

VIII.—*The Mosque of Omar.* By THOMAS LEWIN, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read March 8th, 1866.

A CLOUD of mystery has long shrouded the Mosque of Omar, and various hypotheses have been put forward for solving the enigma. I am about to propound a novel theory; and, as most persons must long since have formed their own conclusions; I feel that prejudices are to be overcome, and that without any partisans, at least to begin with, on my side, I must necessarily have many opponents. The Society however will, I am sure, indulge me with a patient hearing, while I explain my views. Let me in the first place, for the benefit of the uninitiated, state the question at issue.

Experienced architects have pronounced, *ex cathedra*, that the Mosque of Omar, on examining its details, could not have been erected by the Mohamedans, but is a Roman edifice, which must have been built some time between the reign of Diocletian, who began A.D. 284, and the reign of Justinian, who began A.D. 527, but nearer the former terminus than the latter; and, not finding any other explanation ready at hand, they have broached the idea that the Mosque of Omar is the church erected by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre, which they identify with the cave under the rock, immediately under the dome of the mosque known as the Sakhrah. To this view there are, to the best of my judgment, overwhelming objections, and which I have stated categorically elsewhere,^a and which I shall not here repeat. I propose at present to make only one or two remarks which may be appropriately introduced as more immediately connected with the edifice itself. If the Mosque of Omar, as it now stands, was the work of Constantine, how, I may ask, is this to be reconciled with the historical facts that the Church of Constantine was burnt by the Persians in A.D. 613,^b and that when rebuilt it was

^a Lewin's *Siege of Jerusalem* by Titus.

^b Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 387.

razed to the foundations in A.D. 1009 by the third Fatimite Caliph Hakem?^a Some parts of the ceiling even of the mosque are supposed by architects to be the original work, and yet the voice of history has emphatically pronounced that the Church of Constantine was twice utterly destroyed! The advocates of the Constantine theory admit this, as they may well do, to be a "rather startling fact."^b Again, if the cave under the Sakhrāh was the Holy Sepulchre, and the dome was erected over it in its honour, how comes it that the cave is not in the centre of the dome, but at the south-east corner?—this simple circumstance, trifling as it is, shows that the cave was not the point of attraction, but was a mere accident. Again, if the rock was so sacred as to have led to the erection of the dome over it, how is it that we find a well sunk through the top of the rock into the cave below, and then through the floor of the cave down to the aqueduct which distributes, or rather did distribute, water over the Haram?^c Of course this well could not have been made since the erection of the mosque; and, if the cave below was the Holy Sepulchre, how could it have been made during the period between the Crucifixion and the erection of the building, as, according to history, the site of the Sepulchre during that period was occupied by a temple to Venus, in mockery of the Christians?^d

But, admitting the mosque to have been built during the period between Diocletian and Justinian, is there no alternative but to identify it with the Church of Constantine? Does history furnish no circumstances under which the mosque could be attributed, with at least some degree of probability, to any other founder than Constantine? There is to my apprehension a simple solution of the difficulty which will account for all the phenomena, and it is the object of the present paper to submit a proposition which, if it cannot be demonstratively proved, will yet recommend itself, if the arguments be carefully weighed, as in the highest degree probable. My hypothesis is, that the Mosque of Omar is the Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, originated by the Emperor Hadrian, and restored or rebuilt by Maximinus Daza, who, on the abdication of Diocletian in A.D. 303, became the sovereign of Syria and Egypt, and remained so until A.D. 313.

Upon the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, Fort Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram and the Temple at the south-west corner of it were utterly destroyed, and from that time, for upwards of sixty years, the Haram

^a Prædicta ecclesia usque ad solum diruta. William of Tyre, lib. i. c. 4, 5. See Robinson, Bib. Res. i. 395.

^b Fergusson's Jerusalem, p. 107.

^c Pierotti.

^d Euseb. Vit. Const. and Sulpicius Sev. lib. ii.

(a walled inclosure 1,500 feet from north to south by 900 from east to west) lay desolate. In A.D. 131 the Emperor Hadrian, on his way through Syria to Egypt, conceived the design of rebuilding the city, not as a Jewish but as a Greek settlement,^a by the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, after his own name of *Ælius*. He at the same time, from the resemblance of the Haram or Temple Platform to the Capitol at Rome, commanded the erection of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the Haram. Hadrian himself passed from Syria to Egypt, but left orders for the restoration of the city and the construction of the temple.^b The spirit of the Jews was roused at the threatened appropriation of the site of their metropolis to strangers, and the desecration of their holy places by an idolatrous temple; and, in the following year A.D. 132, they broke out into open rebellion under the leadership of their prophet the famous Barchocab, the Son of the Star.

