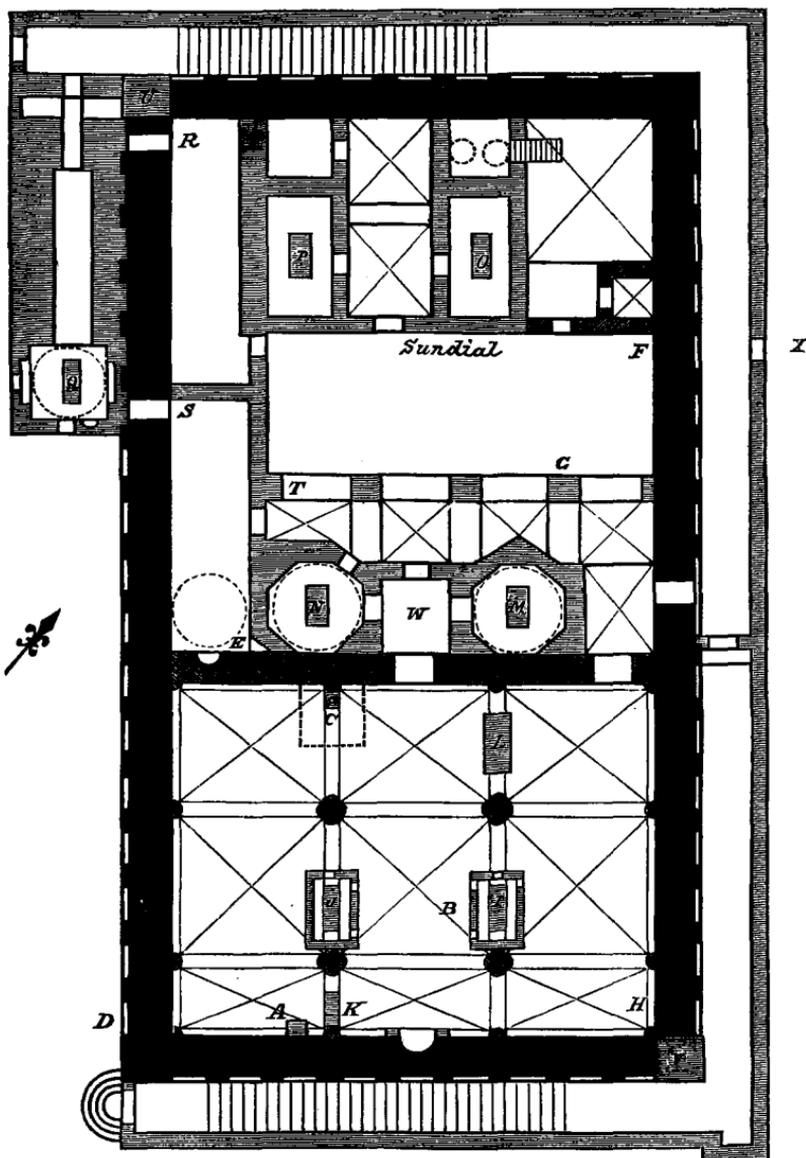


HEBRON HARAM.



Arab work



Herodian work



Christian work



Recent work



Scale $\overline{10\ 5\ 0\ 10\ 20\ 30\ 40\ 50\ 60\ 70\ 80\ 90\ 100}$ of Feet

PLAN OF THE HARAM OF HEBRON.

THE doors shown on the plan, *R* and *S*, lead into the upper chamber of Joseph's Tomb. The plan actually shown is that of the most important part—the tomb chamber itself—which is below the level of *R* and *S*. On Captain Conder's return he will be asked for certain additional notes and drawings, which he possesses in his note-books.

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES
 PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES
 TO THE HEBRON HARAM, ON 5TH APRIL, 1882.

THEIR Royal Highnesses entered the enclosure at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, the 5th April, 1882, attended by Rev. J. Dalton, F.S.A. ; Sir Charles Wilson, K.G.M.G., C.B., R.E. ; Dr. Turnbull, R.N. ; Mr. Noel Temple Moore, H.M.'s Consul for Palestine ; Captain Conder, R.E. ; Sub-Lieutenant F. B. Henderson, and Acting Sub-Lieutenant H. Evan-Thomas, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Bacchante."

The Royal party was accompanied by H.E. Raouf Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem. They visited every part of the enclosure, and remained in the Haram until 10 a.m. In the afternoon Their Royal Highnesses revisited the so-called tomb of Joseph, adjoining the enclosure, which they entered by an entrance not opened on the occasion of the morning visit. The results of these two visits add materially to the information previously obtained as to the Haram enclosure, and the accompanying plan, made on the return of the party to camp, presents considerable additions to those made on former occasions by Mr. James Fergusson and other explorers. It may be considered worthy of reliance as regards the general arrangements ; and the walls of the church were accurately measured with a 2-foot rule, while the interior of Joseph's tomb was measured with a steel tape by the Princes themselves. The exterior walls of the enclosure are calculated from careful measurements of the buttresses, and the result agrees within a foot with that obtained by Mr. Fergusson in 1864. The remaining dimensions were obtained by pacing, and are only supposed to be approximately correct.

The Outer Walls.—These enclose a quadrangle measuring 197 feet in length, by 111 feet in width externally. At the four angles are buttresses, 9 feet wide on each face, and projecting 10 inches. Between these there are eight buttresses on the end walls, and sixteen buttresses on the longer side walls, each measuring 3 feet 9 inches in width, with intervals of 7 feet, and a projection of 10 inches. All these buttresses are 25 feet high, and they stand on a base wall which is flush with their faces. The top course of the base wall is bevelled between the buttresses, as shown in the attached section (No 1).

