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GOLGOTHA

AND THE

HOLY SEPULCHRE

BY THE LATE

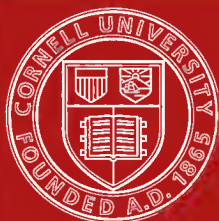
MAJOR GENERAL SIR C. W. WILSON K.C.B.,

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Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre.



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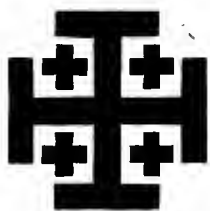
GOLGOTHA

AND

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

BY THE LATE
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR C. W. WILSON,
R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D.

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From a Photograph

by Messrs. Mauld and Fox

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES W. WILSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WHEN the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson was engaged upon the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem in 1864-5, he made a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the buildings surrounding it, which was published on the scale of $\frac{1}{2500}$. His attention was naturally attracted to the question of the validity of the traditional sites of the Holy Sepulchre and of Golgotha, and he collected, in the years that have elapsed since the date of the survey, a mass of information bearing upon this very interesting subject. Much of this information was included in a series of articles entitled "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," which Sir C. Wilson contributed to the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* in the years 1902-4. These articles he decided to republish in book form, so as to render them more easily accessible to those who were interested in the study of the question. He recast and extended the original papers, thus adding much to their value, and had commenced printing the book when attacked by the illness which terminated in his much to be lamented death.

With the permission of Lady Wilson, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund decided to complete the publication of the work. It is possible that, had Sir C. Wilson lived, he might have added to it further, but fortunately the MS. was nearly complete, and notes that he had prepared enabled it to be put in the form in which it is believed he intended to publish it. The Committee feel little doubt that the book will prove of great value to students of the question, and the numerous references will be of assistance to those who wish to consult the original authorities.

C. M. WATSON.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

CHAPTER I.

GOLGOTHA—THE NAME.

CHRIST, according to St. Matthew, was led out for crucifixion to “a place called Golgotha, that is to say, the place of a skull”;¹ Mark has, “the place Golgotha, which is being interpreted, the place of a skull”; and John, “the place called the place of a skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha”; Luke, a Greek, writing in Greek for Gentile readers, has simply “the place which is called the skull.”²

It is clear from the above that Christ was crucified at a known spot, with a distinctive name—“the skull,” or “the place of a skull.” What was the origin of this curious place-name?

Golgotha³ is the Greek transliteration (the second *l* being dropped out) of the Aramaic *Gulgûltha* which corresponds to the Hebrew *Gulgôleth*. The Greek equivalent of the Hebrew word is *κρανίον* (*kranion*), the Latin, *calvaria*, and the English, *skull*. The Bible gives no explanation of the origin of the word, and we have to trust to tradition and to the speculations of those Christian writers who have referred to the subject.⁴ In

¹ All quotations from the Bible are, unless otherwise stated, from the Revised Version.

² *Εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ ὅς ἐστι λεγόμενος κρανίου τόπος* (Matt. xxvii, 33); *ἐπὶ Γολγοθᾶ τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύμενον, κρανίου τόπος* (Mark xv, 22); *εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον κρανίου τόπον ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ* (John xix, 17); *ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον κρανίον* (Luke xxiii, 33).

³ According to Nestle (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, xlviii, p. 40) the correct form is probably *Gagoltha*.

⁴ The place-name “Golgotha” is not found, apparently, in the writings of Clement, Irenaeus, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, or in those of any Greek writer before the time of Origen (A.D. 185–253).

considering the latter it is necessary to bear in mind the relative opportunities possessed by Greek and Latin authorities for acquiring local information. Some of the Greek writers were born in Palestine, whilst others lived in the country for many years in close contact with the people. Several of the Latin writers had no local knowledge, and, excepting Jerome and Rufinus, few of them resided for any length of time in Palestine. Allowance must also be made for those shades of thought and feeling which distinguished the Greek from the Roman, and for the differences between eastern and western tendencies and superstitions.

There are three theories with regard to the origin of the place name :—

1. *That it was derived from a tradition that the skull of Adam was preserved in the place.*—The earliest known Greek writer to connect Adam with Golgotha is Origen (A.D. 185–253), who lived in Palestine for 20 years¹ (A.D. 233–253), was a personal friend of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and a sound Hebrew scholar. Origen states² that there was a Hebrew tradition to the effect that Adam was buried at the Place of a Skull. Athanasius (A.D. 296–373) says that Christ did not suffer “in any other place, but in the Place of a Skull which the Hebrew teachers declare was Adam’s sepulchre.”³ Epiphanius (A.D. 312–403), who was of Hebrew origin, writes that “Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified at Golgotha, in no other place than that in which Adam lay buried.”⁴ Basil of Cæsarea (A.D. 329–379), giving the Adam legend in a fuller form, states that it was “a prevalent belief preserved in the Church by an unwritten tradition,”⁵ that Adam was buried at the Place of a Skull, where Christ was crucified.