For two or three years Barchocab was in possession of the ancient capital, and struck money there in honour of recovered independence, and of course swept away all heathenish defilements with the besom of destruction. The Jews seem during that short period to have even rebuilt a semblance of their own temple. But it was impossible for a feeble and dispersed race to resist for any length of time the crushing weight of the whole Roman empire, and in A.D. 135 the war was brought to an end; and the Romans, once more triumphant, were masters of Jerusalem; and thenceforth, until the time of Constantine, made it death for any Jew even to approach his native soil. It is mentioned by the *Chronicon Paschale* that Hadrian now destroyed "the Temple of the Jews;"^c and Fynes Clinton remarks that "there was no temple at this time at Jerusalem," and that the *Chronicon* must be mistaken; but, as it is called emphatically "the Temple of the Jews," it may very well mean the temple erected by Barchocab as opposed to that contemplated by the Romans in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus.

When the last sparks of rebellion had been stamped out, Hadrian resumed the design of restoring the city by the name of *Ælia* and erecting the temple to Jupiter; but, as he lived only until A.D. 138, many of his works were probably left imperfect. As to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the testimony of Dion Cassius, who wrote at the beginning of the third century, is as follows:—"And Hadrian, having planted at Jerusalem a city, which he called *Ælia Capitolina*, instead of the one which had been razed, and having erected in the place of the Temple of the God (*ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον*) another temple to Jupiter, a war

^a Malala, lib. lxi. Dion. lxix. 12.

^c τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

^b Epiphan. de Pond. et Mens. s. 14.

broke out neither unimportant nor shortlived.”^a There can be no doubt that a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus was now erected by Hadrian, but a question may well be raised as to the exact site and as to the character of the temple. The tradition in the time of Dion may have been that the temple of Jupiter was built on the very site of the Jewish temple. But we must allow somewhat for rhetorical effect, and various considerations induce us to think that the tradition in this respect was erroneous. Thus an equestrian statue to Hadrian stood on the platform of the Haram, and, according to Jerome, on the very spot where had once been the Holy of Holies;^b but this statue (if, as is generally admitted, it was one of the two statues of Hadrian referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim,) was certainly without the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the wailing-place of the Jews is described as “not far from the statues (non longe de stautis lapis pertusus, &c.);” whereas, had the statues been within the temple, the wailing-place must necessarily have been described as not far from the temple. If the statues therefore were without the temple of Jupiter, and yet within the Jewish temple, the Heathen temple could not have occupied the site of the Jewish temple. It may be remarked by the way that Jerome and the Bordeaux Pilgrim confirm each other; for if, as Jerome says, the statue was on the Holy of Holies, it follows that, as the Bordeaux Pilgrim states, it was near to the wailing-place; for the wailing-place at the foot of the Haram wall was the nearest accessible point to the Holy of Holies on the platform above.^c Another proof that the temple of Jupiter was not on the very site of the Jewish temple is this, viz.: Justinian afterwards built his church (now the Mosque el Aksa) at the south-west corner of the Haram; but here had stood the temple of Jehovah, and yet in the reign of Justinian that site must have been still unoccupied by any other edifice.

The temple of Jupiter, erected by Hadrian, was not then on the site of the Jewish temple. But further, Was Hadrian’s temple anything more than an open inclosed space, with the image of Jupiter on a raised platform in the centre?

Within the outer walls of the Haram is at the present day a terrace 550 feet from

^a Dion. lxi. 12.

^b De Hadriani equestri statua, quæ in ipso Sancto Sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit. (Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15.) Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua, et Jovis idolum collocatum est. (Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam, ii. 8.) The latter passage is expressed in general terms only, as is evident from the statue of Hadrian and the image of Jupiter being coupled together, which were not both in the same place.

^c See Lewin, *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, pp. 135, 492.