The masonry of which these walls are composed is the same throughout, including the base wall beneath the buttresses. The face of each stone (as in the older masonry of the Jerusalem Haram) is drafted on each of its four edges with a shallow and very carefully finished draft, generally about 4 inches wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch projection of the face of the stone. The tooling of the draft is executed in exactly the same manner as in the

case of the Jerusalem Haram masonry, an adze or fine toothed instrument having been employed. A second band of similar tooling, about 4 inches wide, runs round the face of the stone, immediately within the draft, and the rest of the face is carefully finished with a pointed instrument struck with a mallet, exactly as in the Jerusalem drafted masonry. The average height of the courses is 3 feet 7 inches (as also at Jerusalem), the longest stone seen measured 24 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 8½ inches in height. The



SECTION OF BUTTRESS.

No. 1.



INNER CORNICE.

No. 2.



whole character of the masonry at Hebron thus reproduces so closely that found at the base of the Haram walls at Jerusalem, that it seems certain that both structures must be referred to the same building epoch. The existence of projecting buttresses on the walls of the Jerusalem Haram, has been proved by the discovery of two still remaining *in situ*, in the north-west angle of that enclosure. They were first visited in 1873, and found to stand on a base wall, the top course bevelled between the

buttresses just as above described. In the Jerusalem example the buttresses were $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, 8 feet apart, and projecting 6 inches.

The thickness of the walls thus described at Hebron is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the buttresses (the same as that of the Jerusalem Haram walls). The stones on the inner face of the wall are dressed plainly, without any draft. A bold cornice crowns the wall inside on the west, as shown on the accompanying section (No. 2).

The buttresses have a simple projecting cap on the outside of the wall. The level of the cornice is 25 feet above that of the interior court, which therefore coincides with the level of the top of the base wall beneath the buttresses. The same arrangement has been shown to have existed in the Jerusalem Haram, the level of the top of the bevelled course of the base wall between the buttresses coinciding with the rocky floor of the inner court of that enclosure in the north-west corner.

The inner court at Hebron is about 15 feet above the level of the street, west of the Haram, and the total height of the ancient wall, from base to cornice, is thus on an average about 40 feet.

A modern wall with battlements, plastered and whitewashed, is built on the top of the ancient ramparts. On the north, south, and east, the old enclosure is surrounded by a second of more modern masonry, forming passages with two flights of steps as shown on the plan.

The only entrance to the enclosure is through a doorway in the longer or eastern wall, at a distance of 95 feet 7 inches from the south-east angle, as measured outside the ancient wall. To this doorway the passages from the two outer gates both lead.

The bearing of the quadrangle is 50° true bearing, as carefully observed with a prismatic compass. The mihrabs, or Moslem prayer recesses, inside the mosque, thus point almost south-east.

The Church.—This building occupies the southern part of the enclosure, and three of its outer walls are formed by the ancient ramparts. The interior length, measured with a rule, is 70 feet, the breadth is 93 feet, divided into a nave and two aisles of approximately equal width. The length is divided into three bays of unequal span, the southern—furthest from the entrance—being the narrowest. They measure respectively about 25 feet, 30 feet, and 15 feet.

The nave is lighted by a clerestorey with three windows on each side. There is a low-pitched gable at the west (or rather north-west) end, having a large window with a slightly pointed arch, above which is a round window.

The roof of the nave has a ridge lower than the top of the gable, so that the round window is now outside the roof.

The interior of the roof is groined, with flat ribs and a slightly pointed section. The aisle roofs are nearly flat outside, having only a slight inclination inwards towards the walls of the clerestorey. All the roofs are covered with lead. The nave vaulting is supported on the clustered columns of the four great piers, and the vaults of the aisles spring from brackets on the side walls. The engaged columns on the inner sides of the

piers flanking the nave, are carried up to the spring of the clerestorey vaulting. The shafts of the columns are of rather heavy appearance, the capitals are chiefly adorned with thick leaves and small volutes of mediæval character, as shown in the accompanying sketch (No. 1). Another character of capital, of semi-Byzantine appearance, also occurs, as sketched. The six clerestorey windows, the large west window, and the smaller end window in the southern (or south-eastern) wall, are all pointed with a low point. Heavy external buttresses occur between the side windows. The roof of the transept, or south-eastern bay of the church, is carried across at right angles to the ridge of the gable, with a ridge at the same level, forming a T-shaped ridge, and extending to the outer walls of the aisles.

The Cave.—The most important feature of the Haram is the great cave which exists beneath the floor of the enclosure. This was not entered by the Royal party, because it was found that the only known entrances are three (A, B, C,) existing in the floor of the church itself, and these are never now opened, and could only be reached by breaking up the flags of the flooring, a proceeding which would have been regarded as a desecration of the sanctuary by the Moslem custodians. The cave is described, by the Sheikh of the Mosque, as being double, and this agrees with the signification of the original name Machpelah (מַכְפֶּלֶה) "division in half"), applied to the cave in which the patriarchs were buried (Gen. xxiii). In later writings, as will be shown at the end of this report, the cave is always described as being double, and in the middle ages it was known as Spelunca Duplex ("the double cave").

