



Fig. 1: Tomb F.1 at Tell Hesban, excavator Eugenia Nitowski (now Sister Damian) emerging from the entrance.

THE TOMB OF CHRIST FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

DAMIAN OF THE CROSS

In 1808, a disastrous fire destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Maximos Symaios, a Greek Orthodox monk, was an eyewitness to the restorations. He recorded the removal of marble down to the original stone, reporting that the only living rock which could still be seen was part of a bench, the outline of the tomb itself having been obliterated long before. It was the last time that the substructures of the sepulchre were seen.

The controversy over locating the correct site and reconstructing the original structure of the tomb of Christ has tantalized scholars since the late 1800s. The most notable contribution in the area of reconstruction was made in 1914 by a French Dominican, Father Hughes Vincent¹ of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. Even though other possibilities as to location and reconstruction exist, Vincent's work is still considered authoritative and has met little opposition.

I first became interested in this subject while on an archaeological expedition in 1971. I was privileged to be chosen as the excavator of the first rolling-stone tomb discovered in the area east of the Jordan River. Since that time, I have excavated numerous tombs dating from the Early Roman through Byzantine periods. Because of a statement by the well-known scholar André Parrot that there are only four rolling-stone tombs in existence,² I began compiling a list of such tombs from those published in obscure sources and my own exploration. The current number which I can fully document is sixty-one.³

The prevalent choice of an arcosolia tomb structure for the original setting of the Shroud of Turin is based upon a model proposed by Fr. Vincent in 1914 (Fig. 2). At that time, Fr. Vincent had a maximum of 39 rolling-stone tombs to use for comparative purposes. Eight were of the kokhim type and 31 of the arcosolia construction. Ten of the 39 were listed in the *British Survey of Western Palestine*⁴ (three of those being the kokhim type), to which he apparently had no access. Along with the lack of excavated materials, such as pottery, the means by which those tombs were dated were in error and have been revised and continually refined.

Due to the unavailability of the type, the diacritical signs for Hebrew, Persian and Arabic letters have been omitted.

Photos #1,3,5,6,7,8, 15 are courtesy of the Heshbon Expedition Andrews University.

Archaeology is a comparative science. From great quantities of material, typologies can be based on style changes. In the late 1800s, it was the study of the relation of ceramic evidence in successive strata which initiated the pottery typologies forming the most important criteria for dating all excavated materials.⁵ Style change is evident in all forms produced by man in all periods of history. By regarding change as a constant, we may record its progression, set it within a dated context, and assign to it, by means of comparative analysis, all forms which meet its characteristics.

A closely dated typology of tomb architecture can now be demonstrated. For the purpose of this study, three styles are involved: the kokhim (Early Roman, 63 BC-AD 70/135, Fig. 3); the shaft tomb (Late Roman, AD 135-325, Fig. 4); and the arcosolia (Byzantine, AD 325-640, Fig. 5). It should be explained here that when discussing time periods in Palestine/Transjordan, it is essential to understand that labels such as "Early Roman" or "Byzantine" are used in a vastly different way by Biblical archaeologists; for example, the Byzantine period in this context lasts from AD 325 to its termination in 640 by the Muslim invasions, while in Constantinople the Byzantine period extends to 1453. The termination date for Early Roman is listed here as AD 70/135, since it is still in question as to whether the period ended with the Destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 or the defeat of Bar Kokhba in AD 135.

Sixty-one rolling-stone tombs can now be documented from the Early Roman through Byzantine periods.⁶ Of these, the two distinctive architectural forms of the kokhim (or loculi) and arcosolia can be described, with the interim shaft form.

The Kokhim Style: Early Roman

The kokhim style has the entrance carved below ground level into the face of a limestone outcropping. Sometimes an elaborate court is also carved.⁷ Radiating from a central chamber are the kokhim, or horizontal burial niches, each approximately 2 ft. wide, 3 ft. high and 6 ft. long, large enough to contain a single body. In some instances, kokhim have been found with individual square stone slab closures.⁸ The central chamber was the first area to be cut in the tomb and it was also the first to be used for burials if need arose before the kokhim were begun.⁹ Depending on family circumstances, this chamber sometimes was left with only the beginnings of kokhim cut into the walls, hinting of its final intended form. The size of the chamber was dependent on the number of planned burial niches, and was always high enough to enable the burial party to stand upright. A pit in the center of the chamber served as a sump and, around its sides, it formed a bench or ledge lining three or four walls. The top of the bench was level with the floors of the kokhim and was wide enough to hold a body for washing and anointing (Fig. 6). The bench was also used to hold ossuaries and other burial furnishings. Niches placed in convenient locations in the walls were provided for lamps to be lit for

the burial party (see niches in Figs 6, 7). It was against Jewish law to bury the dead at night,¹⁰ but some kind of light is necessary at all times in such cave-like structures.¹¹

The Mishnah describes the proper form for tomb construction, on the same plan as has been discussed above, in Baba Bathra ("The Last Gate") 6:8;

If a man sold to his fellow a place in which to make a tomb (so, too, if a man received from his fellow a place in which to make him a tomb), he must make the inside of the vault four cubits by six, and open up within it eight niches, three on this side, three on that side, and two opposite [the doorway]. The niches must be four cubits long, seven handbreadths high and six wide. Rabban Simeon says: He must make the inside of the vault four cubits by eight and open up within it thirteen niches, four on this side, four on that side, three opposite [the doorway] and one to the right of the doorway and one to the left. He must make a courtyard at the opening of the vault, six cubits by six, space enough for the bier and its bearers; and he may open up within it two other vaults, one on either side. Rabban Simeon says: Four, one on each of its four sides. Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel says: All depends on the nature of the rock.

For an illustration of the type of tomb with a kokh on each side of the doorway, see Fig. 7.¹²

Because of the need for the continual reuse of the tomb's kokhim, the closure was never meant to be permanent. The doors were always of cut stone; and, for chambered tombs, one of three varieties: A square slab, a rolling-stone, or a swinging door that could be locked. An average size for a rolling-stone is about 4 ft. in diameter by 1 ft. 2 in. thick. It would fit in front of the entrance in a track (Fig. 8) which was either level or slanted toward the entrance. The entrance was quite small, approximately 2 ft. wide by 3 ft. high, permitting access by only one person at a time (Fig. 1).¹³

The most common form of rolling-stone retainer was a recess at the side of the entrance rather than a full elaborate track such as those found at Hesban Tomb F.1 (Figs. 1, 3, 8) and at Horvat Midras.¹⁴ Since Mark (16:3-4) says that the women were concerned as to who would roll the stone away for them, it may be assumed that the track was slanted. On a slanted track, the rolling-stone closes automatically if left unattended and requires considerably more effort to open than a rolling-stone on a level track.¹⁵ The best example of a slanted track can be found at Horvat Midras.

John tells us (20:5) that he ran to the tomb, and "stooping to look in," he saw the linen cloths lying there. Then Mary Magdalene (20:11) "stooped to look into the tomb" and she saw two angels sitting where the body of Jesus had lain; one at the head and one at the feet.

The objection has been raised that if the tomb of Christ had been the kokhim style, a body would not have been visible from the entrance.¹⁶ But if one stoops at the entrance of a kokhim tomb, one can see partway into each kokh and certainly far enough to see if a body was

there. Had the body of Christ been placed for preparation on the bench in the main chamber, it would have been clearly in view. The bench also makes adequate allowance for persons to be seated at the head and foot of the place where Christ's body had lain, and a place where the *othonia* (Jn 20:6-7) could be seen.

On the other hand, most *arcosolia* tombs have trough graves, rather than a ledge. It is impossible to see a body two feet down in a trough when one looks inside from the entrance of the tomb.

The Shaft Tomb: Late Roman

The earliest part of the Late Roman period seems to have had no tomb style peculiar to itself, but continued in the reuse of *kokhim* tombs. However, the last part of this period produces the shaft tomb (not to be confused with the early shaft-cave tombs). While it is a distinct break from the typically Jewish *kokhim* style, the shaft tomb most certainly could have been used by the Jews.¹⁷ The prolonged family use of the tomb is not carried over, as it was with the *kokhim* type; ossuaries are non-existent and reburials are limited. A comparison of shaft tombs F.4, F.12 and F.16 at Tell Hesban (Biblical Heshbon) shows an average of 14 burials each, while F.1, a *kokhim* tomb also at Heshbon, contained 77 burials.¹⁸

This form is composed of a rectangular shaft, roughly 2 x 6 ft., which extends down about 5 ft. into the ground, opening into a square chamber divided by three sunken graves, each about 2 ft. wide, 6 ft. long and 2 ft. deep (Fig. 4). A cross-section of the chamber shows it to be arched on each side and parallel to the graves: an *arcosolia* construction. The closure for the shaft tomb is composed of three or four capstones placed on a ledge part-way down the shaft; the space between the capstones and the surface of the ground was filled with soil. Often there were three more capstones on top of each of the sunken graves.