¹ Origen had previously visited Palestine in A.D. 215 and *circa* A.D. 226.

² Appendix III., 1.

³ Appendix III., 2.

⁴ Appendix III., 3.

⁵ Appendix III., 4. Theophylact, Bishop of Bulgaria, *circa* A.D. 1070, describes the belief as having come down “from the Holy Fathers” (*Commentary on St. Mark*, xv; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cxxiii, col. 668), and as “an ecclesiastical tradition” (*Commentary on St. John*, xix, *ibid.*, cxxiv, col. 273).

Chrysostom (A.D. 347–407) connects¹ Adam's death and burial with the Place of a Skull, and so do Nonnus Panopolitanus² (*circa* A.D. 385–440), and Basil of Seleucia (Bishop A.D. 448), who calls it a tradition of the Jews.³ The tradition is not mentioned by Eusebius (A.D. 260–339), by Cyril of Jerusalem (*circa* A.D. 315–386), or by the historians of the fifth century—Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates.

The references to the Adam legend in Latin writers are few. It appears in some verses doubtfully ascribed to Tertullian (A.D. 155–230), and appended to his genuine works;⁴ and in a letter⁵ from Cyprian (Bishop A.D. 248) to Pope Cornelius, which is not accepted as genuine by Migne. Ambrose (*circa* A.D. 340–397) writes:—"There (at Golgotha) was the sepulchre of Adam," and ascribes a Hebrew origin to the tradition.⁶ Jerome (A.D. 346–420) gives the legend without comment in the letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, but elsewhere he calls it a "stage miracle," and proposes a different explanation of the word Golgotha.⁷ There is a notice of it in the (spurious) sixth sermon of Augustine⁸ (A.D. 354–430), but none in the history of Rufinus (A.D. 345–410). After the fifth century the Adam legend appears to have been greatly enlarged, if we may judge from the character it assumes in the writings of the Assyrian Bishop, Moses Bar Cepha⁹ (tenth century), and of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Saïd ibn Batrak, or Euty chius¹⁰ (A.D. 876–939). It appears in its most complete form in the Ethiopic "Book of Adam,"¹¹ which bears evident traces of having reached Abyssinia

¹ Appendix III., 5.

² Appendix III., 6.

³ Appendix III., 7. See also Anastasius Sinaita (*d.* A.D. 599), *Hexameron*, lib. vii; preserved in Latin only (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxix, cols. 943–945).

⁴ Appendix III., 8.

⁵ Appendix III., 9, i.

⁶ Appendix III., 10, i, ii.

⁷ Appendix III., 11, i, ii, iii.

⁸ Appendix III., 12.

⁹ Appendix III., 13.

¹⁰ Appendix III., 14.

¹¹ A German translation was published in A.D. 1853 by Dillmann (*Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, in Ewald's *Jahrbücher der*

viâ Egypt. This curious development is purely Oriental and is found in the works of no Western writer.

An essential part of the legend appears to have been that the tomb of Adam was in the centre or navel of the earth; and this position is assigned to Golgotha by writers who do not connect that place with Adam. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem calls it "the very centre of the earth";¹ Didymus Alexandrinus (A.D. 309-394), "the centre of the universe";² Victorinus of Poitiers, "the middle of the whole earth";³ Sophronius (*circa* A.D. 564-637), "the navel of the earth";⁴ and Andreas Cretensis (Archbishop of Crete, A.D. 675), "the middle of the earth."⁵

It may now be asked whether this Christian tradition, or any part of it, is of Hebrew origin? In the period preceding the Christian era, when the plain narrative of the Bible had become too simple for the tastes of the age, the lives of the three great heroes, Adam, Abraham, and Moses, were "elaborately embellished with fictitious legends." The Christians, when they accepted these Jewish legends, elaborated them with great zeal, and it is now often "impossible to distinguish with any certainty between what is Jewish and what is Christian." Five works on the life of Adam have come down to us, and, although they are unquestionably of Christian origin, they are no less certainly based upon Jewish traditions of greater antiquity. A "Book of Adam," which has unfortunately been lost, is referred to in the Talmud.⁶ But Adam is directly connected with Jerusalem by the celebrated Jewish Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, or Maimonides

Biblischen Wissenschaft, vol. v; Göttingen, A.D. 1853), and an English one, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, by Malan, in 1882.

