem.

Another instance of transfer is that of the place of the Last Supper. Of this site I can find no mention before the beginning of the sixth century, but about A.D. 530, when Theodosius visited Jerusalem,\(^1\) the place of the Last Supper, and the place of Washing the Apostles' feet, were shown to him at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and he does not say a word as to these being on Sion. Antoninus (A.D. 570) tells the same story, and it is not until A.D. 670 that Arculfus mentions Sion as the place of the Last Supper; this was after the destructive invasions of Chosroes and of Omar. There was a reason for the transfer, of which I shall speak hereafter, but it was not definitely established for a considerable time, as in A.D. 870, Bernard the Wise\(^2\) locates the place of

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Washing the Apostles' feet on Sion, while he speaks of the Last Supper as having taken place near the Garden of Gethsemane. By the time of the Crusades the transfer was complete, and, thence up to the present time, the places, both of the Last Supper and also of Washing the Apostles' feet, have always been located on the Western Hill.

As an instance of the same place being called by different names, the House of Caiaphas may be mentioned. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, it was shown to him as the House of Caiaphas; Theodosius (A.D. 530) calls it the House of Caiaphas and Church of St. Peter. During the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, it is referred to by different pilgrims as the Praetorium of Pilate, the Judgment Hall of Pilate, the Judgment Hall of Caiaphas, St. Saviour's Chapel, and the Chapel of the Lord Jesus; while pilgrims in the thirteenth century and later describe it as the House of Caiaphas and Church of St. Saviour. As I have already mentioned, it is now known as the House of Caiaphas and Prison of the Lord. It is easy, therefore, to see that it is not altogether a simple matter to follow the sites from one account to another, but there is one rule which is very helpful. If a pilgrim, in describing his walk round Jerusalem, says that he saw three sites, A, B, C, in the order A—B—C, and another later pilgrim places them in the order C—B—A, it is reasonable to assume that B lies somewhere between A and C. It is also not unreasonable to believe that a pilgrim actually saw what he says he saw, though, of course, it is not possible to put faith in all that he says he heard, as the traditions given varied considerably.

In his work on *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Sir Charles Wilson discussed the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory history of the Christian Church in Jerusalem during the first three centuries. Just before the siege by Titus in A.D. 70, the Christians in Jerusalem migrated to Pella, east of the Jordan, and the date of their return to the capital is uncertain. Some writers consider that the return took place shortly after the destruction of the city by Titus, while others place it about A.D. 122, in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, and before the Jewish revolt under Bar Kokba. After the suppression of this revolt, Jerusalem was entirely rebuilt and made a Roman colony, so that the chance of any private

1 See *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Chapter VII.
dwelling having survived from the time of the crucifixion is very small.

The author usually quoted as giving the early history of sites on Sion is Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamina, who wrote as follows towards the end of the fourth century:

"He (Hadrian) arrived at the most famous and noble city of Jerusalem, which was laid waste by Titus, the son of Vespasian, in the second year of his reign. He found the whole city razed to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, a small building on the place where the Disciples on their return from the Mount of Olives, after the Saviour's Ascension, assembled in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like cottages, one of which remained standing down to the time of Bishop Maxentius and the Emperor Constantine, 'like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,' in the words of Scripture."

This statement is interesting, but can hardly be regarded as historical, as Epiphanius wrote three hundred and fifty years after the Crucifixion and does not quote from any author who had actually seen the Church of Sion before the time of the Emperor Constantine. His statement is, therefore, hearsay only. And, even assuming that his information was correct, it does not prove that the place now shown to pilgrims as the site of the original Church of Sion is in the same place as the Church mentioned by Epiphanius.

In order to enable the question to be more easily understood, I have prepared a table showing the sites on Sion mentioned by the most important pilgrims who visited Jerusalem and wrote their experiences, from the time of Constantine up to the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks in A.D. 1517. It is not necessary to go further than this, as the sites shown to the last of the pilgrims, given in the Table, are practically the same as those shown at the present day.

On the plan of Jerusalem (Plan No. 1) are numbers which correspond with the numbers of the sites mentioned in the Table, so that these can be followed by the reader without difficulty. I have added to the Table the dates of certain events in the history of

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1 See *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 173.
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Jerusalem, as these have an important bearing on the question of the traditional sites on Sion.

There is, so far as I have been able to trace, no account extant written by anyone who actually saw any of these sites before the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by order of the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 326, and it is somewhat remarkable that Eusebius, who gave so full an account of the churches built at Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, makes no mention of the existence of a church on Sion. The Bordeaux Pilgrim also, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 333, when the Church of Golgotha was in process of construction, makes no mention of a church on Sion.

This pilgrim, who gives a clear account of his walk round Jerusalem, seems to have entered the city from the north, and passed down the Eastern Hill by the place where the Temple formerly stood. Here he saw the two statues which Hadrian had erected on the site of the Temple. Then leaving the Temple enclosure at the southern end, he saw the Pool of Siloam down in the valley to his left, and went up the Western Hill, which he calls Mount Sion. He then writes as follows:

"On this side one goes up Sion and sees where the House of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods. But, within, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David's palace. Of seven synagogues which once were there, one alone remains; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said Isaiah the Prophet.