The situation of two entrances was shown, as marked at the points A and B on the plan. The entrance at A was closed with stone slabs clamped with iron. These were covered with matting, and a small cupola, supported on four slender pillars, has been constructed over the spot. This entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At the point B is the entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging forming the floor of the church, and also covered over with matting and carpets,¹ but there is no shrine or cupola above it.

At the point C, close to the west wall of the church, is a shaft, covered by a stone, like those at the mouths of wells in Palestine, rising above the level of the church floor. The hole in this stone is rather over a foot in diameter, and a lamp was lowered through it, by aid of which a chamber was seen below, under the floor of the church.² The floor of the

¹ The whole floor of the mosque is so covered, and without their complete removal it is impossible to say whether the surface does not contain other clamped entrances, or even portions of the live rock protruding from beneath.—J. N D.

² The first lamp (an oil one) that was lowered gave a feeble light, and was only lowered a short distance. But at the bidding of the Pacha a larger and brighter lamp, with candles and a longer chain, was brought. This fully

chamber appeared to be about 15 feet below that of the church, and the chamber was square, and seemed to be about 12 feet either way, with vertical walls apparently covered with plaster. All four walls were well seen, and in that towards the south-east a doorway could be distinctly perceived, which has never previously been described. It is said to lead to the western cave, and it closely resembled the square doorways which give access to ancient rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The floor of the chamber was thickly strewn with sheets of paper, which have been inscribed by the Moslems with supplications to the patriarchs, and thrown down the shaft through the well mouth in the church floor.

There were no means of ascertaining whether the walls of the chamber were of rock or of masonry, but the roof appeared to be in part at least of rock, sloping down on the north from the mouth of the shaft, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner, a piece of rock appeared to project across the angle of the chamber. It should be noted that there did not appear to be any access to this chamber, other than that through the square-headed doorway from the cave, already described. The other walls were seemingly solid throughout.

If, therefore, there ever existed any entrance to the cave from outside the Haram, or from the courtyard of the church, distinct from the two entrances A and B in the floor of the church, as above described, it would seem probable that the communication has been closed, by building up the walls of the small chamber just described visible through the shaft at C.¹ It also seems probable, from the situation and size of this antechamber, that the double cave lies entirely within the limits of the church, to the south of the door seen in the antechamber wall, and that there is no cavity extending under the floor of the inner court north-west of the church. It appears, therefore, very doubtful whether any entrances other than those at A and B exist, or have ever existed, in the northern part of the Haram. The cave probably resembles many of the rock-cut sepulchres of Palestine, with a square antechamber carefully quarried, and two interior sepulchral chambers, to which access has been made at a later period through the roofs. It is, however, possible that the antechamber may be a later addition, and partly built of masonry.

illuminated the whole vestibule beneath, and by its aid the door, walls, floor, and sides of this antechamber were clearly seen.—J. N. D.

¹ This may have been done when the level of the inner courtyard was raised to its present height. This courtyard *probably* represented originally "the field of Mamre before the cave" (Gen. xxiii, 17), and was originally entered, as I suppose, from the exterior by an entrance at B, now blocked by the buildings which are subsequently described in the memoir, and which the Princes were the first to examine. The exterior and interior of this would thus be on the same level in Herodian times. When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with *débris* of Byzantine Church, &c.), raised 15 feet, the present approaches round the exterior of the Haram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem.—J. N. D.

In connection with the question of the cave, it should be noted that at the point D, outside the Haram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on the level of the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, in which case it probably communicates with the inside of the western cave, which would thus extend up to the wall at the south-west angle of the Haram.

The Cenotaphs.—The enclosure contains six large cenotaphs, standing on the floor of the church and of the adjoining buildings. They are supposed by the Moslems to stand vertically above the actual graves of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. The monuments of Isaac and Rebecca are within the church; those of Abraham and Sarah occupy octagonal chapels in the double porch, or narthex, before the church doors, and those of Jacob and Leah are placed in chambers near the north end of the Haram.

The six monuments are thus equi-distantly disposed along the length of the enclosure, but it appears to be very doubtful whether they have any connection with the *loculi* or *sarcophagi*, which are described by early writers as existing in the cave itself.

Isaac and Rebecca have their cenotaphs, at the points (J and I) shown on the plan, within the church. They lie in the direction of the length of the nave, Isaac on the side of the right aisle. They are thus not buried in accordance with Moslem custom, as they would in such case lie at right angles to their actual position, on their right sides, with their faces turned to the Mihrab, or prayer recess.¹ The same remark applies to the four other cenotaphs, and to the two cenotaphs of Joseph without the Haram.

The cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca are enclosed in masonry shrines of oblong form, with gable roofs, the ridges of which are about 12 feet above the church floor. The walls and roofs of the shrines are of well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of yellowish and reddish limestone, of the kind now known as Sta Croce marble, found in the vicinity. At the gable ends are brass crescents. In the sides and roofs are windows, through which the cenotaphs are visible. A door gives access to each shrine, and is of wood, adorned with various patterns in brass work. The windows have heavy iron bars. The cenotaphs are covered with richly embroidered silk hangings, and have cloths hung as canopies above them. Manuscript copies of the Koran, in book form, are placed all round the cenotaphs, lying open on low wooden rests. The coverings of

¹ All this seems easily accounted for by the probability that the present shrines of Isaac and Rebecca occupy the positions given them by the Christians, on each side of the approach to the High Altar, which stood in front of what is now the mihrab. The shrines of the other patriarchs were doubtless also once within the church, and parallel with these, and thus really over the caves. They could not, as they do now, have stood outside, since the buildings there are all of later date and Arab work. The perforated entrance at A would thus be at the side of the High Altar, and that at B immediately in front of the altar steps, one into each cave.—J. N. D.