¹ *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 28; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxxiii, col. 805.

² *De Trinitate*, lib. 1; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxxix, cols. 323-326.

³ Appendix III., 9, ii.

⁴ *Anacreontica*, xx, line 29; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxvii, col. 3,320; Oratio v, *De Feste Sancti Crucis*, *ibid.*, col. 3,313.

⁵ *In Exaltatione Sancti Crucis*, II. (Oratio xi); Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xciii, col. 1,044. See also Jerome, in *Ezek.* v, 5; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 52; Hilarius, in *Matt.* xxxiii; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ix, cols. 1,073-1,074.

⁶ The Apostolic Constitutions (vi, 16) mention an apocryphal Book of Adam (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, i, col. 953); and Epiphanius (*Adversus*

(A.D. 1131-1204), who states¹ that the altar of the Temple stood on the spot whence the dust was taken from which Adam was formed, and upon which Adam, after his creation, built an altar and offered his first sacrifice. On the same spot Noah sacrificed on leaving the Ark, and Abraham erected the altar upon which he laid Isaac. An appropriate termination of the legend would have been the burial of Adam's body at Jerusalem in the ground from which it had been formed. But all Hebrew writers of post-Christian times assert that Adam was buried at Hebron, or, in the words of the "Jewish Encyclopædia"² "in the neighbourhood of Paradise, the exact spot being Hebron, near Jerusalem, for the site of the altar in the Temple, whence the dust of Adam was taken, is the gate to Paradise." Jerome, from a wrong reading of Joshua xiv, 15,³ states that Adam was buried at Hebron, but he does not support his opinion by reference to any Hebrew tradition, as he probably would have done if the existence of such a tradition had been known to him.⁴ The belief that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth is of ancient date, and appears to have been derived from Ezekiel.⁵ Thus Josephus says: "The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle, on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country"⁶; and the Rabbis represent

Hæresis, xxvi, 8, Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xli, col. 341) notices a Gnostic work, "The Apocalypse of Adam." For an account of the lost legendary works of Jewish literature, and of the Christian books of Adam, see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. II., vol. iii, pp. 146-148, of English translation, in Clarke's *Foreign Theological Library*. See also Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Books of Adam"; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Art. "Apocrypha," § 10; and *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. "Adam, Book of."

¹ Appendix III., 15.

² Vol. i, p. 180, Art. "Adam."

³ See Appendix III., 11, iii, and note.

⁴ According to Johannes Nicolai, "some assert that Adam was buried in two places, first at Kirjath Arba and then in Mount Calvary (*De Sepulchris Hebræorum*, p. 118).

⁵ "This is Jerusalem: I have set her in the midst of the nations, and countries are round about her" (Ezek. v, 5). "The people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods that dwell in the middle (Heb. *navel*) of the earth" (Ezek. xxxviii, 12).

⁶ Josephus, *Wars*, iii, 3, § 5.

the "stone of foundation," or *aven sheteyah*, in the Temple as the centre or nucleus from which the world was founded.¹

It would thus appear certain that Hebrew tradition connected the first man with Jerusalem, the centre of the earth; and that, more than a hundred years before Constantine built his churches in the Holy City,² there was a tradition current amongst the Christians of Palestine that Adam had been buried at Golgotha, the centre of the earth. To this tradition a Hebrew origin was ascribed by Origen and Athanasius, and, although we cannot trace it back to Jewish sources, it is extremely probable that the legend was of pre-Christian date. It may perhaps be assigned to the period, alluded to above, when Jewish thought was so much engaged with the past. The tradition, as given by Origen, does not seem to be one that the early Jewish or Gentile Christians would be likely to invent, and no Jew would have originated it after the Crucifixion. On the other hand, if the tradition was of pre-Christian date, it is quite conceivable that the Rabbis, writing after the Crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem, may have been led, by motives that need not be specified, to transfer Adam's last resting-place to Hebron, where the Patriarchs were buried. However absurd the Adam tradition³ may appear to us at the present day, there can be no doubt with regard to its general acceptance, in its simplest form, by the Christian writers of the first six centuries.⁴ Cyril of Jerusalem, who says⁵ that Golgotha 'was so named because Christ, the Head of the Church, suffered there, and Jerome,

¹ Dr. Chaplin, in *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1876, p. 23.