The body was lowered down, probably by ropes, while those who placed the corpse into one of the trough graves could simply jump down into the chamber. Getting out required placing one's hands and elbows on the capstone ledge, swinging one's legs up onto the ledge and pushing oneself up and out from off the ledge. Although the shaft grave could never have taken a rolling-stone, the mention of this style is important to fill the gap between Early Roman and Byzantine periods, and to mark a firm separation between architectural elements. The shaft tomb is a short-lived construction. Although this style was continued only briefly in the Early Byzantine period, its use of the *arcosolia* is the one structural link to that period.¹⁹

The Arcosolia: Byzantine

The Byzantine period is the last to use the rolling-stone closure. The outstanding characteristic is the arched vault or *arcosolium* over benches or trough graves which line three walls of a square chamber. It is this form which has most often been represented in the reconstructions

of Christ's tomb, because it allows benches under the arcosolia, which would enable one to sit upright, in accordance with the scriptural reference to angels sitting in the tomb after Christ's resurrection (Mk 16:5, Jn 20:12). Like the Late Roman shaft tomb, the arcosolia tomb was not planned well for reburials and ossuaries were not used.

The arcosolia style more nearly resembles the kokhim type, since it too works off the square main chamber, may also have an exterior court and lockable swinging door.²⁰ It frequently displays Christian symbols. In a Byzantine rolling-stone tomb at Horvat Midras, there are sixteen crosses incised and painted on the ceiling, some with the letters alpha and omega.²¹ At Gezer, Tomb 214 has a cross cut over the door while Tombs 167, 195, and 196 contain "candlestick" lamps which were typically Christian.²² This seems to be the usual form of lamp for this style tomb, just as Herodian lamps were used in the kokhim type. We also find large crosses carved into the rolling-stone closures²³ of tombs with this type of interior architecture: from this, we might conclude that Byzantine-period Christians meant to imitate the tomb of Christ.²⁴ Unlike the kokhim style, the arcosolia has no central pit and rarely has lamp niches in the walls.

Identification of the Site

At the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in AD 135, the forces of Emperor Hadrian not only drove the Jews from Jerusalem, but also did considerable damage to many holy places, including the site of Christ's sepulchre. The tomb was covered over with debris and a temple to Venus was built on the site, a landmark which undoubtedly enabled later Christians to remember and identify the location of the hidden tomb of Christ.

The earliest known representation of Christ's tomb was discovered in a baptistry, dated between AD 232/233, at Dura-Europos²⁵ (Fig. 9). It is a fresco depicting a sarcophagus with a closed lid above which, on each side, is a star. Women advance, carrying the necessary materials to prepare Christ's body for burial. This fresco differs from the New Testament description supported by archaeological evidence; perhaps that can be explained by the fact that at least a century had elapsed between Hadrian's concealment of the tomb and the construction of the Dura baptistry.

Although most scholars no longer question the traditional site for the Holy Sepulchre, before the excavations of Kathleen Kenyon²⁶ and Ute Lux,²⁷ it had been a burning issue. The *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* was in a very real sense a battleground, and the leading opponents, Conrad Schick, Claude Conder, Charles Wilson, Charles Warren and Charles Gordon,²⁸ fought it out from 1870 to 1912, with minor characters aligning with one side or the other, while few dared to contradict both sides.

The main point of the argument was that the traditional site lay inside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, while the New Testament

account places the site of execution and entombment outside the walls. Conder and Wilson argued for a site outside, while Gordon had the more mystical view of a place of sacrifice north of the Temple altar. Conrad Schick did his best to show archaeologically why each alternative location was incorrect. The proposed sites were numerous: the Garden (Gordon's) Tomb, Conder's Tomb, Gethsemane, the Tomb of the Kings (Tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene), and the Dome of the Rock.

The excavations of Kathleen Kenyon in the 1960s, and later those of Ute Lux, not only showed the course of the Second Wall of the Jerusalem of Christ's time, but undeniably proved that the site of the tomb of Christ had indeed been outside the walls. Besides these excavations, there remained the fact that the traditional site had always been known to have been built over an ancient Jewish cemetery. This could have been proof enough as to location outside the wall, since laws prohibited that a cemetery be situated within the city. What is more, the style of the tombs establishes the period as Early Roman. In this cemetery, the most outstanding example is the kokhim tomb known as that of Joseph of Arimathea (Fig. 10).

Probably the most popular of the alternate sites, and today still believed by many to be the true sepulchre of Christ, is the Garden Tomb (Fig. 11). It was first viewed by Conrad Schick in 1867, but it was not until 1883 that General Charles George Gordon pronounced it the Tomb of Christ. It was General Gordon, that "holiest of all soldiers",²⁹ and the heroic death awaiting him at Khartoum, that gave this tomb the publicity and predominance which others did not enjoy.

Conrad Schick died in 1902. A year later, Charles Wilson also died, while preparing his major work on the problem of the tomb of Christ. With the passing of these great men, the conflict slowly came to an end and from the turn of the century, the journals, especially the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, turned to the reports of new excavations of big sites like Gezer, Shiloh, Lachish and others.

Identification of the Tomb

The rise of the Emperor Constantine marked the recovery and restoration of Christian holy places in Jerusalem. According to the church historian Eusebius, who wrote ca. 337, the most notable of the discoveries was that of Christ's sepulchre. Since the Gospels imply a rolling-stone tomb, there should not have been much difficulty in distinguishing it from other tombs which may have been uncovered in the cemetery when the temple of Venus was razed. Even if the rolling-stone had been removed, the track of the recess would have been recognizable. Today a large chunk of the supposed rolling-stone is encased in glass at the entrance to the edicule.*

Eusebius reports that Constantine's architects cut the hillside away

* According to Nicholas Mesarites, the rolling-stone was in the treasury of Constantinople. See *The Palace Revolution of John Comnenus*, this issue. [Ed.]

from the tomb; this was the first recorded alteration in the tomb's appearance³⁰ (Fig. 12). The earliest representation of the enshrined tomb built by Constantine is depicted on a bronze plaque found in Tomb 39A at Pella,³¹ where a Christian community had existed even before so many found refuge there from Titus' destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70.

One obstacle to the acceptance of the identification of the Holy Sepulchre as the tomb of Christ is that it does not look like a tomb, due to a long history of structural alterations inflicted by both man and nature.

In 614, the Holy Sepulchre Church suffered severe damage to the rotunda and edicule at the hands of the Persians under General Hruzia. There is no detailed account describing the extent of the destruction, but it is known that an attempt at restoring the structure was made by Abbot Modestus, Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The greatest damage to the edicule was inflicted by Ysuf and Hussein ibn Dahir, agents sent by the fanatical Egyptian Caliph abu-Ali Mansur al-Hakim in 1009—an event which led ultimately to the Crusades. The edict for the destruction was signed by his Christian secretary, ibn-Abdun. Al-Hakim's son, al-Zahir, gave Constantine VIII permission to restore the Holy Sepulchre if the mosque at Constantinople would also be repaired. This was finally accomplished in 1048.

After the appeal of Pope Urban II in 1095, a new period began in the history of the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem was taken by the crusaders on 15 July 1099. A slow process of reconstruction began. In 1119 the marble covering was renewed and by 15 July 1149 the project was finished. A XIII century drawing (Fig. 13) shows much the same floor plan as that made by Arculf in AD 670.

In 1555, restoration was carried out by the Franciscan custodian, Boniface of Ragusa, after an earthquake. This was not the first disaster of its kind to affect the Holy Sepulchre. Between AD 33 and 1834, no less than thirty-seven earthquakes jolted Jerusalem.³² The strongest of these occurred in 1032, 1033, 1458, 1534, 1545, 1546 and 1834, during which times portions of the Church collapsed.

Then, in 1808, the Church was destroyed by fire. The removal of the marble casing revealed the original stone. Maximos Symaios described the tomb shelf as hollowed, the result of the early pilgrims' habit of chipping out pieces. Comnenos of Mitylene, the architect in charge of the restoration, saved the Church from total collapse. This was the last time the original stone was exposed to public view.

Reconstructions of the Tomb

The reconstruction proposed by Father Vincent was based on the state of the sepulchre in a period long after the time of Christ. Vincent can hardly be blamed for not knowing this, because the material was simply not available to him. There is a rolling-stone tomb, although not a true *arcosolia* type, in the cloister of the Ecole Biblique where

Vincent lived, and it was a strong influence in his work. Stewart Macalister, excavator of Gezer around 1912, where eight rolling-stone tombs of the arcosolia type were found, reported that a group of Dominicans from the Ecole visited his excavation site.³³ If Vincent was not among the visitors, he was probably informed about these tombs by the others.