north to south, and 450 feet from east to west, and averaging about 10 feet high, and in the centre of this is a rocky plateau 60 feet from east to west, and 50 or 55 feet from north to south, and rising about 5 feet above the general area ;^a and we learn from Vitruvius that the image of Jupiter was always placed on the highest spot,^b and therefore if it stood on the Haram at all, it must have stood on the plateau of rock now called the Sakhrah. What, then, was the character of Hadrian's temple; may it not have been the sacred inclosure of the raised platform 550 by 450 feet, and may not the image have been erected on the smaller plateau in the centre of the platform? The reasons for doubting whether, notwithstanding the passage from Dion, Hadrian ever built a temple in the sense of a walled and roofed edifice, are these: Epiphanius in speaking of the restoration of Jerusalem under the name of *Ælia*, tells us emphatically that Hadrian was "minded to restore the city, but not the temple."^c No one could suppose that in planting a Grecian colony he would rebuild the Jewish temple, and it seems, therefore, to be implied that no edifice at all was substituted for that destroyed by Titus. Again, Eusebius, the historian and antiquary, records the fact that Hadrian banished the Jews from Judea, and planted the heathen city of *Ælia* on the site of Jerusalem, but makes no allusion to a temple to Jupiter, which he could scarcely have omitted had a temple of any great pretension risen under Hadrian's auspices. So Malala or John of Antioch, who is very careful to notice the architectural tastes of the Roman Emperors whose times he is describing, enumerates various monuments left by Hadrian, as a bath and aqueduct at Antioch, a theatre at Daphne, a temple at the same place, an image in the Shrine of the Nymphs there, and a temple at Cyzicus, &c., and then refers to Hadrian's planting of the Grecian city of *Ælia*, but not a word about the Temple of Jupiter, though had he erected so magnificent a one as the present mosque, Malala could scarcely have passed it over in silence. But the principal authority is a passage found in the *Chronicon Paschale*, which counts up the works of Hadrian at Jerusalem; and the Temple of Jupiter, as an edifice at least, is not amongst them. I think, however, it makes its appearance as an open sacred inclosure.

Some of the monuments referred to by the *Chronicon Paschale* have very much puzzled commentators, but by the light of modern exploration we can establish the identity of most of them. The words of the chronologer are as follows: "And (Hadrian) having razed the Temple of the Jews, erected in Jerusalem the

^a Lewin, *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 462.

^b Lib. i. c. 7.

^c *διανοεῖται οὖν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ Ἱερὸν* Epiphani. de Pond. et Mens. s. 14.

two Publics (*δημόσια*), and the Theatre and the Tricamarum (*τρικάμαρον*), and the Tetranyphum (*τετράνυμφον*), and the Twelve-Gates before called the Steps (*τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀναβαθμοὶ*), and the Quadra (*τὴν Κόδραν*).^a The two Publics are of course public baths, and it reflects honour upon the ancients and discredit upon ourselves that a public with them meant a bath, and with us a pothouse. The site of the theatre is unknown. The Tricamarum has been hitherto a mystery, but we can now solve it. *Καμάρα* in Greek is an arch, and *Τρικάμαρον*, therefore, signifies the triple arch, and such is the arch of the *Ecce Homo*. Until recently the central arch only was known, but from the excavations made for the new building of the French Convent on the north side of the arch, it has been ascertained that the central arch was supported by a side arch on the north, and then, when attention was called to the subject, it was remembered that a few years before a corresponding arch on the south had been removed to make way for the erection of a small mosque.^b Thus at length the meaning of the *Τρικάμαρον* has been detected, and the arch of the *Ecce Homo* is ascertained to belong, as Dr. Robinson had conjectured from the style of it, to the Emperor Hadrian. The Tetranyphum may have been a temple to the Four Nymphs, as we have seen that Hadrian honoured the Temple of the Nymphs at Daphne; or the Tetranyphum may have been a temple whose vestibule or portico was supported by four caryatides. We come next to the Twelve-Gates, formerly called the Steps. The *Ἀναβαθμοὶ* or Steps are referred to in the Acts of the Apostles, for when Paul was hurried by Lysias across the Temple area and came to the "Stairs" on his way to Fort Antonia, he was carried up by the soldiers from the press of the multitude.^c The Temple occupied a square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram, and the Stairs, therefore, were at the northern side of the Temple; and at the distance of exactly 600 feet from the southern wall of the Haram are at the present day the "Stairs" or Steps for ascending the platform on which stands the mosque.

It is clear from the number of gates that the *Dodecapylum*, or Twelve-Gates, was not an edifice, and on entering the Haram you see at once the explanation. This elevated terrace, 550 by 450 feet, is approached on all sides by steps. Originally they were no doubt simply steps, but Hadrian improved them by adding portals overhead, and most of these portals, or their representatives, remain to the present day. Each side had anciently three gateways, making together the

^a Chron. Pasch. A.D. 119.

^b Lewin, *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 202.

^c ὁ Παῦλος ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀναβαθμῶν. Acts xxi. 40.

Twelve Gates, whence the name of Dodecapylum; and at the present day there are three portals on the west side, but some of the portals on the other sides have disappeared, as the whole number is now reduced to eight.^a Until I met with this passage as to the Δωδεκάπυλον in the Chronicon Paschale, it was always a puzzle to me how this terrace or stage in the middle of the Haram was to be accounted for, as it is evidently artificial. There is nothing in Josephus that leads you to expect it; but, when we learn that the Twelve Gates or central terrace with portals at the landing-places was constructed by Hadrian, we at once hail the fact as a full and satisfactory explanation.