Isaac's cenotaph are green, and those of Rebecca's crimson, the embroidered inscriptions being in silver and gold. The same colours are used in the other cenotaphs—all the males having the deep green, which is the sacred Moslem colour, and all the females having crimson coverings. Arabic inscriptions on silver plates are fastened to the windows and doors of the shrines thus described.

Other details of the Church.—The *Mihrab*, or prayer recess of the Moslems, has been cut out of the end wall of the ancient enclosure. It is flanked by slender pillars, with richly carved capitals of Gothic design, and by two wax torches. Above the mihrab is a window of stained glass, resembling those in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which date about 1528 A.D. The glass in this instance has, however, a peculiarity in the large opaque discs, which are arranged, in the form of an hour-glass, as a border to the richly coloured pattern of the main design.

It appears probable that the mihrab was cut out by the Moslems at a comparatively late period; the marble veneer is in late style, and the recess is too small to have been intended for an apse. The original church had probably no apses, for, although this is very unusual in Crusading buildings, it was in the present instance impossible to form apses at the ends of the nave and aisles, without destroying the great rampart wall which constitutes the eastern (or south-eastern) end of the church.

In one corner of the left aisle, at the point H, a Greek inscription is built into the wall. It has been painted red, and was copied some time since, and published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" (vol. xvi, p. 337). It contains an invocation to Abraham to bless and protect certain individuals at whose expense it was erected, and probably dates about the time of Justinian.

The *Mimbar*, or pulpit (*K* on the plan), stands on the right of the mihrab. It is beautifully constructed of cabinet work, resembling that in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem. This appears to be the pulpit mentioned by Mejr ed Dîn as bearing the date 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.), which was given to the mosque by Saladin in 1187 A.D., after the capture of Ascalon. The similar pulpit at Jerusalem was also brought from Damascus, where it was made for Saladin.

The *Merhala*, or reading platform, at the point L on the plan, is similar to those in other mosques intended for the public reading of the Koran.

The walls of the church are veneered with marble inside to a height of 6 feet. Above this casing runs a band of Arabic inscriptions.¹ The form of the characters seems to show that these texts are not of great antiquity, and they are probably not earlier than the end of the 12th century. Above this, again, the walls are whitewashed, and the name of

¹ These inscriptions are made on plaster, which is laid over a miniature imitation of arcade work in tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl. In many places pieces of this plaster have fallen off, and reveal the work beneath, which is very similar to that we afterwards saw in the great mosque at Damascus. In the vestibule which I have marked W (outside the shrine of Abraham), it is nearly complete all round the four sides.—J. N. D.

God, with that of Mohammed, Aly, and other early heroes of Islam, are painted in black, on medallions attached to the walls. The piers and pillars are whitewashed, and the capitals are painted yellow. Above the marble veneer, in places, the remains of a mosaic of small designs, with mother-of-pearl inlay, are seen, and a good deal of this also remains on the wall immediately outside the central entrance to the church.

On the west side of the right aisle a channel is formed in the floor, close to the wall, leading to a grating in the corner. This is said to be used in washing the hands by the Moslem worshippers.

The Porch or Narthex.—This is double, as shown, and vaulted with a groined roof resting on heavy piers. It includes the two octagonal chapels in which are the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah. From the irregular manner in which these are built in, it would appear probable that the chapels are older than the roofing and piers of the porch. The whole of these structures are evidently later than the church itself. A flat lead covers the porch, and three small lead domes rise from it over the two cenotaphs and over the vaulted chamber towards the west, hereafter to be described. The entrance doors of the church are concealed, and the whole effect of the façade is spoiled by these additions.

The *Shrine of Abraham* was entered. The cenotaph is about 8 feet long, and 8 feet high, and 4 feet broad. It is covered with a green and white silk covering, embroidered with Arabic texts in gold thread. Two green banners, with gold lettering, are placed leaning against the cenotaph. The entrance to the shrine is closed by open-barred gates, stated to be iron plated with silver, and bearing an inscription in silver letters, which gives the date 1259 A.D., with an invocation to Abraham. The pattern of these gates, with heavy globular sockets for the cross-bars, is exactly that found at Damascus and elsewhere, in the best Arab ironwork. The walls of the shrine or chapel are cased with marble, and have gilt inscriptions in Arabic letters running at the top of the wall near the springing of the dome. Silver lamps and ostrich-shells are hung before the cenotaph, and copies of the Koran, on low wooden rests, surround it.

A fine window of stained glass, similar to that already described in the church, lights the shrine from the side of the porch; round the coloured design are discs of opaque glass, as in the former window, the border in this case consisting of nine discs, arranged up the sides and round the head of the window, which is semi-circular.

The *Shrine of Sarah* was not entered. It resembles that of Abraham, with open-barred gates and a domed roof. The coverings of the cenotaph are of crimson silk, with gold inscriptions on a black ground, on squares let into the crimson.

The piers and arches of the porch are faced with well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of buff and red stone. On the pier, at G, is an inscription in Arabic, stating that the porch was restored in 1172 A.H., by the then governor of Damascus (1755 A.D.). At the west end of the porch is a small *sebil*, or water cistern, for ablutions.