There are two problems which invalidate Vincent's reconstruction. The presence of the first chamber (Fig. 2) is inconsistent with the Gospels; there is no way in which one could stoop down and look in to see where the body of Jesus lay, and it would be impossible to see beyond the first chamber (not to be confused with a court) into the second without actually entering the tomb. Secondly, according to tomb typology, this arcosolia style developed two centuries after the interment of Christ. Here it could be added that the architectural style of the Garden (or Gordon's) Tomb eliminates this also as a possible candidate for the tomb of Christ (Fig. 11).

Figure 14 is a reconstruction of the tomb of Christ based on all current archaeological evidence. The measurements for each feature have been compiled and averaged. The outer court is sunken below ground level and is reached by stairs. The track for the rolling-stone is slanted (cf. Mk 16:30) toward the entrance, which is low, requiring one to stoop upon entry (Lk 24:12, Jn 20: 5,11). The central pit forms a ledge or bench which, like the kokhim apertures, can be seen clearly from the doorway. Twelve is the average number of finished kokhim; here two are partially obscured by the front wall of the tomb, while four have been cut away to show the placement of the body on the bench.

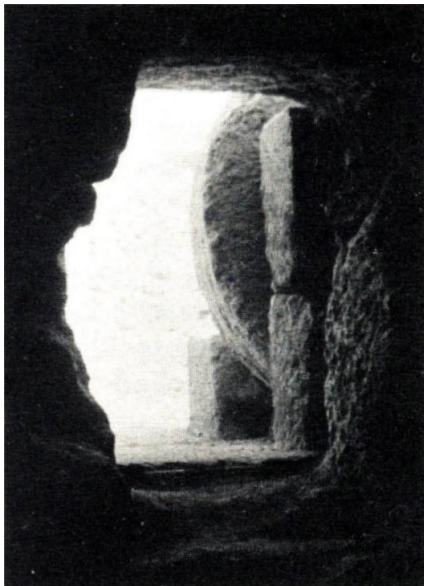


Fig. 15: Tomb F.1, Tell Hesban. From the dark interior, looking out into the morning brightness.

However, since the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was new and had not yet been used, it may have had fewer kokhim than are pictured here, perhaps none at all, but only the main chamber with central pit, since the Gospel texts (Mt 27:20, Lk 23:53, Jn 19:41) do not say that it had been finished. We know from examples such as Tomb IV at Giv'at ha-Mivtar (see note 9) that tombs were often used for burials even when unfinished. The original stone which remains in the Holy Sepulchre is part of a bench at the right of the entrance. The body in the reconstruction has been placed on that side (Mk 16: 5,6). It seems reasonable to conclude that the body of Christ would have been left on the bench rather than being placed in a kokh (if the tomb's construction

had reached that point), since its preparation for burial had not been completed (Mk 16:1, Lk 24:1). Use of the bench also provides adequate space for a "young man" (Mk 16:5) or "two angels" (Jn 20:12) to sit where the body had lain, whereas this would be impossible if the body had been placed in a kokh. It was there too, on that bench, that the *othonia* (Lk 24:12, Jn 20:5-7) would have been visible from the entrance.

If one had been peering into the darkness of the tomb, as Mary Magdalene had, then turned toward the rising sun, that person would be momentarily blinded, and the figure standing above the outer court would be but an unrecognizable silhouette (Fig. 15). The Magdalene recognized Christ when He called her name: "Mary!" "Rabboni," she replied. Perhaps the shortest dialogue in all literature, but surely the most dramatic.*

* For another explanation of why the Risen Christ was not recognized, see the extremely interesting article by Charles Scribner III: "*In Alia Effigie: Caravaggio's London Supper at Emmaus*", in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. LIX #3, Sept. 1977, pp. 375-382. [Ed.]

REFERENCES

Abbreviations Used for Periodicals:

AUSS = *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
 BA = *Biblical Archaeologist*
 BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
 IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*
 PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
 PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
 QDAP = *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
 RB = *Revue Biblique*
 ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*

1. Hugues Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, Vol. II, (Paris, 1914).
2. André Parrot, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (New York, 1957), p. 48.
3. A complete description of all 61 rolling-stone tombs and full discussion of the location and restoration of the tomb of Christ can be found in Eugenia I. Nitowski, *Reconstructing the Tomb of Christ from Archaeological and Literary Sources* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1979) available from the author.
4. C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. 2 (London, 1882).
5. The use of ceramic chronology was first defended by W. Flinders Petrie. "Chronology of Pottery," *PEFQS* (January, 1891), p. 68.
6. For reasons of space, the detailed bibliography of these 61 tombs cannot be given here. I will gladly supply this list to any interested person who requests it. [Ed.]
7. See the Mishnah, Oholoth ("Tents") 15:8, which discusses the size of the court in regard to the laws of cleanliness.

8. H. Midras and Kh. Kurkush, see note 4. Joseph Zias, "A Rock-Cut Tomb in Jerusalem," *BASOR*, No. 245 (Winter, 1982), pp. 53-56.
9. Tombs have been found at various stages of their construction: Those containing only the chamber and central pit as at Giv'at ha-Mivtar (Tomb IV), V. Tzaferis, "Jewish Tombs at and near Giv'at ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem," *IEJ*, Vol. 20, No. 1-2 (1970), pp. 18-32, Fig. 5; With only two or three kokhim, also at Giv'at ha-Mivtar (Tomb II), Tzaferis, *IEJ*, Fig. 3; French Hill (Tomb III), James F. Strange, "Late Hellenistic and Herodian Ossuary Tombs at French Hill, Jerusalem," *BASOR*, No. 219 (October, 1975), pp. 39-67, Fig. 5; at Huqoq (Tomb II), B. Ravani, "Rock-Cut Tombs at Huqoq: The Excavations," *'Atiqot*, Vol. 3 (1961), pp. 124-125.
10. Abraham I. Shinedling, "Burial and Burial Customs," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1940), 599.
11. Tomb G.10, Stirling, *AUSS*, Fig. 17; Tomb F.31, Davis, *AUSS*, Fig. 12; and Waterhouse, *AUSS*, p. 117, where lamps were found still in their niches.
12. Early Roman period Tomb F.31 at Heshbon, John J. Davis, "Heshbon 1976: Areas F and K," *AUSS*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1978), pp. 137-141.
13. Heshbon tombs: F.1, F.6, F.8, F.14, F.18, F.28, F.31, G.10, see Waterhouse, *AUSS*, pp. 113-125; Beegle, *AUSS*, pp. 203-211; Stirling, *AUSS*, pp. 101-106; Davis, *AUSS*, pp. 129-148; Kritzeck and Nitowski, *AUSS*, pp. 77-100. Huqoq tombs: T.I, T.II, T.IV, see Ravani, *'Atiqot*, pp. 121-127. Rehov Nisan-Beq, Rehov Ruppim, and Rehov Binyamin Mitudela tombs, see L.Y. Rahmani, "Jewish Rock-Cut Tombs in Jerusalem," *'Atiqot*, Vol. III (1961), pp. 108-116. Silet edh-Dhahr tombs, see Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*. French Hill tombs: 1, 3, 6, see Strange *BASOR*, pp. 39-67. Gerasa tombs: 4, 9, 11, 12, see Carl H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 549-571. Giv'at ha-Mivtar tombs: I, II, III, IV, see Tzaferis, *IEJ*, pp. 18-32. Bethphage tombs: 1, 18, 23, see Saller and Testa, *Bethphage*, pp. 47-65. H. Midras, see Kloner, *IEJ*, pp. 251-253. Ramot tomb, see Zias, *BASOR*, pp. 53-56.
14. Kloner, *IEJ*, pp. 251-253.
15. During my excavation of Tomb F.1 at Heshbon, the rolling-stone was found pulled out of the track and lying almost flat. It took 25 men two hours to raise the stone and reset it within the track; once this was accomplished, one person, with some effort, could roll the stone because the track was level. I closed the stone every afternoon after the day's work was finished to prevent the village children from disturbing the interior.
16. L.E. Cox Evans, "The Holy Sepulchre," *PEQ*, (July-December, 1968), pp. 124-130.
17. In shaft tomb F.4 at Heshbon, a bronze incense shovel was found, Waterhouse, *AUSS*, p. 124 (Pl. XIII:C). This same kind of shovel was found in the excavation of caves used by the followers of the Jewish rebel Bar-Kokhba, Yigael Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* (New York, 1971), p. 109. Such shovels are listed by the Royal Ontario Museum as religious implements used by Christians, pagans, and Jews. E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1953), pp. 173-174, seems to give them only a Jewish use.
18. Kritzeck and Nitowski, *AUSS*, pp. 80-84; Waterhouse, *AUSS*, pp. 113-125; Beegle, *AUSS*, pp. 203-211.
19. The best dated examples of this form are: Heshbon tombs F.4, F.7, F.9, F.12, F.15, F.16, F.17, F.30, K.1, Waterhouse, *AUSS*, pp. 113-125; Beegle, *AUSS*, pp. 203-211; Davis, *AUSS*, pp. 129-148. It must be noted that these preliminary reports are undergoing a new analysis for final publication and will reflect this dating. Others at: Bethany, Sylvester Sailer, *The Excavation of Bethany* (Jerusalem, 1957), p. 57. Bethphage, Sailer and Testa, *Bethphage*, Fig. 29. Nablus road tombs, see Figure 4 (this article), Type A: tombs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9; Type B: tomb 3; Type C: tomb 10; Type D: tombs 8 and 11, R.W. Hamilton and S.A.S. Husseini, "Shaft Tombs on the Nablus Road, Jerusalem," *QDAP*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (1935), pp. 170-174.