In connection with the Dodecapylum, the Chronicon speaks of the Quadra (Κόδραν), and some writers, unable to follow the meaning, have interpreted it the Mint, and take apparently κόδραν in the sense of κοδράντην, a farthing,—as if a mint could ever have been called after a piece of money, and that so insignificant a piece as a farthing! But κόδραν in Greek is senseless, and the word can only be the Latin *quadra*, a square; and, as it is mentioned in the same breath with the Dodecapylum, we may reasonably suppose it to have some connection with the Dodecapylum. Now the Sakhrah, or central rock on the elevated terrace, has been “hewn vertical” on the north and west sides, in which direction the rock rises, as if to support some facing of stone;^b and Edrisi, who wrote during the occupation of the Franks (A.D. 1154), describes “this stone as of a quadrangular form, like a shield, and as nearly cubical, the breadth being about equal to the length.”^c Hence the inference that in the time of Hadrian the rock was cut into a square, or nearly so, and was called the Quadra, and that it supported the image erected on its summit to Jupiter.

I now pass on to the time of Diocletian, whose reign began A.D. 284. During the interval Christianity had been making steady progress, and heathenism had gradually waned. Local and temporary persecutions of the Christians had occurred, but maxims of policy had prevented the Emperors from commencing an internecine war in this world against those who fought from the 'vantage ground of the next. But in the latter days of Diocletian and Maximian, viz. in A.D. 303, a last and expiring effort was made against the new religion. Churches were razed to the ground; the Holy Scriptures were burnt by the common executioner; Christians who held any public office were degraded; and freedmen who maintained the Christian faith were again sold into slavery; and, what was a constant source of bitterness, Christians, however illtreated personally or

^a Tobler's Top. Jer. 508.

^b Barclay, 499.

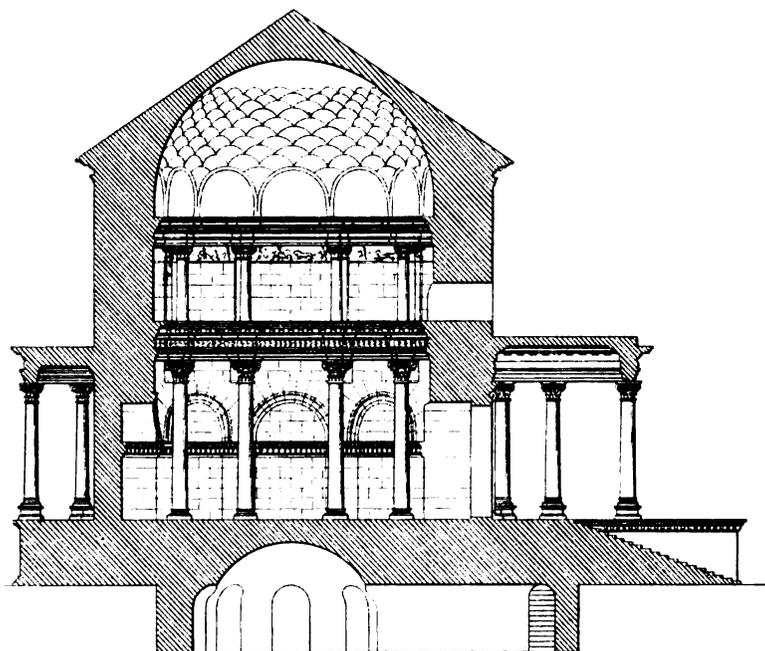
^c Pierotti, vol. i. p. 289.

ordained that, with all haste, the decayed temples of the idols should be rebuilt.”^a And again, “In every city priests were appointed for the images, and high priests over them by Maximin himself.”^b The argument therefore is simply this: it is stated repeatedly in general terms that Maximin either built or rebuilt the temples of the idols in every city in the province of Judea; and, if so, in Ælia or Jerusalem. But competent architects pronounce deliberately that the Mosque of Omar must have been built some time during the period from the commencement of the reign of Diocletian to that of Justinian, and nearer the former than the latter, that is, at the very time when Maximin Daza was sovereign of Judea and Egypt; and must we not therefore necessarily conclude that the edifice in question was one of the temples erected by Maximin?