"From thence, as you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk towards the Gate of Neapolis, on the right hand below in the valley are walls, where was the House or Praetorium of Pontius Pilate. Here our Lord was tried before His Passion. On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw from thence is a crypt wherein His body was laid, and He rose again on the third day. There, at present, by order of the Emperor Constantine, a basilica has been built."

From the above description, it appears that the pilgrim saw the House of Caiaphas at the same place as that where it is shown at the present time, but he mentions no Christian church on Sion, and it is difficult to understand why, if it was there at that time, A.D. 333, he makes no allusion to it.

The first writer who speaks of having actually seen a church on Sion is the lady pilgrim, usually known as St. Sylvia, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 385, fifty years later than the Bordear Pilgrim, and she, in her description of the church services held at Jerusalem, refers to this church several times. In speaking of the festival of Easter, she says:

"On the Lord's Day (i.e., Easter Day), after vespers at the Anastasis (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), all the people escort the bishop with hymns to Sion. When they have come there, hymns suitable to the day and place are sung, prayer is offered, and that place is read from the Gospel where, on the same day, the Lord entered in to the disciples when the doors were shut, in the same place where the church now is in Sion."

And in describing the services at Pentecost, she says:

"As soon as the Mass is over in the Martyrium (the great Church of Golgotha), all the people together escort the bishop to Sion with hymns, and they get to Sion when it is now the third hour. And when they have come there, that place from the Acts of the Apostles is read where the Spirit descends, so that all nations might understand the things that are spoken, and, after that, Mass is celebrated in due order. For the priests read the passage from the Acts of the Apostles (because the place is in Sion, there is another church there now), where once after the Lord's Passion a multitude was collected with the Apostles, when this happened of which we spoke above."

St. Sylvia gives no indication of the place in Sion where the church was situated, but it is evidently the same as that mentioned by Epiphanius, who also wrote towards the end of the fourth century. Another pilgrim to Jerusalem at the same time was St. Paula, who says of Sion:

"Leaving that place, she ascended Sion, which signifies 'citadel' or, 'watch-tower.' . . . There was shown a column supporting the portico of a church, stained with the blood of the Lord, to which He is said to have been bound and scourged. The place was shown where the Holy Spirit descended upon the souls of over one hundred and twenty believers, that the prophecy of Joel might be fulfilled."

The next document dealing with the question is a letter, supposed to have been written by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, about A.D. 440, in which he gives a description of Jerusalem. Of Sion he says:

"Mount Sion on one side, that which faces north, is set apart for the dwellings of priests and monks; the level ground on its summit is covered by the cells of monks surrounding a church, which, it is said, was built there by the Apostles out of reverence for the place of our Lord's Resurrection; because, as promised before by the Lord, they were filled with the Holy Ghost."

This statement does not give much help in fixing the position of the Church of Sion, but it shows, at all events, that at that time (A.D. 440), there was no tradition connecting it with the place of the Last Supper. There is another point to be noted in the accounts of these earlier pilgrims; there is no reference to the Virgin Mary; no mention of the place of her birth, her death, or her burial.

It is a little difficult to fix a date for the commencement of the cult of the Virgin Mary; I speak under correction, but I have not been able to find anything positive on the subject earlier than the fifth century. Perhaps, if it was necessary to fix a definite date, the time of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, may be taken as fixing the period when the idea that great reverence was to be shown to the Virgin was widely spread, and traditions with regard to her were becoming general. One of these, as recorded in an epistle of the Council of Ephesus, was to the effect that she lived with St. John in Ephesus, and died in that city; whereas there was another, that she remained in Jerusalem after the crucifixion and died there. Of course each place would claim the honour, and, as four centuries had passed since the date of the Crucifixion, it would have been difficult to prove which tradition was correct. But one thing is certain, that up to the time of Eucherius, there is no mention of a church built in honour of St. Mary at Jerusalem, and it is not possible to say when the first Church of St. Mary was dedicated, as there is an interval of nearly a century before the next contemporary accounts of Jerusalem were written.

There are then three, all considered by Tobler as belonging approximately to the year A.D. 530. These are the tract known as

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the Breviary of Jerusalem, and the accounts written by Theodosius and Theodorus. There is a strong resemblance between them, especially as regards the two latter, and it is a little difficult to believe that they are independent descriptions, notwithstanding certain differences. It is unnecessary to refer further to the Breviary as it contains much less information and mentions no site on Sion except those described by the other two writers.

The accounts given by Theodosius and Theodorus differ in some very important respects from those of preceding pilgrims; they mention two churches dedicated to St. Mary, one near the Sheep Pool and the other in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and they describe the site of the Last Supper, now referred to for the first time, as being close to the latter church, which marked the site of the burial of the Virgin, and, apparently, at the same place as the church shown at the present day as the Tomb of St. Mary. As regards this church and its surroundings, the two descriptions are as follows:

THEODOSIUS.

"There is the Valley of Jehoshaphat; there Judas betrayed the Lord. There is the Church of St. Mary, the mother of the Lord. There, too, the Lord washed his Disciples' feet, and there he supped. Four couches are there, on which the Lord and his Apostles around Him reclined; each couch accommodates three persons. At the present day some persons, as a religious observance when they go there, delight to eat their food (except flesh) in that place; and they light lamps where the Lord washed the Apostles' feet, for the spot is in the cave. Two hundred monks are in the habit of going down there."