20. Tomb F.5, Heshbon. Waterhouse, *AUSS*, pp. 113-125, Pl. XII: A, B. Tomb 164, *Gezer*. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. I, p. 368.
21. Kloner, *IEJ*, pp. 251-253.
22. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. I, pp. 368, 376, 381. Dan Barag, "A Tomb Cave of the Byzantine Period Near Netiv ha-Iamed He," *'Atiqot*, Hebrew Series 7 (1974), also reports a Christian "candlestick" lamp. For further information about these lamps see Eugenia Nitowski, "Inscribed and Radiated-Type Byzantine Lamps," *AUSS*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January, 1974), pp. 18-34.
23. Moulton, *BASOR*, pp. 95-104.
24. Dated examples include: Heshbon tombs F.5 and F.10, Waterhouse, *AUSS*, pp. 113-125; Bethany tombs I, II, III, and 58, Saller, *Bethany*, pp. 49-56; Bethphage tombs T.3, T.19, T.21. Sailer and Testa, *Bethphage*, pp. 65-73; H. Midras, Kloner, *IEJ*, pp. 251-253; Gezer tombs T.164, T.214, Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. I, pp. 368, 381; Tel 'Eton, Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv*, Fig. 11; Tell en-Nasbeh tombs T.13, T.16, T.19, T.22, McCown, *Nasbeh*, pp. 110-122; Netiv ha-Lamed He, Barag, *'Atiqot*; 'Ain Yabrud, S.A.S. Husseini, "A Rock-Cut Tomb-Chamber at 'Ain Yabrud," *QDAP*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1936), pp. 54-55; Beit Fajjar, S.A.D. Husseini, "A Fourth-Century AD Tomb at Beit Fajjar," *QDAP*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (1935), pp. 175-177; Kfar Dikhrin, L.Y. Rahmani, "Mirror-Plaques from a Fifth-Century AD Tomb," *IEJ*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2 (1964), pp. 50-60, Fig. 1.
25. Bradford C. Welles, ed., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Final Report VIII, Part II (New York, 1967).
26. Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1965," *PEQ* (January-June, 1966), pp. 73-88, and Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London, 1974), especially pp. 52, 226-227, 230-232, 261, 266-267.
27. Ute Lux, "Vorläufiger Bericht fiber die Ausgrabung unter der Erloserkirche im Muristan in der Altstadt von Jerusalem in den Jahren 1970 and 1971," *ZDPV*, Vol. 88 (1972), pp. 185-201.
28. Conder, Wilson, Warren, and Gordon were all in the branch of military service known as the Royal Engineers. Their intimate knowledge of Palestinian terrain gave them a special pre-eminence in the field of Middle Eastern studies until World War I. Conder, Warren, and the less-known H.H. Kitchener, are remembered especially for their participation in the survey of Palestine for the Palestine Exploration Fund.
29. The quotation is from Francis Gell, "On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre", *PEFQS* (July, 1901), p. 229. There was a considerable dispute as to who was the original discoverer of the Garden Tomb. Conrad Shick, probably the most scientific of the early "archaeologists" resident in Jerusalem, made his claim in a substantial article reporting his excavation of the tomb: "Gordon's Tomb," *PEFQS* (April, 1892), pp. 120-124.
30. Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, Book III:XXV-XL; John Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ", *Levant*, Vol. IV (1972), pp. 83-97.
31. Robert H. Smith, Anthony W. McNicoll and J.B. Hennessy, "The 1981 Season at Pella of the Decapolis", *BASOR*, No. 249, (Winter, 1983) p. 61.
32. D. Amiran, "A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine," *IEJ*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1950-51), pp. 223-246; Vol. 2, No. 1 (1952), pp. 48-65.
33. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. I, p. 50.

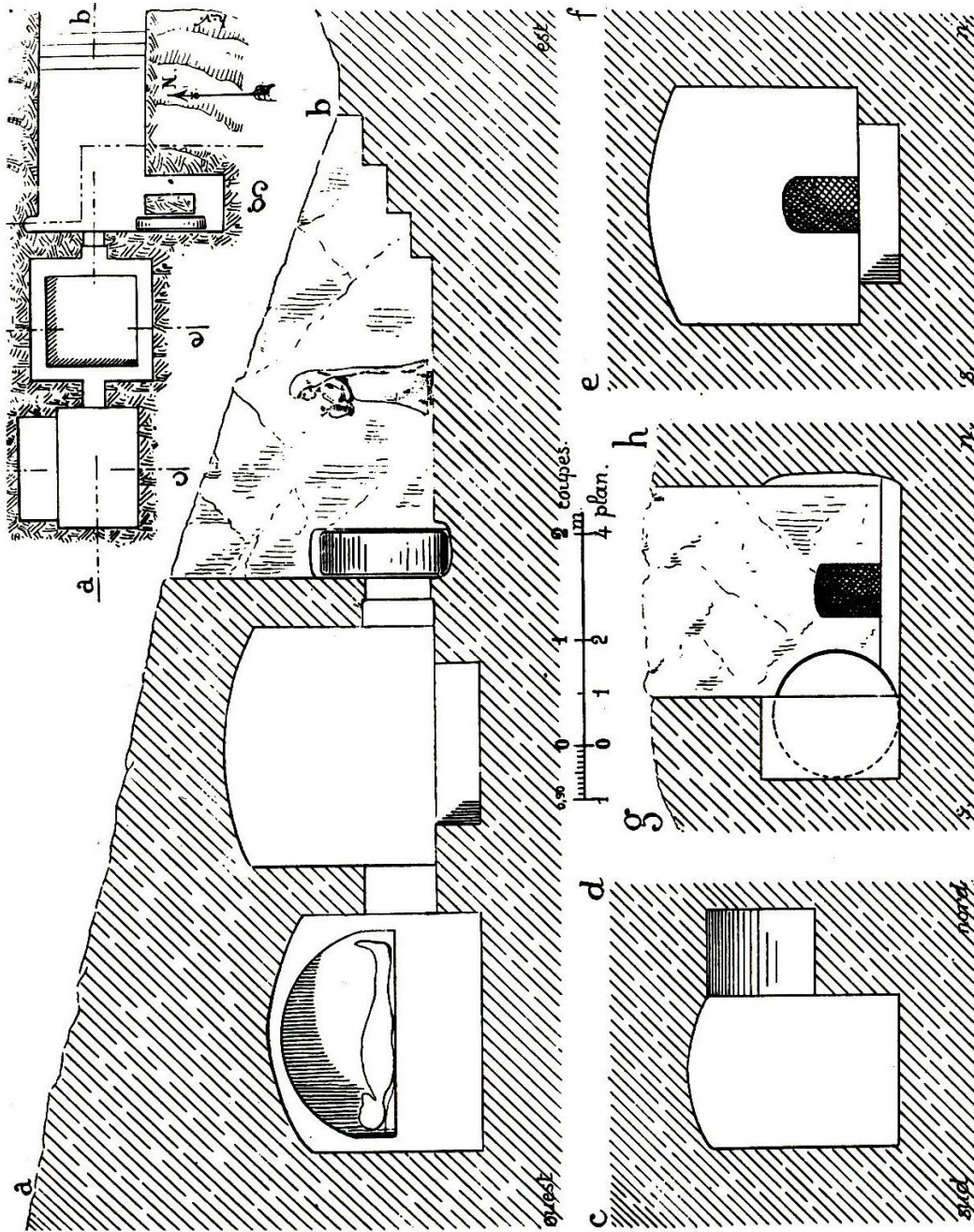


Fig. 2: Reconstruction of the tomb of Christ according to Fr. Hughes Vincent.