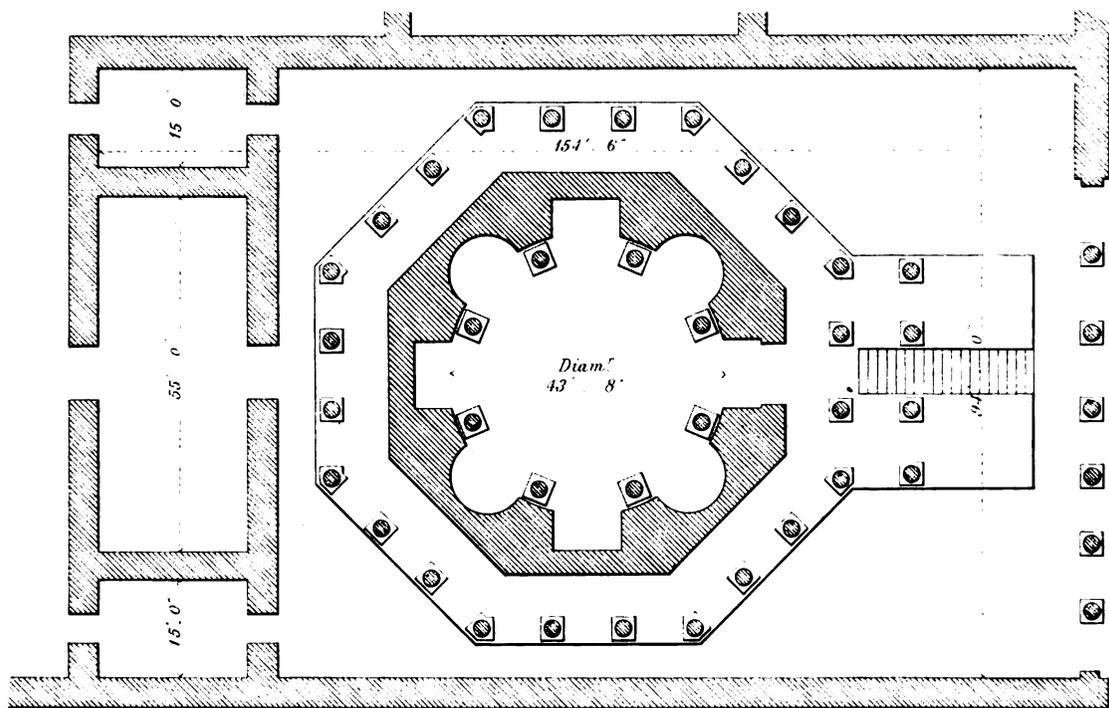
I possess no architectural knowledge myself and cannot judge of details of style; but, as an ordinary observer, and by the light of common sense, I think that, without descending into *minutiæ*, I can point out at least some peculiar features in the mosque which will serve to identify it as one of the temples of Maximin. I have already alluded to the name of Jovius as a title in which Maximin gloried. This title he derived from Diocletian, the founder of the fortunes of the reigning imperial family, including Maximin. As Jupiter therefore was the tutelary god of both Diocletian and Maximin, if perchance we could stumble upon a temple erected to Jupiter by Diocletian Jovius, we should expect to trace some resemblance between it and the building on the Haram, erected, as we suppose, by Maximin Jovius. It fortunately happens that a temple to Jupiter by Diocletian Jovius has been preserved to our own age in the Palace at Spalatro, the scene of the Emperor Diocletian’s retirement after his abdication in A.D. 305. On examining the remains published at the close of the last century by Mr. Adam, a *quondam* Fellow of this Society, we shall be struck by the great similarity both in the general outline and in subordinate particulars. The ancients, as is well known, usually constructed their temples in the rectangular form, but occasionally they adopted the circular form. The Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro (Plate II.) is not rectangular but circular, or rather, to speak correctly,

^a 'Αθρόως δ' οὐν αὐθις Μαξιμίον διαφοιτᾶ καθ' ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ γράμματα κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἠγεμόνες τε καὶ προσέτι ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχειν ἐπιεταγμένους, προγράμμασι καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ δημοσίοις διατάγμασι, τοὺς ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσι λογιστὰς ἅμα στρατηγοῖς καὶ ταβουλαρίοις ἐπέσπερχον, τὸ βασιλικὸν εἰς πέρας ἄγειν πρόσταγμα, κελεῦον ὡς ἂν μετὰ σπουδῆς πίσης τῶν μὲν εἰδώλων ἀνοικοδομοῖεν τὰ πεπτωκότα, &c. Euseb. De Mart. Pal. c. 9.

^b Ἱερεῖς δὴτα κατὰ πόλιν τῶν ζοάνων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαξιμίον. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ix. c. 4.



SECTION.