THEODORUS.

"There is the Valley of Jehoshaphat. There the Lord will judge the just and the sinful. There is the River Purinos, which will pour out fire at the end of time, and there is the basilica of Mary, the Lord's mother, and there is her sepulchre. And there Judas betrayed the Lord, and there is the place where the Lord supped with His disciples. There, also, the Lord washed His Apostles' feet. There are four couches where the Lord lay with His Apostles, Himself in the midst, which couches will hold three men, and now some, through piety, when they come there, delight to eat their food (save only meat) and light lamps where the Lord himself washed His apostles' feet, for that place is a cave, and only two hundred monks can enter it."

1 See Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, Vol. II. "The Breviary. Theodosius."
It is clear from the above that, at this date (circa A.D. 530), the place of the Last Supper was shown at the foot of the Mount of Olives and not on Sion.

As regards the sites on Sion, the descriptions of the two writers are as follows:

**Theodosius.**

"From Golgotha it is two hundred paces to Holy Sion, the mother of all churches; which Sion our Lord Christ founded with His Apostles. It was the House of St. Mark the Evangelist.

"From Holy Sion to the House of Caiaphas, now the Church of St. Peter, it is fifty paces, more or less. From the House of Caiaphas to the Hall of Pilate it is one hundred paces, more or less.

"There is the Church of St. Sophia.

"Hard by holy Jeremiah was cast into the pit."

* * * * * *

"The Pool of Siloam is one hundred paces from the place where the Prophet Jeremiah was cast into the pit; the pool is within the wall. From the House of Pilate to the Pool of the Sheep Market is about one hundred paces. There the Lord Christ cured the palsied man, whose bed is still there. Also, near the Pool of the Sheep Market, is the Church of St. Mary."

**Theodorus.**

"From Golgotha even to Holy Sion are paces in number two hundred, which is the mother of all churches, which Sion our Lord founded with His Apostles. There was the House of St. Mark the Evangelist."

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"From Holy Sion to the House of Caiaphas, which is now the Church of St. Peter, are about fifty paces by number. From the House of Caiaphas to the Praetorium of Pilate, about one hundred paces by number. There is the Church of St. Sophia.

"Near it Jeremiah was placed in the pool."

"The Pool of Siloam is one hundred paces from the pool where Jeremiah the Prophet was put, which pool (i.e., of Siloam) is inside the wall. From the House of Pilate to the Sheep Pool is about one hundred paces. There the Lord cured the para-lytic, whose bed even yet remains there. Beside the Sheep Pool is the Church of St. Mary, where the sick wash and are healed."

The Church of St. Mary here mentioned appears to have been on the site now occupied by the Church of St. Anne (Site 11), the mother of the Virgin, north of the Temple area. It was possibly built to commemorate the birth of the Virgin, just as the church already alluded to at the foot of the Mount of Olives was built to commemorate her burial.
It will be observed that the sites on Sion are described in the order:

- Golgotha.
- The Mother Church of Sion.
- The House of Caiaphas.
- The Praetorium of Pilate, or Church of St. Sophia.
- Siloam.

This shows that in A.D. 530 the Church of Sion was north of the House of Caiaphas, and it is possible that the former was at or near the place now occupied by the convent of St. James. The relative distances from Golgotha to Sion, and Sion to the House of Caiaphas (see Plan), agree fairly well with this. But the position of the then Church of Sion cannot be the same as that of the Coenaculum, which is south of the House of Caiaphas. The Praetorium of Pilate, described by Theodosius, seems to have been somewhere on the eastern slope of Sion, on or near the road to Siloam.

Not long after the time of these writers, the Emperor Justinian built the great Church of St. Mary at Jerusalem. This Emperor did much to encourage the cult of the Virgin. Procopius wrote¹:

"The Emperor Justinian built in all parts of the Roman Empire many churches dedicated to the Virgin so magnificent and large, and constructed with such a lavish expenditure of money, that a person beholding any one of them singly would imagine it to have been his only work, and that he had spent the whole period of his reign in adorning it alone."

And of the Church at Jerusalem he said²:

"At Jerusalem he built a church in honour of the Virgin, to which no other can be compared."

There were already in Jerusalem two churches, one to commemorate the birth of the Virgin, and one at the place where she was supposed to have been buried, and the church of Justinian appears to have been built in honour of the place of her death.

In a Paper which I contributed to the Quarterly Statement for 1903³ are given the reasons for believing that this Church of Justinian was situated on Sion, at or near the place now occupied by the Coenaculum, and not, as some have supposed, on the site of the

² Ibid., p. 138.
³ See Quarterly Statement, 1903, pp. 250, 344.
EXPLANATION OF NUMBERS.