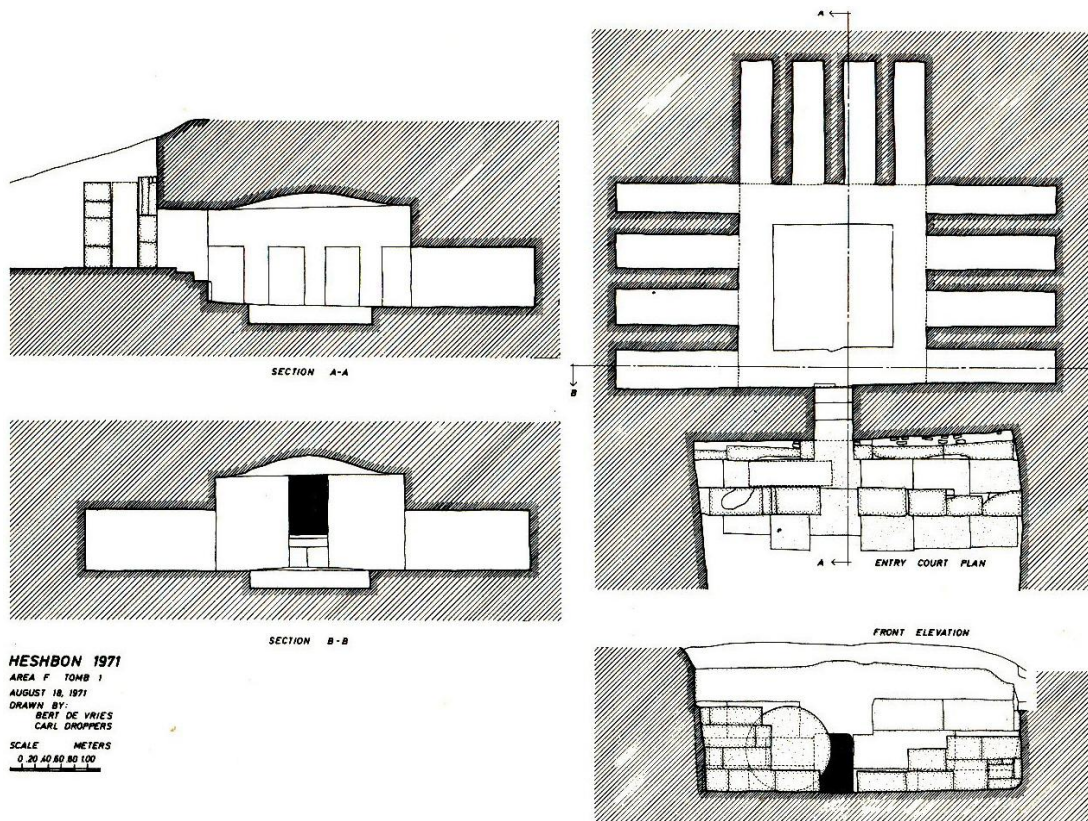


Fig. 3: Tomb F.1, the first rolling-stone tomb excavated east of the Jordan River, Tell Hesban, 1971.

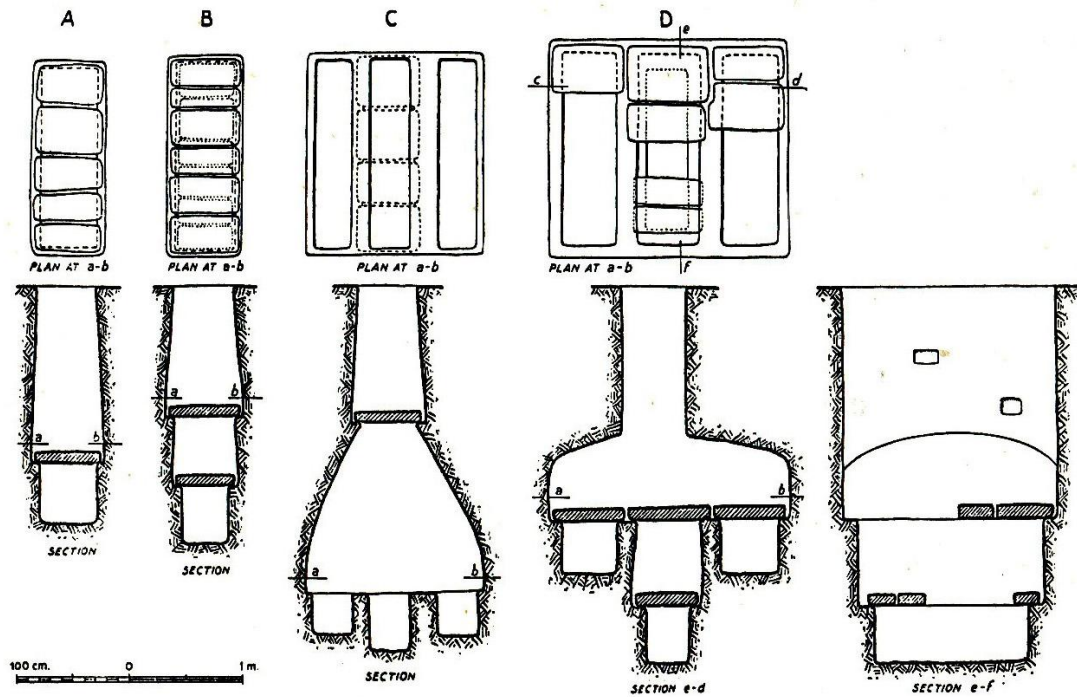


Fig. 4: Four different styles of Late Roman shaft tombs.

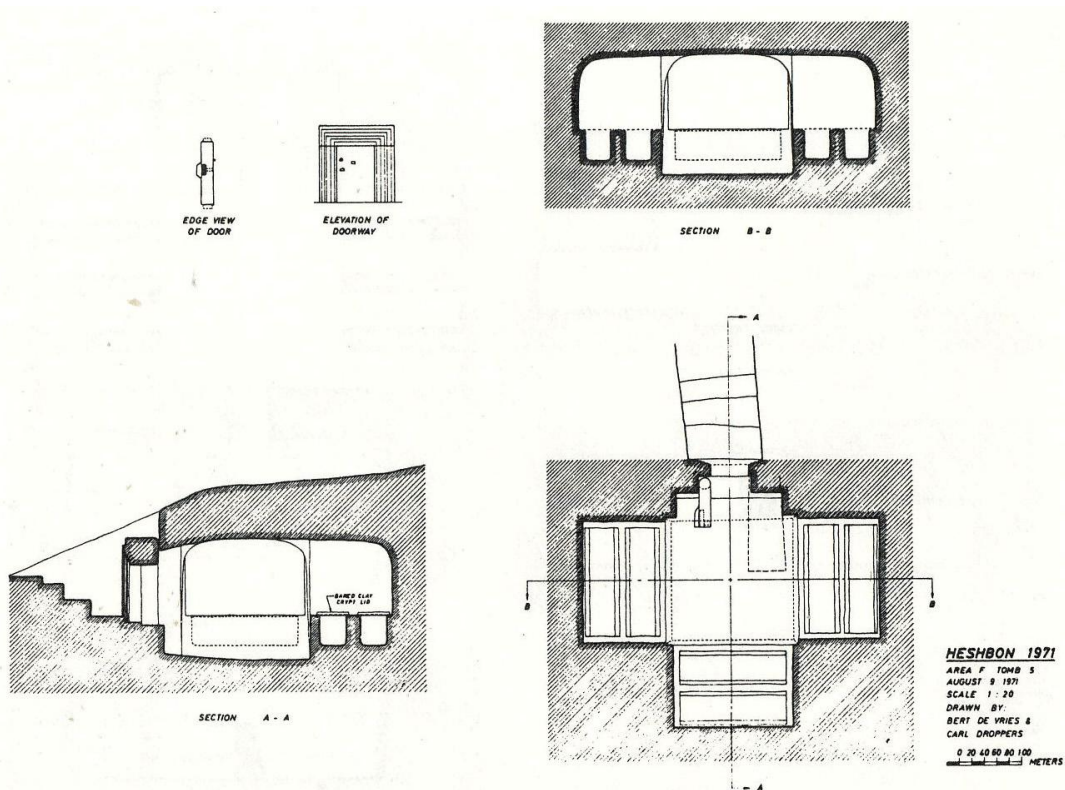


Fig. 5: Tomb F.5, a Byzantine arcosolia tomb from Tell Hesban, with the lockable swinging door.