GROUND PLAN.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT SPALATRO.

Kill Bro^s Lith. London

octagonal,^a and the Temple on the Haram is also octagonal. Is this the result of accident or of imitation?

Again, the Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro is in the Corinthian style, and the Temple on the Haram is also Corinthian. Is this also a mere fortuitous coincidence? Again, the Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro has a vaulted chamber under it, and the Temple on the Haram has also a vaulted chamber under the dome, viz. the cave under the Sakhrah, which has given rise to so much controversy. Indeed, the resemblance between the two vaults is greater than would at first appear, for while the vault under the temple at Spalatro is arched, that under the temple on the Haram has at present perpendicular sides, but this has been satisfactorily accounted for by the discovery that the vault was originally arched, and that the perpendicular sides have been produced by slight walls of comparatively recent date, for the purpose of giving it, as was thought, a more symmetrical shape.^b

Another circumstance of resemblance is of a more general character, and has reference to the surrounding inclosure. The temple at Spalatro stands in a walled parallelogram with corner towers, and the principal approach to it is by a gate called the Golden Gate; and the temple at Jerusalem stands also in a walled parallelogram with corner towers, known as the Haram, and the principal approach to it was (for it is now closed) the gate on the east, called the Golden Gate; and what is remarkable, the two gates agree not only in name but also in their architecture, and have both been referred by competent judges to the period between Diocletian and Justinian, that is to the age of Maximin.

I have now to speak of a distinction between the two temples, and which will serve to explain what has hitherto been a perplexity, viz. why the rock Sakhrah is found underneath the dome. The circular temples of the ancients are divided by Vitruvius into two classes; one of them was the peripteros or extra-colonnaded temple, and the other the monopteros or intra-colonnaded temple. The peripteros had a colonnade running round it on the exterior, and within the colonnade was the walled cella or sanctuary which contained the idol or image of the god. The monopteros had the wall on the outside, and the columns were within, and there was no cella or sanctuary as distinct from the rest of the temple. It was necessary, however, to provide a suitable repository for the sacred image, and this was effected by erecting under the dome and within the circular colonnade which ran round the interior a raised plateau ascended by steps, and in the centre of which was exalted the image. "Temples," says

^a Adam's Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, from which the ground plan and section in Plate II. are taken.

^b Pierotti, vol. i. p. 87.

Vitruvius, "are also made in the circular form, of which some, having columns but no cella or sanctuary, are called *monoptera*, others are called *periptera*."^a The Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro represents the peripteros style, as the colonnade is round the exterior, and the cella or sanctum is in the centre. The Temple of Jupiter on the Haram represents the monopteros style, as the wall is on the outside, and the colonnade runs round the interior.

"Those temples," continues Vitruvius, "which are made without the cella (that is the *monoptera*) have a tribune and steps a third part of their own diameter,"^b that is to say, the breadth of the tribune, including the steps, should be one-third of the whole diameter of the temple; and in Mr. Arundale's section of the mosque prefixed to Mr. Fergusson's Topography of Jerusalem, the breadth of the Sakhrah or plateau of rock is 62 feet, and the breadth of the whole building is 186 feet, so that the Sakhrah is just one-third of the diameter of the mosque. These proportions so singularly coincide with the directions of Vitruvius that we must be upon the right track. Vitruvius, in the following book, speaks of the corresponding tribune in the Temple of Augustus, and states it to be semi-circular;^c and it is not unlikely, to judge from the form of the Sakhrah, that while it was square on three sides, on the other, viz. the east, it was semi-circular. "The columns" (in the monopteros temple) continues Vitruvius, "must be mounted on pedestals;"^d and such are the columns in the Mosque of Omar; and the reason is obvious, viz. it was necessary to give the columns their full height in the monopteros temple, in order to counteract the depressing effect of the elevated tribune. In the peripteros temple, on the other hand, the direction is "Let there be two steps up to the terrace whereon stand the columns, and let the steps be from the foot of the pedestal,"^e that is, where the colonnade was on the exterior, and there was a cella but no plateau, so that there was nothing to depress the columns, the pedestals of the columns were not to stand on the terrace, but the foot of the pedestals and the lower step were to be on the same level, and the two steps were to rise between the pedestals. Another distinction arising from the different characters of the two temples was this: in the peripteros temple, as in that at Spalatro, where the colonnade was on the outside, the approach to the vault was also from the exterior; but in the monopteros temple, as in that at Jerusalem, where the colonnade was within, the entrance to the vault was also in the interior.

^a Vitruvius, lib. iv. c. 7.

^b Vitruvius, lib. iv. c. 7.

^c Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 2.