1. The Tower of David.
2. The Convent of St. James.
3. The House of Annas.
4. The House of Caiaphas.
5. The Church of St. Mary on Sion.
7. The Cave of St. Peter.
8. The Pool of Siloam.
10. The Dome of the Rock.
11. Church of St. Anne.
   Probable Site of the Church of the Birth of St. Mary.
12. The Tomb of St. Mary.
13. The Church of the Ascension.
PLAN OF JERUSALEM.
FROM THE MADEBA MOSAIC.
Mosque of Aksa in the Haram enclosure; it is unnecessary, therefore, to repeat these arguments, and I shall assume that the church was on Sion. (Site 5 on Plan.) The first pilgrim to mention it is Antoninus, who visited Jerusalem not many years after the church was built (A.D. 570). The following is his account of the holy places on Sion, with those parts omitted, which do not refer to the question of sites 1:

"Thence (i.e., from Golgotha), we ascended to the Tower of David, where we chanted the Psalter. It is of great size, and in it are dwellings for monks in separate cells . . . . Thence we came to the basilica of the Holy Sion, where are many wonders, amongst which is the corner-stone mentioned in Scripture, which was rejected by the builders. When the Lord Jesus Christ entered that very church, which was then the House of St. James, He found that shapeless stone lying in the midst; He lifted it up and placed it upon the corner . . . . From Sion we came to the Basilica of the Blessed Mary, where is a large congregation of monks, and where are also hospices (for strangers both) for men and women. There I was received as a pilgrim; there were countless tables, and more than three thousand beds for sick persons. We prayed in the Praetorium, where the Lord was tried, which is now the Basilica of St. Sophia. In front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon under the street, water runs down to the fountain of Siloam. Near the Porch of Solomon, in the church itself, is the seat upon which Pilate sat when he tried our Lord . . . . Thence we came to an arch where was the ancient gate of the city. At that place is the putrid water into which the Prophet Jeremiah was cast. Descending from that arch down to the fountain of Siloam by many steps, we saw the round church from beneath which Siloa rises."

The Church of Holy Sion, described by Antoninus, appears to be the same as that referred to by Theodosius and Theodorus, but it is called the House of St. James, a very important point, as it connects this site with the place where the Convent of St. James now stands. The Church of St. Mary is evidently that which had been recently built by Justinian, and described by Procopius. The sites are given by Antoninus in the following order:

Golgotha.
The Tower of David.
The Church of Holy Sion.
The Church of St. Mary.
The Church of St. Sophia, or Praetorium.
The Gate of the City.
The Steps down to Siloam.
The Pool of Siloam.

This agrees with the description by Theodosius, except that the Church of St. Mary is added and the House of Caiaphas is omitted. The latter ceases to be mentioned by any pilgrim for more than five hundred years, and then reappears on its original site.

So far the topography of the sites is fairly satisfactory, but I now come to a piece of evidence of the greatest possible importance; the Mosaic map of Palestine discovered at Madeba, east of Jordan, in 1896. The date of this map is not fixed with absolute certainty, but it is believed to have been made some time in the second half of the sixth century, the epoch of the Emperor Justinian, who caused some important works to be executed at Madeba.1 On this map is a representation of the city of Jerusalem, which greatly helps in understanding the account of Antoninus. The annexed plan (Plan 2) is a copy of that portion of the map, but, to make it clearer, unnecessary detail and the names of places outside Jerusalem have been omitted. The city is shown with the north on the left, and the south on the right hand: the part of the Mosaic containing the Mount of Olives and the south-east corner of Jerusalem has unfortunately been destroyed.

The plan shows very clearly the walls, towers, and gates; two main streets with colonnades lead from the north gate (which is on the site of the present Damascus Gate) southward through the town, and extend as far as where the existing south wall stands. These streets follow approximately the lines of two of the present streets, see Plan 1. The centre street ends in what may be a gate, while the east street terminates in a gate F, opening on to a flight of broad steps G, leading down to Siloam, thus agreeing exactly with the description given by Antoninus.

Five buildings, evidently churches, are shown on the plan. Of these the first, A, is the great Basilica of the Martyrium, built by

1 See Quarterly Statement, 1897, p. 224.
Constantine at Golgotha; the three doors, facing the rising sun, as described by Eusebius, are clearly indicated. The second church, B, in the south part of Sion, seems to be the basilica of St. Mary, built by Justinian; in this case the great entrance doors face west, in accordance with the account of the church given by Procopius. Farther to the east is another large church, C, which stands at the end of the centre main street, and between it and the east street, in a position which corresponds with that of the church of St. Sophia, as described by Theodosius, Theodorus, and Antoninus; at the north-east end of this church are the gate and the steps leading down to Siloam, already referred to.

The two other churches are; first that at D, which appears to be the Church of St. Mary, by the Pool of the Sheep Market, on the site of the present Church of St. Anno; and the other, E, which is evidently the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Close to the latter are the letters "ΓΙΘΟ,” the beginning of the word ‘Γεθομενη,” but the other letters are destroyed. Under this, in large letters, is the name of the city, “ΗΑΓΙΑΠΟΛΙΣΕΙΡΟΥΣ,” the concluding letters αλευ being also destroyed.

The position of these two churches agree with those given to them by the pilgrims whose accounts have been quoted.

Taking it altogether, the information afforded by the Madeba Mosaic is a remarkable confirmation of the description of the sixth century churches in Jerusalem given by the pilgrims, and it is fortunate that it was executed before the capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes and the Persians in A.D. 614.