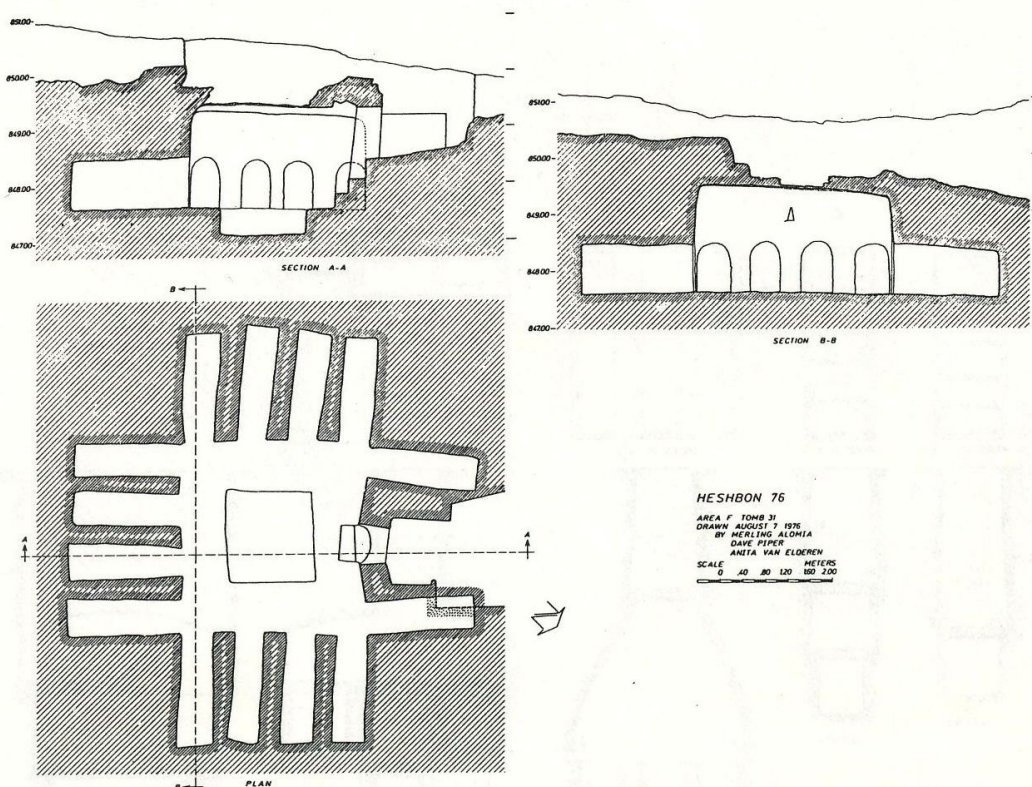


Fig. 7: A kokhim tomb with the unusual kokh on each side of the entrance, as mentioned in the Mishnah, Baba Bathra 6:8. This is Tomb F.31 at Tell Hesban, dated Early Roman.

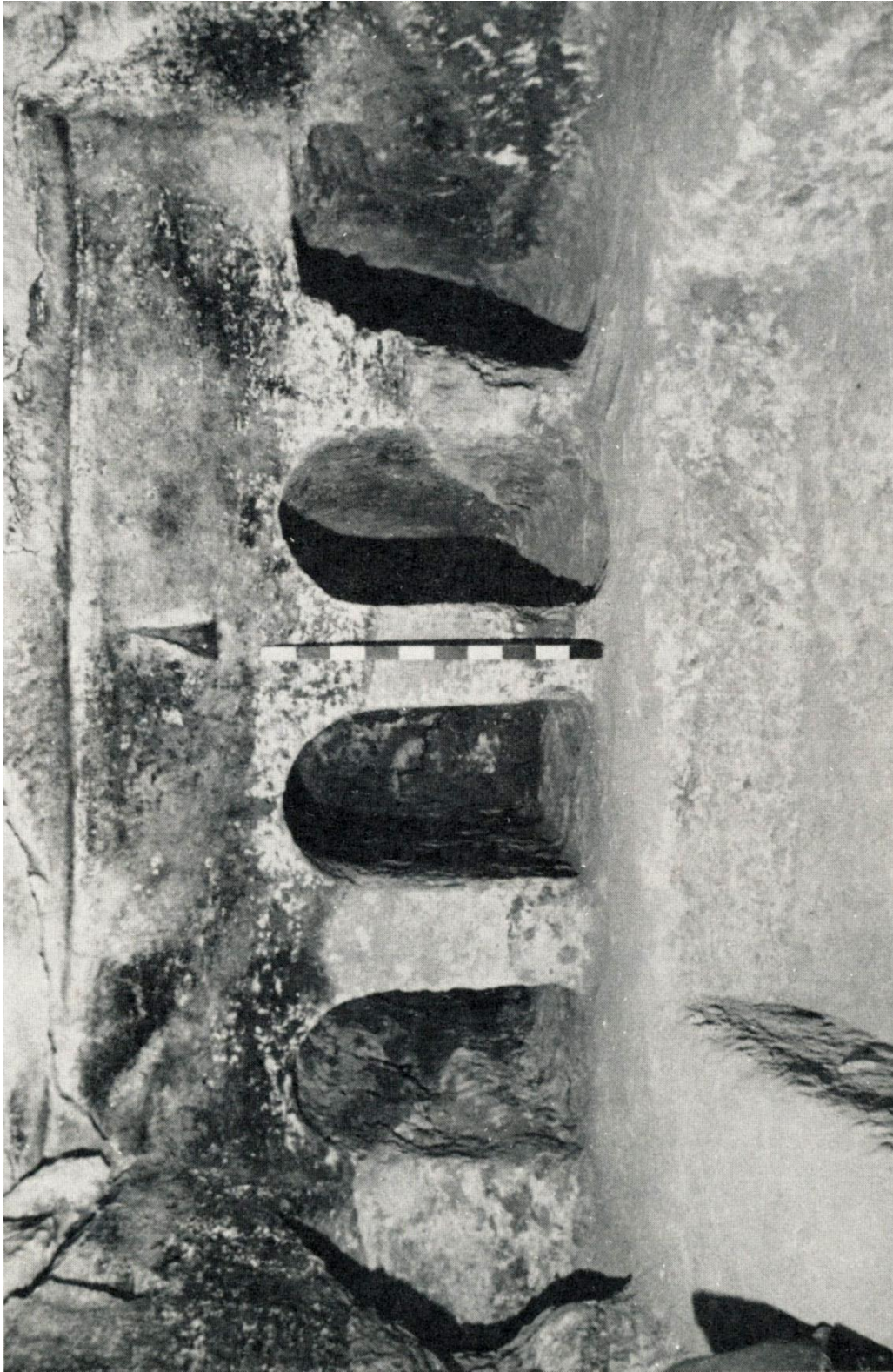


Fig. 6: Interior of Tomb G.10 at Tell Hesban, showing the center pit in the foreground, surrounded by the bench and four kokhim in the wall. A triangular lamp niche can be seen just above the meter scale stick.



Fig. 8: The court and entrance to Tomb F.1 at Tell Hesban. Much of the retaining wall and stone veneer were broken away by tomb robbers.

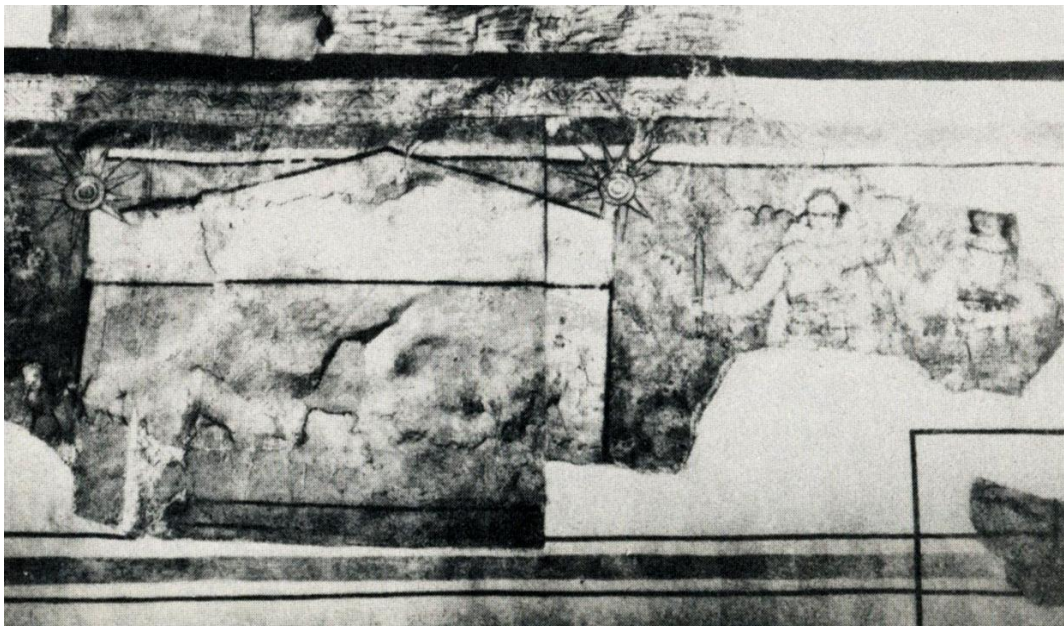


Fig. 9: The fresco showing the tomb of Christ, discovered in the baptistry at Dura-Europos.