^d Insuper stylobatas columnæ constituentur. Vitruvius, lib. iv. c. 7.

^e Sin autem Peripteros ea ædes constituetur, duo gradus et stylobata ab imo constituentur. Ibid.

Let us follow Vitruvius a little further. The Image of Jupiter, he says, should be as high as possible,^a and the image should face toward the west, and the altar toward the east.^b In the Temple of Jupiter on the Haram, therefore, the image was erected with the face toward the west, and the altar on which the offerings were made was also on the west, that the worshippers might have the image of the god in front of them; and it is observed by Dr. Barclay that the Sakhrah on the west "has been nicely squared off and lowered," which he supposes to have been "done by the Crusaders when they covered the Sakhrah with white marble, and erected an *altar* upon it."^c But what he here refers to as the work of the Crusaders is much more likely a remnant of the ornamented tribune in Pagan times, when it supported the Image of Jupiter. Barclay adds, that "there are various recesses cut in the rock both above and below,"^d and these are no doubt the scars left by the various decorations with which the sacred tribune was anciently decorated. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the rock is undefaced and fresh from the hand of Nature. I have referred to the altar of offerings as within the temple, and I purposely so designated it to distinguish it from the altar for sacrifices, for the latter stood without the temple; and in Edrisi, the Frank writer (A. D. 1154), I find this: "The building contains four doors, and opposite the western is seen the altar on which the children of Israel offered their sacrifices."^e If Edrisi had said the altar on which the Pagans offered their sacrifices to Jupiter, he would have hit the mark.

Vitruvius, from the brevity of his description, omits to mention the vaults under the temples; but we have seen that the peripteros Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro has a vault under it, and the monopteros temple at Jerusalem has likewise a vault. Indeed, not only the circular temples but the square temples also had vaults,—at least in the rectangular Temple of Æsculapius in the Palace of Diocletian, built at the same time with that to Jupiter, there is a crypt beneath. A moment's reflection will tell us that it could not well be otherwise. From the constant influx and efflux of worshippers, the temples would require to be constantly cleansed, and even the sacred tribune and the image itself would call for occasional purgation. Where then should all the paraphernalia of purification be deposited, so as not to offend the eye? There must have been a lumber-room somewhere, and where could it be but in the vault under the temple? When we examine the vault under the Sakhrah, how admirably it is constructed for

^a Lib. iv. c. 8.

^c City of the Great King, p. 498.

^e Pierotti, vol. i. p. 289.

^b Lib. iv. c. 5.

^d Ibid.

these necessary uses! In the centre of it is a well for drawing up water from one of the aqueducts that run across the temple area; and not only so, but in the tribune above a circular orifice has been cut down to the vault, and corresponding to the well below, so that water could be readily drawn up, even to the tribune above, for the purposes of ablution. This explanation brings down the vault and the well to every-day life; but facts are facts, and history must prevail over legendary lore or ingenious conjecture.

On the death of Maximin, in A.D. 313, edicts were issued by Constantine and Licinius that Christians should enjoy toleration; and shortly afterwards, when Constantine became sole monarch, Christianity was not only tolerated, but fostered and encouraged. Paganism was not persecuted, as Christianity had been; but, while Christianity basked in the sunshine of imperial favour, paganism pined in obscurity under the cold shade of neglect. Churches now sprang rapidly into existence, but the temples were still open to the few heathen worshippers that frequented them. In some exceptional cases, where the whole population of a city became Christian, the temples by general acclamation, without any authoritative edict, were closed, and sometimes demolished. From the pious horror entertained by Christians against idolatry, the temples were seldom metamorphosed into churches. At Jerusalem, the very fountain-head of Christianity, we may reasonably suppose that idolatry now utterly ceased. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, visited the Holy City and threw down the idols, and Constantine erected the grand basilica already mentioned over the site of the Holy Sepulchre;^a but the Temple of Jupiter, though despoiled of its idol, was probably not converted into a church until the time of the Crusaders. Not only did a wholesome superstition prevent Christians from worshipping in the temple of an idol, but, as noticed by Dion, the tradition ran that the Temple of Jupiter had been founded by Hadrian on the very site of the Jewish temple; and it would have been thought a profanation to place the Lord's House on the site of that temple, of which not one stone was to be left upon another.^b

It was just twenty years after the death of Maximin, viz. in A.D. 333, that the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited the Holy City; and the Temple of Jupiter and the Golden Gate were then both standing, for they *still* exist. In my former paper I commented upon the account given by the Pilgrim of the basilica of Constantine, erected on the western ridge of Jerusalem; and I shall now advert shortly to the Pilgrim's remarks upon the Temple Inclosure on the eastern ridge.

