

medans in wearing no turban at all. The Roman Catholics and other Christians (very few until recently) are more emancipated. Many of the Christians are gold, silver, copper or tin-smiths, grocers and oil manufacturers. They have received a slight education, yet there are but few who really know how to read and write, but they can all calculate with astonishing accuracy, remembering the minutest details as long as it appertains to sums received or spent. Now-a-days they wear the tarbush only, without the turban, and red shoes without stockings, leaving the calf of the leg bare, as they have very short trousers. The women are hardly distinguishable from their Moslem sisters, as they are always veiled out of doors and have the izar round their bodies. On Sundays they go for a walk along the road, and share all the superstitions and beliefs (outside of their catechism) of the wonderful and supernatural appearances of good and bad jinns.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE CHURCHES OF JERUSALEM FOUNDED BEFORE A.D. 1099.¹

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It is somewhat to be regretted that the word "church," in the English language has several different meanings, which sometimes lead to a confusion of ideas. For example, it would be correct to say that there was a Christian church in Jerusalem prior to the siege of that city by the Emperor Titus in A.D. 70, and it would also be allowable to say that there was no church in Jerusalem before that date. The word may be used to express the body of Christians in a particular town or country, or for the assembly of the believers, or for the place where such an assembly was held, or, lastly, to denote a building specially designed and erected for the

¹ [Although Sir Charles Watson did not live to complete this essay, these "Notes" are too useful to be left unprinted, and the MS. has been printed as it left his hands and without the benefit of any modifications which he may have wished to make.—ED.]

purpose of Christian worship. It is in the last sense only that I shall employ the word "church," in the following short *résumé* of the history of the churches in Jerusalem before the occupation of the city by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099.

This history may conveniently be divided into certain distinct periods, which are as follows:—

A.D.

30–325.—This includes the three centuries which passed between the date of the Crucifixion and the foundation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Emperor Constantine.

325–540.—From the building of Constantine's churches to the time of the erection of the Church of St. Mary by the Emperor Justinian.

540–637.—From the reign of Justinian to the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in A.D. 614, and its surrender to the Khalif Omar in A.D. 637.

637–1099.—The period of Mohammedan rule up to the foundation of the Christian kingdom under Godfrey de Bouillon.

For the sake of distinction, the churches built before A.D. 1099 may be called the old churches, and those first erected, after the Christian occupation, the mediaeval churches; with the latter I do not propose to deal in this paper.

For the early history of the old churches the materials which are available are principally contained in the statements of Christian writers, and of pilgrims who visited Jerusalem, and in a study of the remains which have been discovered by exploration. It may be a help to those who are interested in the study to have the facts with which we are acquainted put together in a brief form, but it must be allowed that, as regards certain questions, our knowledge is deficient, and there are some points which cannot be regarded as satisfactorily settled.

When the Apostles returned to Jerusalem after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, they assembled with the rest of the followers of the Lord in the upper chamber of the house where they lodged, and it is possible that they continued to occupy this house, and that it was the same as that to which the Apostle Paul came after his release from prison, which, in Acts xii, 12, is referred to as the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark. But whether this was so or not, it is reasonable to say that there is nothing in

the Acts of the Apostles to lead us to suppose that, within the limits of the time contained in that book, the Christians in Jerusalem either could or would have erected a special building for assembly and worship; being Jews, they regarded the Temple as the proper place for public devotions.

The history of the progress of Christianity, as given in the Acts, ends with the trial and banishment of St. Paul to Rome, probably in the year A.D. 61. Shortly afterwards, the Jewish rebellion against the Romans broke out, and the Christians in Jerusalem, in accordance with the instructions of their Master, left the city, and settled at Pella, a town on the east of Jordan, where they appear to have remained during the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus in A.D. 70. Then the Temple and the fortifications were overthrown, the houses were levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants carried away into captivity, while a camp for the 10th Roman legion was constructed on one part of the city. It is doubtful whether the Christians, who were mostly Jews, would have been allowed to return, and it is more probable that none came back until after the second Jewish rebellion in A.D. 130, and its suppression, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a Roman city, with the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 136. According to Eusebius, the Christians who then returned were Gentiles only, as the entry of Jews was totally prohibited, and the bishop of the brethren in Jerusalem was Marcus, a Greek.

There is no information as to whether the Gentile Christians built a church for worship, but it seems improbable that they should have been allowed to do so, as Jerusalem was a Roman colony and a pagan city. There is no reference to such a church in the History of Eusebius, or in other early writers, and, though in after years, there was a tradition that a church had been erected on the site of the house where the Apostles assembled after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, this cannot be regarded as a certain proof that such a church existed. If it did, it must have been destroyed during the persecution, which commenced in A.D. 302 in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, when, in accordance with an imperial edict, all places of Christian worship throughout the Roman empire were demolished, as no mention of such a church is given in the description of Jerusalem by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Palestine in A.D. 333, when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in course of construction.

Epiphanius,¹ who wrote about A.D. 370, relates the tradition regarding the original Church of Sion in the following words:—“He (*i.e.*, the Emperor 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 Maximus and the Emperor Constantine, ‘like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,’ in the words of Scripture. Now Hadrian meditated the restoration of the city, but not of the Temple. He appointed the aforesaid Aquila to superintend the works connected with the building of the city. He gave the city his own name and the use of the imperial title; for, as he was named Ælius Hadrianus, he named the city Ælia.”