In the Annals of Eutychius this event is described in the following words:

"Now when he (i.e., Chosroes) came to Jerusalem, he destroyed the Church of Gethsemane, and also the Church of Helena, both of which remain in ruins to this day. He also destroyed the churches of Constantine, that of Golgotha, and of the Holy Sepulchre; he set Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre on fire, and

4 The Church of Gethsemane appears to be the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church of Helena, the church built by that Empress on the Mount of Olives.
destroyed the greater part of the city as well, while the Persians and Jews together slew innumerable Christians. These are the corpses which lie in the place at Jerusalem called Mamilla.”

Monsieur Clermont-Ganneau, in the Quarterly Statement for 1898, has directed attention to a very interesting Arabic document, containing an account of the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, in which is given a detailed list of the churches and other places from which corpses, amounting in all to 62,455, were taken for burial after the massacre. The larger number of corpses, 24,518, naturally came from Mamilla, where the prisoners seem to have been assembled and murdered en masse.

Among the other places mentioned are:—the New Church, which is identified by Monsieur Ganneau as the Basilica of St. Mary, built by Justinian; the Church of St. Sophia; and the House of St. James, which may be the House of St. James mentioned by Antoninus as the original site of the Church of Holy Sion.

This is the last time, so far as I know, that the Church of St. Sophia is mentioned; it is therefore probable that it was destroyed by the Persians. The Church of St. Mary, on the other hand, appears to have escaped total destruction, possibly because it was outside the city to the south and more out of the way.

In A.D. 629, the Emperor Heraclius reoccupied Jerusalem, but it was not long held by the Christians, for, in A.D. 637, it was captured by the Mohamedans under the Khalif Omar, who behaved with great leniency to the Christians, and left them their churches.

The first pilgrim who has left an account of the state of Jerusalem after these events is Arculfus, who visited the Holy Land about A.D. 670, when the city was in the hands of the Mohamedans, but prior to the erection of the Dome of the Rock or the Mosque of Aksa. In his description, the sites on Sion enter upon an entirely new phase (see Table). The old Church of Sion, the House of Caiaphas, and the Church of St. Sophia, are not mentioned at all, while, on the other hand, a number of traditional sites previously attached to other places, have been transferred to the Church of St. Mary on Sion. Here, for the first time, was shown the place of the Last Supper, and the place where the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles at the day of Pentecost. The description of Sion given by Arculfus is as follows:

1 See Quarterly Statement, 1898, p. 42.
"Mention was made of Mount Sion a little above, and here a short and succinct notice must be inserted of a great basilica erected there, a drawing of which is given here."

Plan of the Church on Mount Sion.


"Here is shown the rock upon which Stephen, being stoned without the city, fell asleep. Beyond the great church described above, which embraces within its walls such holy places, there stands another memorable rock, on the west side of which, as is said, Stephen was stoned."

It is curious that, while Arculfus thus definitely fixes the site of the Last Supper on Sion, he also gives the tradition of the former site on the Mount of Olives in the following words 1:

"In the side of the Mount of Olives is a cave, not far from the Church of St. Mary, placed on the higher ground across the Valley of Jehoshaphat, having in it two very deep wells, one of which descends to a great depth under the mountain, while the other is in the pavement of the cave, its immense cavity being, as is said, directed in a straight course, descending into the depths: these two wells are always closed. In the same cave are four stone tables, of which the one nearest the entrance of the cave on the inside is that of our Lord Jesus Christ, His seat, beyond doubt, adjoining His little table; here He was in the habit sometimes of sitting at meat with His twelve Apostles, who, at the same time, sat at the other tables in the same place."

From the time of Arculfus (A.D. 670) to the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (A.D. 1099), there are only two accounts by pilgrims, the first by St. Willibald (A.D. 754) and the second by

Bernard the Wise (A.D. 870). Of these, St. Willibald gives little information as regards the sites on Sion, as he was very ill during his visit to Jerusalem; but he mentions the church and says that "Holy Mary departed out of the world in that place in the midst of Jerusalem that is called Holy Sion." 1

The description by Bernard 2 is rather fuller, and contains some interesting points. It is as follows:

"Moreover, in the city there is yet another church to the south, on Mount Sion, called the Church of St. Simeon; there the Lord washed the feet of His disciples. In this hangs the Lord's crown of thorns, and here it is reported that St. Mary died. Near which, to the east, is a church in honour of St. Stephen, in the place where he is said to have been stoned. Further east is a church in honour of blessed Peter in the place where he denied the Lord . . . . . . Going forth from Jerusalem we descended to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, distant a mile from the city, containing the Garden of Gethsemane, with the birthplace of St. Mary, where there is a very large church in honour of her. In the garden, also, is the round church of St. Mary, where is her sepulchre, which, having no roof over it, stands rain badly. In the same place is a church, where the Lord was betrayed, with the four round tables of His Supper."

It is difficult to understand why Bernard calls the church on Sion "St. Simeon," as he is the only pilgrim who gives it this name. One is inclined to think that "Simeon" may be a clerical error for "Sion." He places the site of the Washing the Apostles' feet at Sion, and the site of the Last Supper, according to the old tradition, at the foot of the Mount of Olives; but he is the last writer to do this. Afterwards the place of the Last Supper was shown only on Sion.