^a Sulpic. Severus, lib. ii.

^b Eutychie Annal. vol. ii. p. 289.

I should premise that the Temple and the Golden Gate, however beautiful in themselves, appear to have had little attraction for the pious Pilgrim, in comparison with sites which were sanctified by tradition however monstrous. Taking his station on the Temple Platform, he points out the Pool of Bethesda on the side of the platform where the sick folk were healed—the high pinnacle at one of the angles where was the scene of our Lord's temptation—the great stone at the corner, the very one which the builders refused—the numerous chambers at the south-east angle now the substructions known as Solomon's Stables; and then he proceeds thus: "There, also, is the little chamber in which Solomon sat and wrote the Book of Wisdom, and the chamber itself is roofed by a single stone."^a This little chamber can be no other than the cave under the Sakhrâh, and it is curious to see how a marvel grows. The tradition then was, that it was roofed by a single stone, and the Mahomedan tradition is, that the stone hangs in the air and is self-supported! The Pilgrim is then led by the mention of the cave to speak of the aqueducts with which it communicated. "There, also," he says, "are vast subterranean reservoirs of water and pools constructed with infinite labour." He then proceeds thus: "And in the *temple* itself, erected on the site of the temple built by Solomon, on the marble before the altar, you would say that the blood of Zacharias was only just spilt. There appear also over the whole floor the marks, as if printed in wax, of the nails of the soldiers who slew him."^b

It is evident that the temple here referred to as then standing can be no other than the Temple of Jupiter, for the Pilgrim states that it stood on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and Dion tells us that the Temple of Jupiter had been erected on the site of the Temple of Solomon. Of course it could not be the Church of Constantine, for the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Constantine were contemporaries, and, if the tradition then was that the temple to which the Pilgrim refers stood on the site of the Jewish temple, it would follow that Constantine built his church, if this was it, on the site of the Jewish temple, and that the Sepulchre of our Lord was in the Jewish temple itself, which would be the height of absurdity. The Pilgrim too speaks in another part of "the crypt where our Lord's body was laid, and whence he rose on the third day, and in the same place (he continues), has lately been erected by command of the Emperor Constantine a basilica or Lord's

^a Ibi etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit (Solomon) et Sapientiam descripsit. Ipse vero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus.

^b Et in sedē ipsâ ubi templum fuit quod Solomon ædificavit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem Zachariae ibi dicas hodie fusum. Etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt in totam aream, ut putes in cerâ fixum esse.

House of wonderful beauty." As the *church*, therefore, was erected over the traditional sepulchre, and the *temple* to which the Pilgrim refers was erected on the traditional site of the Temple of Solomon, the two buildings must have been perfectly distinct.

It may be observed by the way that, as the Pilgrim speaks of the basilica on the western ridge as "just built," but mentions the temple on the eastern ridge without any such remark, we may conclude that the latter was not a recent structure, and this agrees with the fact that it had been founded by Hadrian, and restored or rebuilt by Maximin. The Pilgrim makes no reference to the Golden Gate by that name, and yet an incidental notice proves that it was then standing, and that the Pilgrim passed through it. "Also," he says, "as you go out of Jerusalem by the Eastern Gate to ascend Mount Olivet, is the valley called Jehoshaphat, and on the left (where are the vineyards) is also the stone where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ (that is, the Garden of Gethsemane), but on the right is the palm-tree from which the children carried branches and strewed them in the way of Christ; and about a stone's cast from thence are two monuments of wonderful beauty, in one of which is buried the Prophet Isaiah, which is truly a monolith, and in the other Hezekiah the King of the Jews." Now, as you go out by the present Eastern Gate, called the Gate of St. Stephen, the Garden of Gethsemane and the monuments referred to are both on the right hand, but one who passed out by the Golden Gate would have the Garden of Gethsemane on the left hand, and the monuments on the right. It is evident, therefore, that the Golden Gate, which has now for centuries been closed by the Mahomedans, was open in the days of the Pilgrim, and was the gate commonly used for ascending Mount Olivet.

From the establishment of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman empire, the Temple of Jupiter appears to have been closed against idolatry but not open to Christianity, except during the Crusades, and consequently to have fallen into decay; at least when the Mahomedans took possession of Jerusalem, it is represented as a chaotic mass of filth and rubbish.

It is not my purpose to follow the fortunes of the building further; my only object was to show on historical evidence that the architectural features of the mosque may well be referred to the period between the commencement of the reign of Diocletian and that of Justinian, and that it is in fact the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus restored or rebuilt by Maximin Daza, the successor of Diocletian.