It is to be regretted that Epiphanius did not say whether, according to tradition, this church on Sion was allowed to remain when Hadrian rebuilt the city in A.D. 136, or whether it was destroyed during the great persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Diocletian in A.D. 302, but, in any case, it had ceased to exist when the Holy Sepulchre was discovered by order of Constantine, as it is not mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim,² who relates what he saw on Sion in the following words:—“Also as you come out of Jerusalem (*i.e.*, the eastern hill, on which the Temple had stood) to go up Mount Sion (*i.e.*, the western hill) on the left hand, below in the valley, is a Pool which is called Siloe, and has four porticoes; and there is another large pool outside it. This spring runs for six days and nights, but, on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, it does not run at all, either by day or by night. 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. Within, now even, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David’s palace. Of seven synagogues which

¹ Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Pondibus*, XIV.

² *The Bordeaux Pilgrim*, p. 22 (*Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*), Vol. I.

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 toward the gate of Neapolis, towards the right, below in the valley, are walls, where was the house or praetorium of Pontius Pilate, where 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 rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, has been built a basilica, that is to say a church, of wondrous beauty, having at the side cisterns from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are baptized."

Then, after describing the way out of Jerusalem into the Valley of Josaphat (*i.e.*, the Kedron), the Pilgrim says:—"From thence, you ascend to the Mount of Olives, where, before the Passion, the Lord taught His disciples. There, by the orders of Constantine, a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built."

It is evident from this account that, at the time of the Pilgrim's visit, the only churches in Jerusalem were those in course of erection by order of Constantine, and that there was no church on Sion, as, if there had been, he could hardly have failed to see it.

Eusebius also, who, in his *Life of Constantine*,¹ gave a full, though not a very clear, account of the churches built by Constantine in Jerusalem, makes no mention of the existence of a church on Sion, and this, while it does not prove that there was no such church, confirms the idea that there was none at the time that the Holy Sepulchre was discovered by order of the emperor.

The circumstances connected with the search for the Holy Sepulchre have been so often related that it is unnecessary to repeat them here, and those who wish for information on the subject may be referred to the work entitled *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, by the late Sir Charles Wilson, in which the details connected with the recovery of the Tomb, believed to be that in which the body of the Lord Jesus was laid after the Crucifixion, Calvary and the Three Crosses are fully described.² It was shortly after the Council of Nice in A.D. 325 that Bishop Macarius carried out the excavations and reported his discoveries to the emperor, who then issued orders

¹ Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine* (Palestine Pilgrims' Texts), Vol. I.

² Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Chap. IX.

for the construction of the churches. This date may therefore be taken as the commencement of the first period of church-building in Jerusalem.

FIRST PERIOD.—A.D. 325–540.

There has been considerable difference of opinion with regard to the form of the churches erected by order of Constantine in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre, and several plans have been suggested as reconstructions of the original design. Of these, the one that agrees best with the descriptions of Eusebius and other authors, is that shown in the admirable work on the topography and history of Jerusalem by Fathers H. Vincent and F. M. Abel,¹ whose knowledge of the site and of the few fragments of masonry which appear to have formed part of the original churches, is probably greater than that of any one else at the present time, and their treatise on the subject should be carefully studied by those who wish to understand the question, but is too long to quote in full.

When the ground, in which the Holy Sepulchre was supposed to be situated, was excavated in A.D. 325, two discoveries were made: the first being that of a rock-cut tomb in the hill slope, and the second that of a cave, about 270 feet east of the tomb, in which there were three crosses, believed by the explorers to have been those upon which the Lord Jesus Christ and the two thieves were crucified. The early accounts of the transaction differ considerably, and it is not easy to decide whether the tomb or the crosses were first found, or whether the former or the latter was regarded as the most important. Eusebius, for example in *The Life of Constantine*, who wrote about A.D. 338, deals more particularly with the Sepulchre, whereas Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History*, written about A.D. 440, lays more stress on the discovery of the three crosses, which he says were found by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, who was in Jerusalem at the time. But, whatever may have been the truth, there can be no doubt with regard to the general arrangement of the churches built in commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

In the first place the hill was cut down and a level area formed, the tomb being left intact and isolated; over this a memorial building was erected, known as the Anastasis or Basilica of the

¹ Fathers H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie, et d'Histoire*. See Vol. II (Plates).

Resurrection. Then, to the west of this, a larger church was built over the cave in which the three crosses were found, called the Martyrium or Basilica of the Cross, probably built on a similar plan to that of the Basilica over the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The Martyrium has disappeared with the exception of the crypt, known at the present time as the Chapel of St. Helena. Between the Anastasis and Martyrium there was an open space in which a little hill or mound was left, which was called Calvary, as it was believed that it was on this that the three crosses were set up at the Crucifixion. The whole of the area upon which were the two churches and Calvary was surrounded with a colonnade, and the principal entrance to the sacred enclosure was at the eastern end. A general idea of the arrangement is given on a mosaic said to date originally from the fourth century, which is in the Church of St. Pudenziana, one of the oldest churches in Rome. In this picture the Martyrium is shown on the right and the Anastasis on the left, while between the two is the hill of Calvary, surmounted by the Cross—both mound and Cross greatly exaggerated in size—thus confirming the idea that it was the Cross rather than the Sepulchre which was regarded as the principal object of veneration at the time of the erection of Constantine's churches. Besides the two churches in Jerusalem, Eusebius relates that two other churches were built by order of the Empress Helena, one, that at Bethlehem already referred to, and the other on the ridge of the Mount of Olives, over the cave in which Jesus Christ taught his disciples. These churches were, therefore, all built over sacred caves; the Martyrium over the Cave of Golgotha in which the crosses were found; the Anastasis over the Cave of the Resurrection; the Eleona, or church on the Mount of Olives, over the cave of the Lord's teaching; and, lastly, the Basilica at Bethlehem, over the Cave of the Nativity. These are the only churches in, or near, Jerusalem which appear to have existed during the early part of the fourth century.

Towards the close of the fourth century Jerusalem was visited by two lady pilgrims, and fortunately the accounts of their travels have been preserved.