The Courtyard.—This is the only part of the interior of the Haram

which is open to the air. On the south-east, the arches of the porch (which are pointed) open upon it. At the opposite side are the buildings enclosing the shrines of Jacob and Leah. On the other two sides the court is bounded by the ancient ramparts, and by the vaulted chamber or mosque in front of Joseph's tomb.

On this side the wall is formed by archways filled in with masonry. The arches are pointed, and the ashlar is in alternate reddish and yellowish bands, as before noticed in the arches of the porch. The north (or north-west) wall is of small masonry, well dressed, and with a tooling finished with a fine adze, but without any mason's marks, and having all the appearance of good Arab work. On the inside of the ancient rampart, at the point F, about 5 feet from the ground, is a short Greek inscription, or graffita, evidently cut after the stone was *in situ*. The form of the letters is of Byzantine period.

NEN^{OV}
ABPAMIOV
MANOVC

The constructions, coloured brown, in the corner of the courtyard, appear to be more modern than any other part of the building. A straight joint divides this part of the wall of the court from the rest. Steps lead up to a small chamber at a higher level. The character of the masonry is poorer, and looks more modern.

The chambers at the north (or north-west) end of the court were, for the first time, thoroughly examined during the Royal visit, and the new plan here differs considerably from those formerly attempted.

The *Shrines of Jacob and Leah* are visible through open-barred gates from the passage between them, which has a groined roof in two bays. The cenotaphs, with green and red hangings respectively, resemble those already described. There is a small chamber behind Jacob's shrine which was entered, but proved to be only a lumber room. The corresponding chamber behind the shrine of Leah contains two circular cells or copper-like hollows, which are said to be now used for storing oil. The shafts in their roofs were seen in the floor of a chamber reached by steps from the vaulted apartment in the north-east angle of the Haram, as shown on the plan. The floor of this upper chamber is 8 feet above the level of the courtyard.

The long chamber, reached from the door in the north-west angle of the court, is empty. From it steps ascend, as shown, to the minaret, which stands on the corner of the ancient rampart (at U). A second minaret stands at the opposite or south-east angle (at V).

In the north-west angle of the long chamber a wooden door was broken open (at R). It was found to lead, through the thickness of the ancient rampart wall, into a vaulted chamber with groined, pointed arches, having a very broad, flat rib. The chamber measured about 50 feet by 20 feet, one side being formed by the outer face of the ancient rampart. It stands upon substructions, forming a passage to the lower tomb of Joseph, subsequently

explored. Near¹ the north end wall was a structure which at first sight looked like the head of a stairway with the steps covered over. It is said to be a place now used for melting lead. No remains of any staircase were found in afterwards exploring the passage beneath. Large windows looked down from the chamber thus described into the enclosure of the *Kala'h*, or fortress, which has been built against the Haram on this side. The chamber, with other vaulted substructures built against the Haram wall, dates probably from the later Moslem period after the Crusades.

The Shrine of Joseph adjoins the exterior chamber just described. It is reached through a vaulted gallery, in the corner of which is the shrine of Adam's footprint. The cenotaph of Joseph is covered with pale green silk, having white [lettering. The chamber has a lantern of octagonal shape, surmounted by a 'dome covered with lead. There is a second square chamber beneath, with a domed roof, containing also a cenotaph covered with green silk. This is entered by a passage just within the north gate of the Haram—explored in the second or afternoon visit by the two Princes themselves. The lower tomb is on the level of the base of the ancient rampart wall, or 15 feet below the upper cenotaph, entered from the interior of the Haram.

The whole of the workmanship of the shrine of Joseph, and of the other exterior chambers adjoining the Haram, appears to be of Arab origin. The chamber adjoining the upper shrine of Joseph has a flat lead roof, on the same level with that from which the small dome above the shrine now springs.

The back wall of the lower chamber, containing the second cenotaph of Joseph, was ascertained by careful measurement to have a thickness of 2 feet 2 inches. It covers the ancient rampart wall, and has been conjectured to conceal an entrance through the old wall at the level of its base, leading to the cave under the church. The wall is plastered and whitewashed, and if such an entrance ever really existed, no signs of it are now visible.²

The Prophet's Footprint.—This sacred footprint, variously called that of

¹ Not "near," but projecting from. The structure consists of two small walls of smooth cut stone, about 3 feet high, jutting out for about the same distance from the north wall of the chamber. Lead, we were told, is sometimes melted there for mending the roof, but the place originally was not made at all for such a purpose, and there is no reason why lead should be melted in that particular spot rather than anywhere else.—J. N. D.

² It is scarcely to be expected that the entrance in the Haram wall would be visible through an Arab-built wall over 2 feet thick, in front of it, and erected intentionally to conceal it. If the original entrance was not here in Christian times, where it would be most suitable and convenient from the castle, when the level of the inner courtyard was 15 feet lower than now, it is difficult to see where else it could have been. The whole Haram formed a bulwark to, and was embodied as part of, the castle; and the present entrance on the outside of the castle by the Jâwalyieh Mosque without any flanking protection would have been most unnatural, especially at such a high level. The present arrange-

Adam, or of the prophet (قدم النبي Kadam en Neby), is preserved in one corner of the vaulted gallery leading to the upper tomb of Joseph, in the end wall of which a *mīhrab*, or prayer recess, has been constructed close to the footprint.