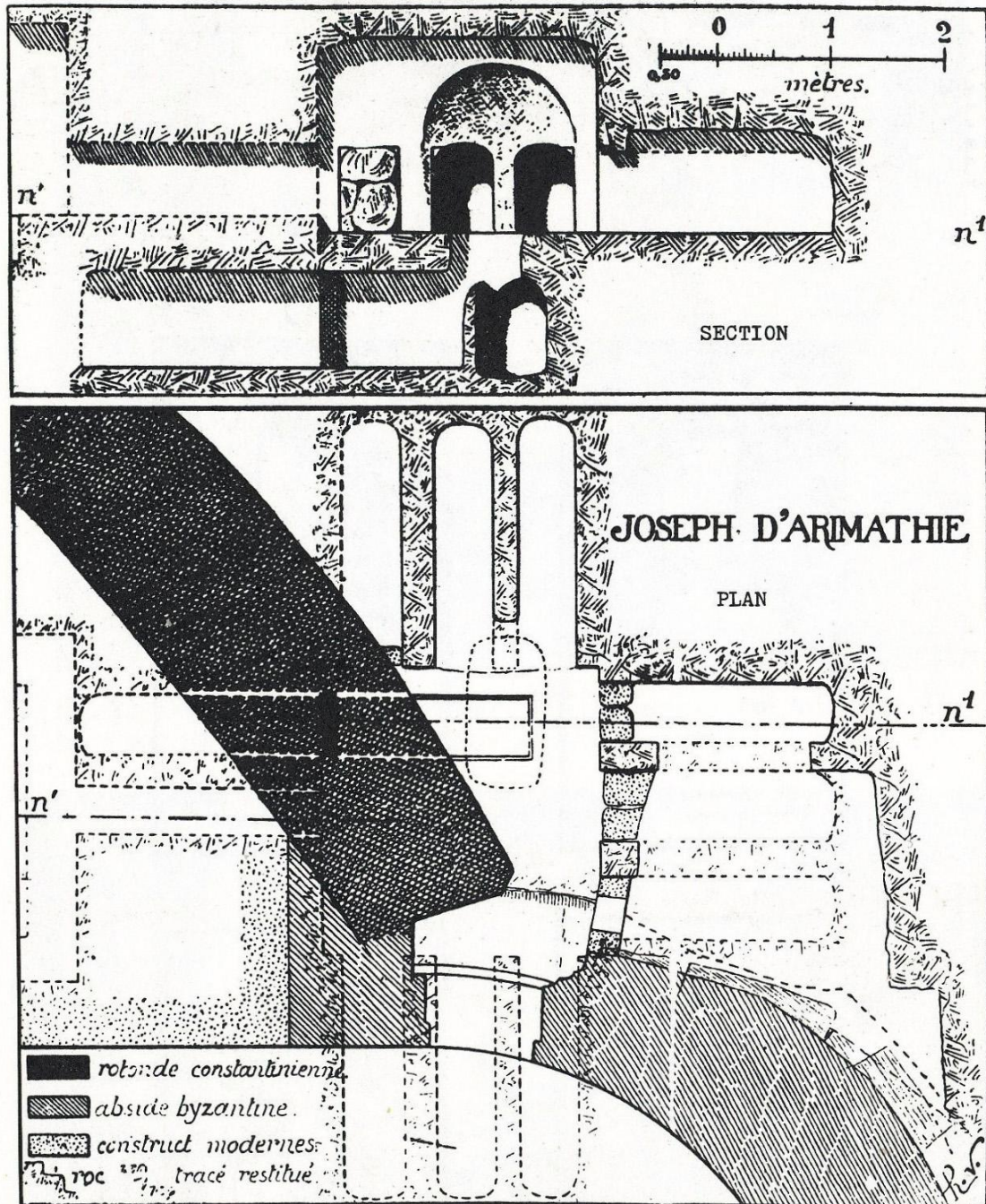


Fig. 10: This Early Roman kokhim style tomb is located behind the edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is known as the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.

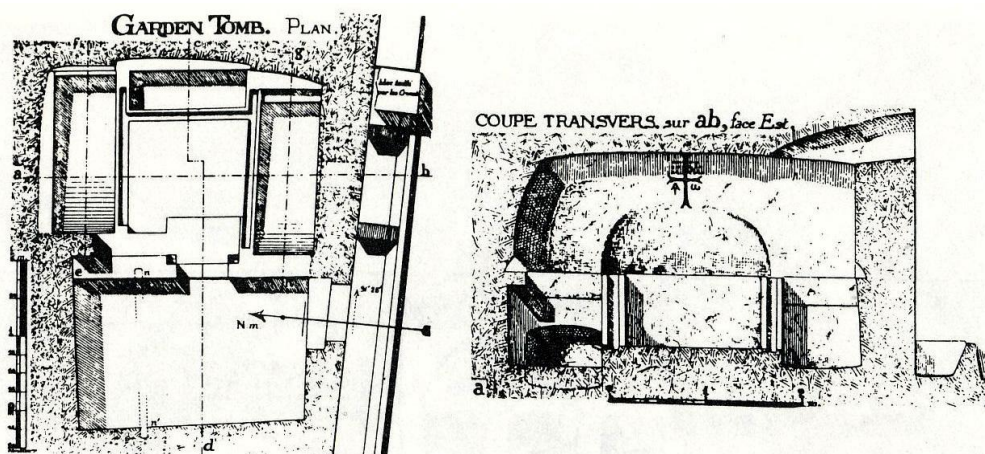


Fig. 11: Plan and section of the Garden (Gordon's) Tomb.

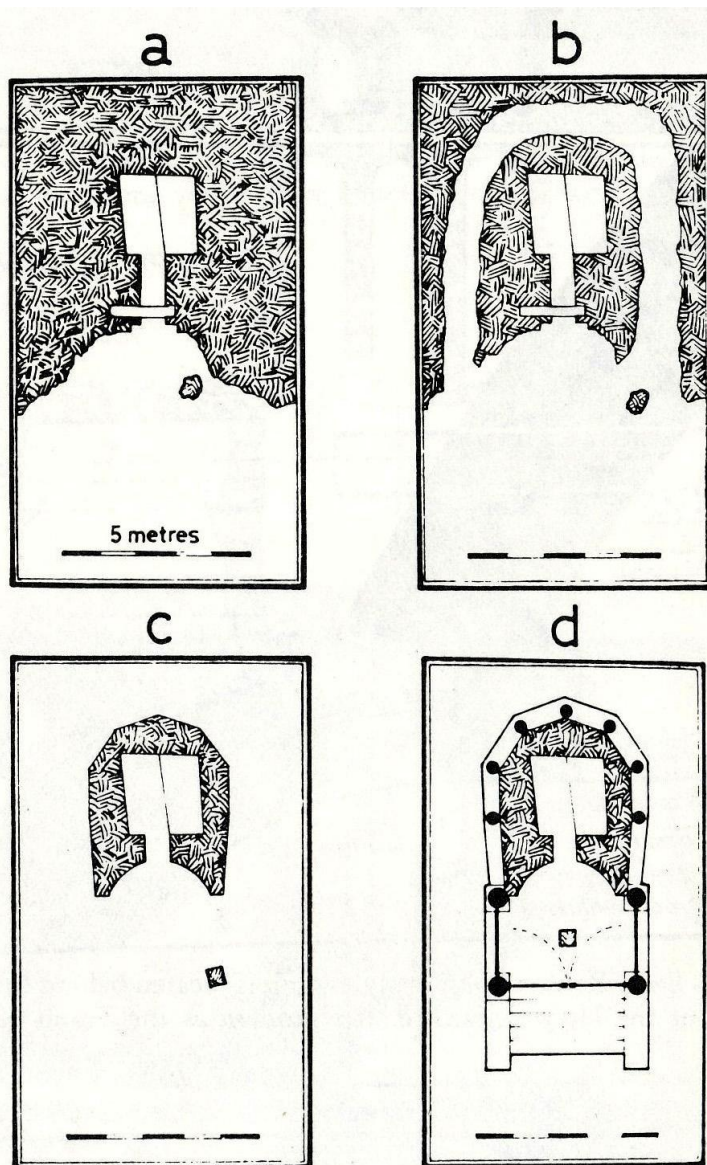


Fig. 12: John Wilkinson's proposed model of the cutting away of the stone to isolate the tomb of Christ by Constantine's architects.