Bernard does not mention the House of Caiaphas, nor the Church of St. Peter therein, but he is the first to speak of the church on the east slope of Sion (No. 7 on Plan No. 1), which was built over the cave where Peter was supposed to have hidden himself after his denial of our Lord.

A century after Bernard visited Jerusalem, the city was captured by the Egyptians under the Khalif el-Muezz, the founder of Cairo,

and, in A.D. 1010, one of his successors, the Khalif el-Hakem, destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and possibly some of the other churches, but St. Mary on Sion seems to have escaped. In A.D. 1074, the Egyptians, in their turn, were driven out by the Seljuk Turks, but succeeded in retaking the city in A.D. 1098, the year before the arrival of the Crusaders. In these struggles the buildings in Jerusalem probably suffered severely, but there appears to be no record of the extent of damage done to the different churches.

The next pilgrim whose account we have to deal with is Soewulf, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1102, just three years after the occupation of the city by the Crusaders, and probably before any alteration or rebuilding of the churches had been carried out by the Christians. His account of the churches on Sion is as follows:

"The Church of the Holy Ghost is on Mount Sion, outside the wall to the south, as far as one could shoot an arrow. There the apostles received the promise of the Father, namely, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, on the day of Pentecost. There they composed the Creed. In that church is a certain chapel in the place where Blessed Mary died. On the other side of the church is a chapel, on the spot where our Lord Jesus Christ, after His Resurrection, first appeared to the Apostles, and it is called Galilee, as He said Himself: 'After that I shall have risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.' That place was called Galilee, on account of the Apostles, who were called Galileans, frequently resorting thither . . . . In the Galilee of Mount Sion, where the apostles were hidden in conclave for fear of the Jews, the doors being shut, Jesus stood in the midst of them, and said: 'Peace be to you.' And again He showed Himself to them there, when Thomas put his finger into His side and into the place of the nails. There He supped with His disciples before His passion and washed their feet. There is still the marble table upon which He ate the Supper. There are the relics of St. Stephen, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Abibo; they were honourably placed there by the Patriarch St. John after they were found . . . . Under the wall of the city outside, on the declivity of Mount Sion, is the Church of St. Peter, which is called Gallicantus (or the cock-crowing), when he hid himself in a very deep cave, which may still be seen,

"after his denial of our Lord, and then wept over his crime most bitterly."

Another pilgrim who visited Jerusalem in the early days of the Christian occupation was the Russian Abbot Daniel, who went to Palestine in A.D. 1106, and wrote an accurate account of all that he saw and heard. Of Sion he says:\[1\]:--

"In the present day Mount Sion is outside the walls of the city, to the south of Jerusalem. On this Mount Sion was the House of St. John the Evangelist, and a large church with a wooden roof was erected there; it is as far as one can throw a small stone from the wall of the city to the holy Church of Sion. Behind the altar of this church is the chamber in which Christ washed the feet of His Disciples. From this room, walking towards the south, we ascend into another chamber by a staircase. The roof is supported by pillars, and is ornamented with mosaics: the chamber is well paved, and, like a church, has an altar at the east end. It was in the House of John the Evangelist that the Holy Supper of Christ with His Disciples took place; it is there that John, lying upon the bosom of Jesus, said: 'Lord, which is he that will betray Thee.' It is in this same place that the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. In the same church, on the ground floor, there is another low chamber on the south side, in which Christ appeared in the midst of His Disciples, the doors being closed, and said: 'Peace be with you,' and it is there also that He confounded Thomas on the eighth day. They show there an ancient stone, brought from Mount Sinai by an angel. On the other side of the Church to the west, there is another chamber, likewise on the ground floor, in which the Holy Virgin gave up the ghost. And all these events took place in the House of St. John the Evangelist.

"There was the House of Caiaphas where Peter denied Christ three times before the cock crowed; this place stands east of Sion. Not far off, on the eastern slope of the mountain, there is a deep cavern to which one descends by thirty-two steps. It is there that Peter wept bitterly after his denial. A church is built above this cave and named after the holy Apostle Peter. Farther south, at the foot of the mountain, is the Pool of Siloah, where Christ opened the eyes of the blind man."

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The above two accounts are specially noteworthy, as they show what were regarded as the traditional sites on Sion at the commencement of the Christian occupation of Jerusalem. The large church on Sion, south of the wall, was then existing, so that it could not have been built, as some suppose, by the Crusaders. Perhaps the wooden roof may have been that remarkable wooden roof, constructed of enormous cedar trees, which Procopius describes as having been placed on Justinian's Church of St. Mary.

The House of St. John the Evangelist is mentioned for the first time.

The House of Caiaphas reappears, after not being referred to for more than five hundred years, but the Church of St. Peter is not in the House of Caiaphas, but is transferred to the cave of Peter's denial.

There is no mention at all of the original Church of Sion within the walls, and this seems to have been entirely forgotten.

There are many accounts of Sion written by pilgrims during the period of the Latin Kingdom, from A.D. 1099 to A.D. 1187, and of these I have given the names of some of the most important in the Table, from which it will be seen that, speaking generally, there was little alteration in the traditional sites, except that from time to time fresh ones were added. It will, therefore, be necessary only to refer to the alterations and not to speak of those sites which remained unchanged.