The relic, which is said to have been brought from Mecca some 600 years ago, consists of a slab of stone with a sunk portion resembling the impression of a human foot of ordinary size. It is enclosed in a recess at the back of the shrine of Abraham, and placed on a sort of shelf about 3 feet from the floor. Such relics occur in many other Syrian mosques, as, for instance, in the Dome of the Rock, and in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem, where the footprints of Mohammed and of Christ respectively are shown. There is a small lead dome above the end of the vaulted gallery close to this last shrine.

Discoveries.—The principal new discoveries due to the Royal visit, as detailed in the preceding pages, are—

1st. The discovery of the position of the entrance B, said to lead to the eastern cave. The entrance A has been mentioned by former explorers.

2nd. The description of the appearance of the antechamber, and the discovery of the door visible leading thence to the cave within.

3rd. The exploration of the passage leading to the lower cenotaph of Joseph, and the discovery of this cenotaph, which has not been previously described.

4th. The exploration of the various chambers adjoining the courtyard, which have never been correctly represented on former plans.¹

All that now remains to be done on the occasion of any future visit is to obtain access into the cave itself. This cave is, however, never visited by Moslems, and it has probably not been entered for 700 years at least. Access might be obtained either by opening one of the two entrances A or B, now identified, or possibly by removing the stone over the shaft at C, and lowering a ladder into the antechamber. The latter would probably be the most expeditious method, but either would be regarded by the Moslems with extreme repugnance.²

ment of entrances makes the Haram an adjunct of the Jāwāliyah Mosque; the Christian arrangement made it an adjunct of the castle, and probably utilised the original Herodian entrance. But nothing except excavations in the interior can ever set this question at rest. Sir C. Wilson's suggestion, at page 214, coincides with the above notion, that the original Herodian and Christian entrance to the Haram was at this corner.—J. N. D.

¹ Fifthly, we ascended the minaret at the north-west corner, and spent some time on the parapets of the Haram, and thus had the best means of verifying the accuracy of the subjoined plan of the area. There is a walk all round the parapets of the Haram, and communication thus with the minaret at the south-east corner, to which we did not perceive any door from below, neither was such to be expected, since the minaret was built on the solid Herodian wall at a much later period. Access to the minaret at U was obtained by a staircase from the roof.—J. N. D.

² Such repugnance would be, however, only temporary; as soon as entrance

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE HARAM.

It is remarkable that no historical notice is known to exist of the building of the great quadrangle surrounding the sacred cave. The cave of Machpelah is not noticed in the Bible, save in connection with the burial of the patriarchs, and there is no reason to believe that any building was erected on the spot before the captivity.

In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin, 53*a*) Hebron is said to have been called Kirjath Arba (*i.e.*, city of *the four*, cf. Gen. xxiii, 2, and Neh. xi, 25), because four patriarchs with their wives were there buried, including Adam and Eve. This tradition is continually repeated by later writers, including Jerome. Arculphus, in 700 A.D., speaks of the tomb of Adam as north of the others, and many mediæval writers mention the cave near Hebron, in which Adam and Eve are supposed to have lived.

In the 12th century, however, the tradition appears to have undergone a change (probably because the tomb of Adam was then shown under Calvary).

Sæwulf, in 1102 A.D., mentions the tomb of Joseph as existing at the extremity of the castle, possibly where now shown.

It may be inferred from the wording of a passage in Josephus ("Antiq.," II, viii, 2), that some of the later Jews believed Joseph to have been buried with his ancestors at Hebron, an idea originating perhaps in jealousy of the Samaritans, who possessed the real tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 32).

A curious tradition concerning the death of Esau is also noticed in the Talmud (Sotah i, 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Hushin, son of Dan, cut off Esau's head and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. The Arab historian, Jelâl ed Dtn, in the 15th century, repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at Sia'ir, north of Hebron.

Josephus ("Wars," IV, ix, 7) speaks of the monuments (*μνημεια*) of the patriarchs at Hebron as existing in his own times, "the fabrics of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner."

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) is the next to describe the site. He speaks of a square *memoria* of marvellously beautiful masonry, in which were placed the three patriarchs and their three wives. It appears probable that he alludes to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, which are therefore generally referred (by Mr. James Fergusson and other authorities) to a period earlier than the Christian era.

had been once effected and no one was one whit the worse, the feeling would be rather one of admiration, for those who had penetrated the interior in a reverent manner, than enmity towards them. This has been shown more than once before in opening up other sacred spots. Raouf Pacha said that repairs to the fabric were about to be undertaken, and that it was his full determination then, if possible, to penetrate to the cave if he found any means of entry.—J. N. D.

In 383 A.D., Sta Paula visited the "cells of Sarah," and the resting-place of Isaac, but no notice is made by St. Jerome in this narration of the other patriarchs. In connection with this account it should be noted that the Moslems attach far more importance to the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca, at the present day, than to those of the other patriarchs at Hebron.¹ Isaac receives among them the title of "jealous," and is thought to strike with blindness or death any who approach his shrine. The shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are the only two which seem probably to stand over the actual caves, and Jelâl ed Dîn says that Jacob was buried "before the entrance to the sepulchral cave," which agrees with the present position of his cenotaph, and with what has been already said as to the probable extent of the cave.

In 600 A.D., Antoninus Martyr describes a Basilica of quadrangular form, with an inner atrium open to the sky. Jews and Christians then entered by different gates to burn incense at the shrine.