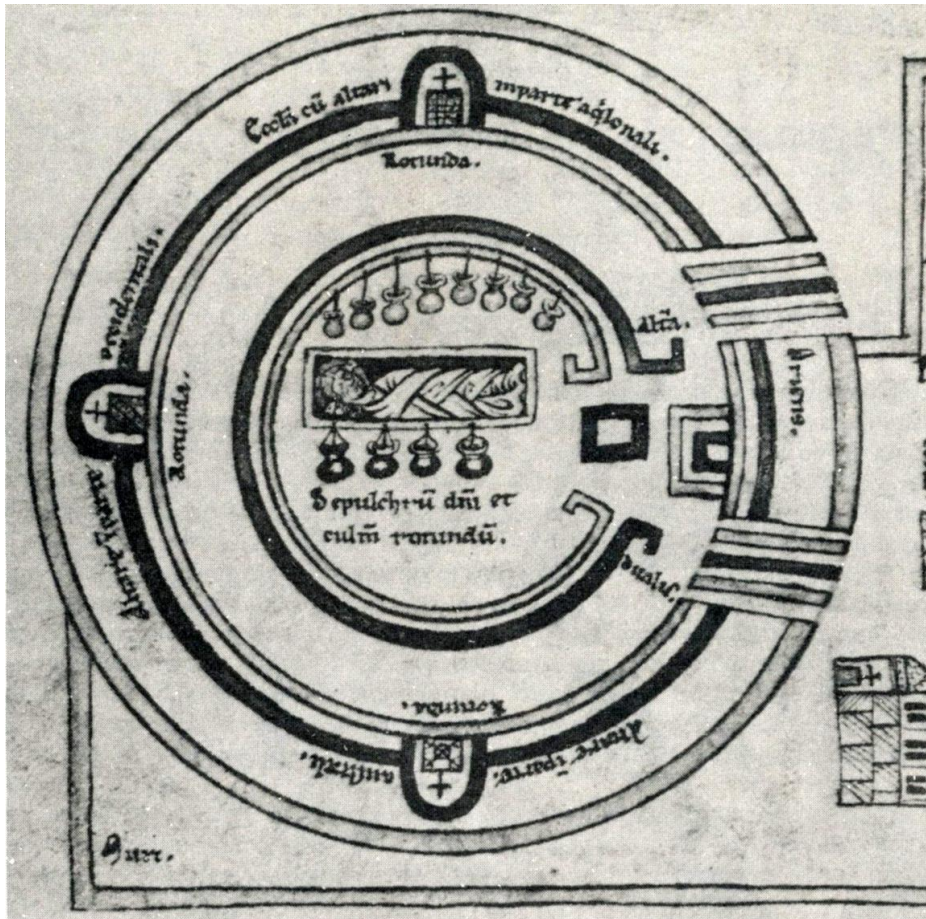
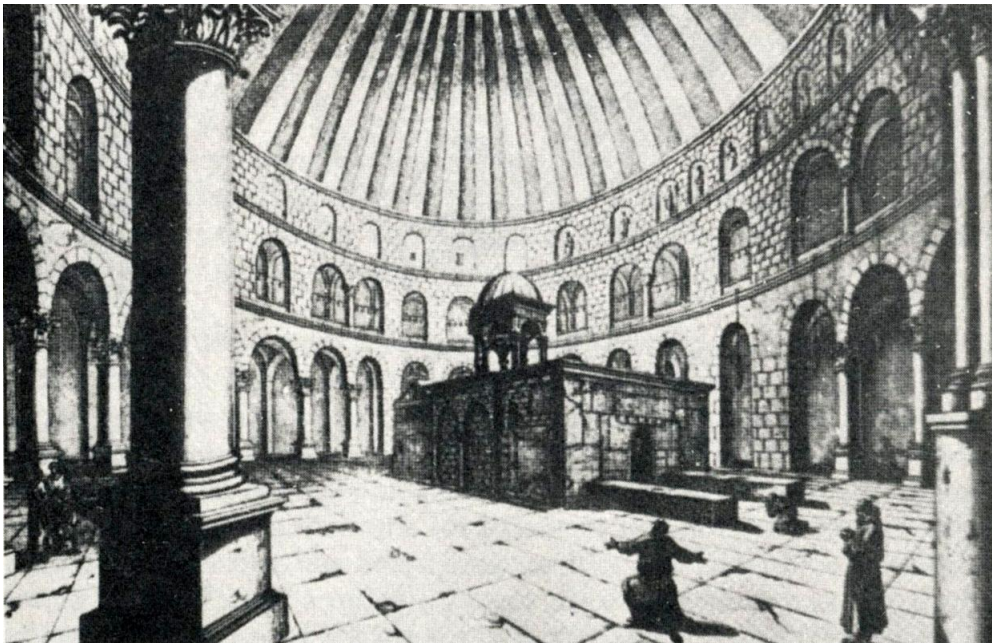


Fig. 13: The Holy Sepulchre; from a XIII century copy of Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, written at the Cistercian Abbey of Reun.



The XIc. rotunda and XVc. edicule, destroyed by the fire of 1808. The drawing is by Le Bruyn, 1725. From *Dossiers de l'archeologie*, 1975.

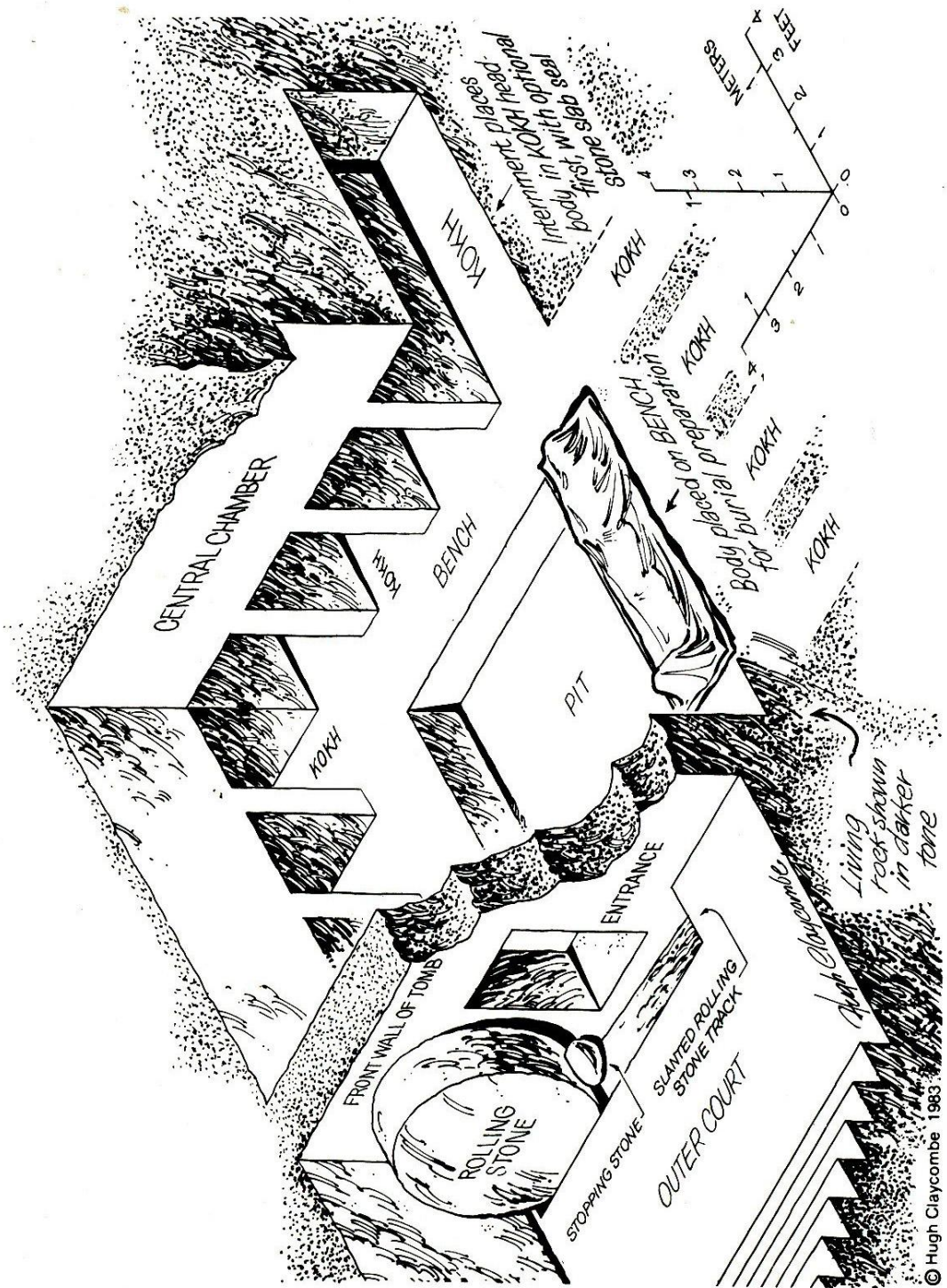


Fig. 14: A reconstruction of the tomb of Christ as proposed by Eugenia Nitowski.
 Drawing by Hugh Claycombe. Reproduced by kind permission of the artist.