One of these additions is very curious. The first pilgrim to refer to it is Fetellus, who wrote about A.D. 1130. In speaking of Mount Sion, after describing the various holy places to be seen in the church of St. Mary, he adds 1:—

"In Mount Sion David and Solomon, and the other Kings of Jerusalem, are said to be buried."

According to the accounts in the Bible, David and Solomon were buried in the city of David, which, there is little doubt, was on the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem and south of the Temple, a long way from the Christian Sion, and no previous writer speaks of their tombs in connection with the latter. In order to find the origin of the strange story, it is necessary to refer to the account of his travels, written by Benjamin of Tudela, the learned Jew who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1163. He relates that a few years previous to his

visit, some workmen who were repairing the wall of the Church of Sion, broke into a cavern in the hill where they saw a large hall with marble pillars, encrusted with gold and silver, in which was a table with a golden crown and sceptre upon it. Chests stood round, but before they could examine them, a terrible blast of wind drove them out of the cave, and left them nearly dead. They heard a voice say: "Get up and go forth from this place." Full of fear, they informed the patriarch of what they had seen, who consulted with the Rabbi Abraham. The latter told the patriarch that the workmen had discovered the sepulchres of David and the Kings of Judah. The patriarch thereupon ordered the cave to be securely walled up so as to hide it from everyone. Benjamin says that he heard the story from the Rabbi Abraham himself.

Whatever the truth of the tale may have been, there can be no doubt that the tradition remains to the present day that the sepulchres of David and Solomon are on Mount Sion, but no attempt ever seems to have been made to investigate the matter further. But it is possible that the story, which is believed by the Mohamedans, led to the expulsion of the Christians from the Coenaculum by Sultan Soliman II in A.D. 1551.

During the Christian occupation there were many churches built in Jerusalem; among them was the Church of St. James, first mentioned by John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160), which stood where the present Armenian convent of St. James is now. This may be on the site of the original Church of Sion which, according to Antoninus (see p. 207), was the House of St. James. It is approximately in the right position, but this is a point on which one cannot speak certainly.

John of Würzburg describes the building known as the House of Caiaphas, but, rather curiously, calls it the Praetorium of Pilate. Of it he says 1 :

"Our Lord was betrayed, as we have said, by His Disciple, was taken and bound by a Roman soldier, and brought to Mount Sion, where at that time stood the Praetorium, or Judgment Hall of Pilate, which was called the Pavement, in Hebrew Gabbatha ... " At that time, close to the Judgment Hall on the south side, stood the great building wherein the Lord supped with his Disciples."

Theodorich, writing in A.D. 1172, also calls the House of

Caiaphas the Praetorium of Pilate, which he describes in the following words:

"After he had asked Him many questions, Pilate caused Him to be led to the Judgment Hall, and sat down, by way of a Judgment Seat, in the place which is called the Pavement, which place is situated in front of the Church of St. Mary, on Mount Sion, in a high place near the city wall."

It looks as if this was a reversion to the original tradition that the Praetorium of Pilate was in the south part of Jerusalem, as shown to Theodosius and Theodorus in the sixth century, at the Church of St. Sophia (No. 6 on Plan 1). It would be interesting to know what was the foundation for the idea that the Praetorium was in this part of the city, for, if it were true, it would throw a new light on the possible site of the Crucifixion. But the question is one that does not directly concern the subject of the present article.

In an interesting twelfth century map of Jerusalem, of which a facsimile is given in Plan 3, the great Church of Sion is clearly shown outside the wall of the city to the south, and in exactly the same position as in the Madeba Mosaic, Plan 2. The large church inside the wall of Sion, marked *ecclesia latyna*, is evidently the Church of St. James, already referred to. The arcaded street, leading from St. Stephen's Gate (the present Damascus Gate) in the north to the Sion Gate, *porta Syon australis*, on the south, agrees with the main central street in the Madeba Mosaic.

In A.D. 1187 Saladin captured Jerusalem; the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa were of course seized by the Mohammedans, but the Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians. The Church of St. Mary on Sion was partially destroyed a few years later, but some of the chapels seem to have been left standing. The author of the tract known as *The City of Jerusalem*, written not long after the Mahomedans had taken possession of the city, described Sion in the following words:

"Towards the south, above the city of Jerusalem, is Mount Sion. There was the great church, which is thrown down, where Our Lady died, and thence the apostles bore her to Jehoshaphat;"

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and before it is a chapel where our Lord was judged, beaten, and tormented; yea, with thorns tormented and crowned. This was the Praetorium of Caiaphas and his house. Under the great church, which is overthrown, is the chapel of the Holy Ghost: there the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles. There is the place where our Lord washed the feet of His Apostles: the trough is still there. There God entered, the doors being closed, and said to them: ‘Pax vobis.’ Then said He to St. Thomas: ‘Put forth thy hand and thy finger, and be not unbelieving.’ On Mount Sion Solomon was anointed."