In 700 A.D., Bishop Arculphus gives a very detailed account of the site. He mentions that "contrary to the usual custom the patriarchs lie with their feet to the south and heads to the north, and they are enclosed by a square low wall." This would apply to the present position of the cenotaphs, and possibly to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, before the modern battlemented wall was built above. "Each of the tombs is covered" (Arculphus continues) "with a single stone worked somewhat in the form of a church, and of a light colour for those of the three patriarchs, which are together."² This seems to indicate sarcophagi such as are found throughout Palestine belonging to the Roman period, or possibly cenotaphs like those at present existing. "Arculphus also saw poorer and smaller monuments of the three women, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, who were here buried in the earth."

¹ They are the only ones now shown within the mosque, and I believe the oldest of the six, and probably the same or like those which stood there in the Crusading and Byzantine churches. They would be each side of the approach to the High Altar; and the hearse-like canopies of stone that surround these two cenotaphs, with their open work, as represented on the plan, resemble those found in Christian buildings, and are altogether different to anything over the other four shrines. These stand, therefore, probably *in situ*. In the Christian arrangement of the church an altar probably stood at the end of each side-aisle: Abraham's in the south-east, Isaac's in the centre, and Jacob's in the south-west. This arrangement of separate altars would resemble that which existed in the church on Tabor, where Moses and Elijah each had a separate altar and side chapel.—J. N. D.

² The three patriarchs' shrines *seem* then to have been shown to Arculphus inside the church, Isaac where he is now, and perhaps Abraham where Rebecca's shrine now is, and Jacob nearer the door, to the south of C, "before the entrance to the cave," as Jelâl-ed-Dîn describes. The three women's shrines were then outside, apparently in the courtyard. Afterwards (1102) they were brought more comfortably inside, and in a more Christian manner each lady was placed by her husband. Rebecca would repose with Isaac under his

In 1102 A.D., Sæwulf further describes the Haram :—"On the eastern side of Hebron are the monuments of the holy patriarchs, of ancient workmanship, surrounded by a very strong castle, each of the three monuments being like a great church, with two sarcophagi placed in a very honourable fashion within, that is, one for the man and one for the woman. But the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel, as he charged them, brought with them out of Egypt, are buried more humbly than the rest, as it were, at the extremity of the castle."

Among Crusading writers, John of Wurtzburg (1100 A.D.), Theodoricus (1172 A.D.), and Jacques of Vitry (1220 A.D.), still speak of the fourth tomb as being that of Adam.¹

In 1100 A.D. Hebron was bestowed by Godfrey of Bouillon on Gerhard of Avennes, as a fief. In 1167 the town was made the see of a Bishop, having been previously only a priory (*see* "William of Tyre," xx, 3). In 1187 A.D. the place was taken by Saladin. Hebron is rarely mentioned by Crusading historians, but there is no reason to doubt that it remained for eighty-eight years in the hands of the Christians; and the erection of a church would probably have taken place during this period.²

Mejr-ed-Din the Arab historian, writing in 1495 A.D., speaks of the mosque at Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Râm*), by which terms the Greek Christians are intended. Jelâl ed Din about the same time says that the Moslems destroyed the church when Saladin took Hebron, but it appears probable that the destruction, as in other cases, only extended

present canopy, Sarah with Abraham in that which is now called Rebecca's, and Leah and Jacob in a similar one nearer the door of the church, but now removed. Of the two entrances to the church, that in the centre was probably the one for the Christians, and the other, on the north-east, for the Jews, who would thus readily obtain access by this side door to the left aisle, and so to the spot where it is suggested that Abraham's shrine then stood. It seems also possible that the two entrances (R and S) through the Haram wall may also have been thus appropriated, one for the Christians and the other for the Jews. That these two entrances should have been afterwards broken through the thickness of the Haram wall, merely as doors to the later shrine of Joseph and to the adjoining empty chamber, seems very improbable. The eastern cave, in which Benjamin of Tudela describes the six tablets to be, is that under B. The aisle above this would be the most revered, and at its end stood, as above suggested, the altar of Abraham; and the invocatory graffiti inscriptions, both at H and F, would seem to endorse the belief that this was the side of the church and enclosure more peculiarly invested with his tutelage.—J. N. D.

¹ This fourth tomb would thus take the vacant place at L, and the arrangement would be very neat: Adam and Eve reposing at L (as Arculphus describes Adam's tomb, to the north of the others), Abraham and Sarah at I, Isaac and Rebecca at J, and Jacob and Leah near C.—J. N. D.

² On almost the same lines probably as the previously existing Byzantine church over the caves, portions of which may even have worked into the present church, some of the capitals in which are of "semi-Byzantine character" (p. 3).—J. N. D.

to the desecration of the altars, and of the images and pictures of the Christians (and rearrangement of the shrines).

The most circumstantial account of the cave existing is that given by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in 1163 A.D. He visited the Haram during the period of the Christian occupation, and speaks of it as "a large place of worship called St. Abraham," a title which is commonly applied to the Haram by the Christian writers of the 12th century. "The Gentiles" (or Christians), he writes, "have erected six sepulchres in this place" (probably the existing cenotaphs¹) "which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew comes, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hands the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, one opposite the other.

"All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved; thus upon that of our father Abraham we read

זה מבר אברהם אבנו
על יודשלוים.

'This is the tomb of Abraham our father, upon him be peace,' and so on that of Isaac and all the other sepulchres. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchres continually, both night and day, and you there see tubs filled with the bones of Israelites; for unto this day it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of their forefathers and to leave them there."