The Sultan el-Kamil Mohamed, of Egypt, surrendered Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick II in A.D. 1229, and the Christians held it until A.D. 1244, when the Kharazmians invaded Palestine and drove them out of the city, which, since that time, has never been in Christian possession, and the Church of St. Mary on Sion was never rebuilt, but the traditional sites continued to be shown to pilgrims who visited Jerusalem by the permission of the Mohamedans, and there was little change in them, although from time to time new holy places were added; but, as these have no historical value, it is unnecessary to describe them in detail.

Two of the best and fullest of these accounts are those by John Poloner (A.D. 1421), and Felix Fabri (A.D. 1483).1 These are well worth careful perusal, but are far too long to quote in extenso. It is, however, worth mentioning that both of them were shown an entirely new site: the House of Annas the High Priest, situated in the Convent of the Olive Tree (No. 3 on Plan I), between the Church of St. James and the House of Caiaphas. Although the tradition connected with this site is so comparatively recent, the place is now shown to pilgrims as the authentic House of Annas.

Felix Fabri found the south wall of Jerusalem in ruins, and the Church of St. Mary was also in ruins; of the latter he says:—

"In this place we stood for a good while and mourned over the ruins, and looked round us with sorrow at the scattered stones of the sanctuary. Here once stood an exceeding great church, whereof there is nothing left save the part which once joined that great church on the right-hand side, which part, at the present day, is the choir and church of the brethren, as I said before; the head of the choir also remains, with the east window, and with its half broken vault, which threatens to fall in."

1 See Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts, Vols. VI-X.
It is satisfactory that Fabri visited Jerusalem when he did and left so accurate a description of all he saw, as he is the last pilgrim upon whom we have to rely, before the Turks under Sultan Selim I invaded Syria in 1517, and took possession of Jerusalem. In 1540 Sultan Suliman II rebuilt the walls as we see them at the present day. The old Sion Gate, at the end of the central street of Jerusalem, was closed up, and the existing Sion Gate, or, as it is called by the Mohamedans, the Gate of the Prophet David, was built, not far from the House of Caiaphas. The treatment of the Christians became much harsher, and, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the French Ambassador at Constantinople, the monks were expelled altogether from the Coenaculum in 1551, and no Christian was allowed to enter it for a very long period.

Maundrill, who visited Jerusalem, in 1697, says:—

“ A little farther without the gate is the Church of the Coenaculum, where they say Christ instituted His Last Supper. It is now a mosque, and not to be seen by Christians.”

During the last century the rule has been somewhat relaxed, and Christians are permitted to see the upper room, known as the chamber of the Coenaculum, but they are not allowed to kneel or to pray openly.

Having thus given a short résumé of the history of the traditional sites on Sion, so far as it can be arrived at from the authentic evidence available, it is desirable to sum up the conclusions that may be drawn, which are as follows:—

There is nothing to show that any of the Christian sites now shown on Sion existed prior to the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by order of the Emperor Constantine, in A.D. 326, nearly three hundred years after the Crucifixion.

The oldest site with a continuous history is the House of Caiaphas, which was pointed out to the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333, apparently in the same place as that where it is shown at the present day.

The old, or “ Mother Church” of Sion, described by a pilgrim for the first time about A.D. 385, was undoubtedly within the wall of the city, somewhere between the Tower of David and the House of Caiaphas, and north of the latter. The old church may possibly have stood on the site now occupied by the Convent of St. James, as it is called the House of St. James by Antoninus (A.D. 570), the last pilgrim who mentions it. This site (No. 2 on Plan 1), is in accord with the description of the early pilgrims.
The new Church of Sion was the church built by the Emperor Justinian in the middle of the sixth century, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It stood outside the wall of the city and south of the House of Caiaphas, at the place now occupied by the building known as the Coenaculum (Site No. 5 on Plan 1). This church is mentioned for the first time by Antoninus, who visited Jerusalem shortly after it was built, and who is the only pilgrim to mention both the old and new churches on Sion.

After the new church was built, the holy places which had formerly been shown in the old church, were transferred to it, and the old church was gradually forgotten.

From time to time other holy places were transferred to the Church of St. Mary on Sion, as, for example, the place of the Last Supper, and the place of washing the feet of the Apostles, which were so transferred after the Church of St. Mary, in the valley of the Cedron, was destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614.

If it is allowed that there were two churches of Sion, the old church inside the wall up to the time of Justinian, and the new church outside the wall after Justinian, then the accounts given by all the pilgrims are intelligible. If not, then it appears impossible to reconcile the accounts of the early and the later pilgrims.

THE PROPOSED EXCAVATION OF BETH-SHEMESH.

NOTES ON THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONS.

By Stanley A. Cook, M.A.

Beth-She'mesh, "house of Shemesh (the sun)," the site which the Palestine Exploration Fund is about to excavate, lies about 19 miles east of Azotus (Ashdod), 16 miles west of Jerusalem, and 6 miles south-west of the now famous Gezer. The name is found also in the north, as that of a city on the border of Naphtali (Josh. xix, 38; Judg. i, 33), and also—unless the two are identical—as that of a city ascribed to Issachar (Josh. xix, 22). In Jer. xiii, 13, allusion is made to the pillars or obelisks of the Egyptian Beth-Shemesh, the renowned sun-temple of On, or Heliopolis, about 6 miles north-east of Cairo. Since it has been suggested that this great centre of the