Tubs or arks like those mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin are described in the Talmud, and many of them have been found, bearing rude Hebrew inscriptions, in tombs near Jerusalem. They are generally now called osteophagi; and the mention of such a detail in connection with the Hebron cave seems to render it probable that the account is genuine, and that Rabbi Benjamin actually obtained admission to the interior. He appears to have entered through the existing antechamber, but no steps are now found in this chamber, so far as can be ascertained by looking down from above. The inscriptions on the tombs, if they really existed, were probably not of great antiquity.

After the Moslem conquest it appears to have become very difficult for even Jews to enter the cave. In 1210 A.D., Rabbi Samuel bar Simson

¹ Scarcely so. More probably, as described by Sæwulf, the six were in three pairs, each pair under its own canopy, and all within the church, and more or less over the caves. But even then they were only shown as cenotaphs, not as actually containing the bodies of the patriarchs and their wives. These were, of course, in the vault or cave below.—J. N. D.

claims, however, to have visited the interior. "We descended," he writes in his itinerary, "by twenty-four steps, very narrow and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years since (*i.e.*, *circa* 600 A.D.). It is near the cavern." This account is too confused to be of much value. (By the Holy House he appears to mean the church.)

In the "Jichus ha Aboth," a tract, dating from 1537 A.D., the Haram is also described: "An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to King David, on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall;¹ they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior."

From the Arab historians Makrizi and Mejr-ed-Din, we learn that the buildings round the courtyard were erected in 732 A.H. (1331 A.D.), by the Mameluke Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun, and that the tomb of Joseph was built by the Emir Jaghmuri in 1393 A.D. The Arab accounts of the cave are untrustworthy and unimportant. In 1322 Sir John Maundeville says that no Christian might enter the Haram. (It had then been made an adjunct of the mosque by the erection of Joseph's tomb in front of the original entrances.)

CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATES OF THE BUILDINGS.

1. The rampart walls are evidently all of one period up to the height of the cornice. The style is (as has been shown) exactly similar to that of ancient masonry of the Jerusalem Haram, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the two enclosures are to be referred to the same period. A careful consideration of the history and architecture of the Jerusalem Haram appears to lead to the conclusion that its ramparts, as now standing, were first erected by Herod the Great, and that the drafted masonry cannot be considered to date earlier than about the time of the Christian era. This view has been carefully elaborated by the Duc du Vogüé, and other authorities, and it agrees with the conclusions reached by Mr. James Fergusson as to the date of the Hebron Haram walls, his argument being based on historical rather than on architectural grounds. The Haram existed in the 4th century A.D., but there is no notice of any such structure in the Hasmonean or any earlier period. The only period between these limits to which it can be referred with any probability is the great building epoch of the reign of Herod the Great.

2. The character of the architecture of the church is closely similar to that of the Crusading churches of Palestine. The clustered columns, with the shafts carried up the clerestory walls, and supporting ribbed groins, resemble those of the church of St. John at Samaria, dating between 1150 and 1180 A.D. The capitals resemble those of the Samaritan church,

¹ This may be the same hole described above, close to the southern entrance, resembling the little window in the bevelled stones pictured at page 200 of the second volume of the "Memoirs."—J. N. D.

and also those of the church at Bireh, north of Jerusalem, which was completed by the Templars in 1146 A.D. The general style, and the roofing, closely resemble the details of the church of St. John at Gaza, dating about 1152 A.D. The pointed arches of the windows indicate that the church does not belong to the earliest Crusading period, as the round arch was used for half a century after the Crusaders took Jerusalem. It appears, however, quite safe to attribute the building of the Hebron church to the latter half of the 12th century, probably about the year 1167 A.D., when the town became a bishopric. The low pitch of the roof may, perhaps, indicate that it has been rebuilt at a later period; but, on the other hand, the vaulting of the clerestory and aisles is much more like Crusading than Arab work.

3. The earliest Arab work appears historically to belong to the year 1331 A.D.; the tomb of Joseph to 1393 A.D., and the outer gates, with the passages and flights of steps, which have the character of the best Arab work, to the same period—the 14th century, during which, fine buildings were erected by Moslems in Jerusalem, Damascus, and other parts of Syria. The stained glass windows are probably not earlier than the 16th century. Restorations in the courtyard date from the end of the 18th century, and additional adornments of the shrine have been given by Moslem rulers at a yet later period. The chambers in the north-east angle belong to a later period than the rest of the Arab buildings in and around the courtyard. The pavement is also comparatively modern, and probably later than the Crusading work.

The accompanying plan gives in colours the various building periods thus enumerated, the original Herodian masonry being shown in black, the mediæval Christian work in red, and the later Arab work in yellow (14th century) and in brown. The attached note by Sir C. Wilson was written on reading the original rough draft, of which the present report is an amplification.

CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER,
Captain Royal Engineers.

NOTE BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR C. WILSON,
C.B., K.C.M.G., R.E.

I HAVE read through Captain Conder's report on the Hebron Haram, and have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the accuracy of his remarks.

A close inspection of the masonry of the Haram showed that it was identical in character with that of the Wailing Place in the wall of the Jerusalem Haram, and therefore almost certainly Herodian. This may throw some light on the character of the exterior wall of the Temple of Herod. Both at Jerusalem and Hebron, a level platform is obtained by massive walls of large stones, with marginal drafts. At Hebron a