² After the building of the churches most of the Hebrew traditions attached to Mount Moriah were transferred to the "New Jerusalem." The Adam legend has a different origin.

³ The tradition is perpetuated by the skull, often accompanied by cross-bones, which is seen beneath the cross, on crucifixes, and in pictures of the Crucifixion.

⁴ The Greek and Latin Churches still hold the tradition that Adam, or at least his head, was buried at Golgotha. This view is held by Quaresmius, Baronius, Massius, Lorinus, Torniiellus, Jeremy Taylor, G. Williams, and others.

⁵ Appendix III., 16.

whose views are discussed in the next section, are the only writers of importance who explain the word without connecting it with the tradition.

2. *That Golgotha was so called because it was the public place of execution, and abounded with the skulls of executed criminals.*—These skulls, according to some authorities, lay about unburied, and, according to others, were hidden from view in an adjoining rock-hewn tomb, into which the heads and bodies of those who were executed were cast.¹

In the works of Greek authors there is no indication of any belief or tradition that Golgotha was a public place of execution. The idea appears to have originated with Jerome, who writes :—"Outside the city and without the gate there are places wherein the heads of condemned criminals are cut off, and which have obtained the name of Calvary—that is, of the beheaded. . . . From this it is evident that Calvary does not mean the sepulchre of the first man, but the place of the beheaded."² Jerome's view was adopted by the Venerable Bede³ (A.D. 730) and other Latin writers. The fuller explanation of the place-name is given by Nicolaus de Lyra—"because that place was full of the heads of the dead who had been decapitated there, since malefactors were punished at the spot";⁴ and by Erasmus—"because they cast there the heads of those who were executed."⁵ In the same sense Jeremy Taylor (A.D. 1613-67) writes, "the charnel house of the city, and the place of

¹ According to the Talmud of Jerusalem, *Sanhedrin* vi, 9, 10 (written about A.D. 150), the Sanhedrin possessed two public burial-places—one for those decapitated or strangled, the other for those stoned or burned. When the flesh had disappeared, the bones were removed to the family tomb. (*Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, vol. x, translated by M. Schwab, Paris, A.D. 1888.)

² Appendix III., 11, iii. Sec, however, the letter to Marcella (Appendix III., 11, i), in which Jerome appears to accept the Adam legend. The quaint idea of Theodosius (*circa* A.D. 530), that Calvary was so called because men had their heads shaved there (*illic decalvabantur homines*), need only be mentioned (*De Terra Sancta; Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii).

³ Appendix III., 17.

⁴ *On Matt.* xxvii, 33. Quoted by Bynæus, *De morte Jesu Christi*, vol. iii, p. 264 (Amsterdam, A.D. 1698).

⁵ *Ibid.*

execution";¹ and Fuller, "because men's bones were scattered thereabouts"² (but see p. 11). Grotius and Vossius,³ on the other hand, consider that the spot was not called Golgotha because skulls were left lying about, since that was contrary to Roman and Jewish custom, but from the fact that it was the public place of execution: this was also the opinion of Luther.⁴

In more recent times the explanation has been adopted, either fully or partially, sometimes as an alternative, by several writers. Thus Plessing remarks,⁵ "By this name (Golgotha) the Evangelists mean the place of execution at Jerusalem"; and Sepp⁶ holds a similar view. Langlois considers⁷ that Golgotha was "the place where criminals were crucified," or "the great Jewish cemetery of Jerusalem"; and Warren suggests⁸ that "it may have been the place of public execution, where bodies were allowed to be devoured by birds and beasts, &c. (Gen. xl, 19; 2 Kings ix, 35; Herod. iii, 12), and thus have acquired this name."

The arguments urged by the advocates of this explanation are:—That there were in the time of Christ, as there are at present, certain fixed spots for the execution of criminals;⁹ that these places were known by special names, *e.g.*, *Sestertium*, or *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, at Rome, and *κόραξ* (*corvus*) in Thessaly;¹⁰ that

¹ *Life of Christ*, xv, § 30 (Heber's edition of the Works of Jeremy Taylor, iii, 260; cf. p. 374, "a bill of death and dead bones, polluted and impure").

² *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, p. 344 (Lond., A.D. 1650).

³ Bynæus, *De Morte Jesu Christi*.

⁴ Meyer (*Commentary on Matt.* xxvii, 33), who also cites as supporters of this view—Fritzsche, Strauss, Tholuek, and Friedlieb.

⁵ *Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab* (Halle, A.D. 1789).

⁶ "Golgotha selbst heisst das Hoehgericht"; *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, i, 428 (A.D. 1873). See also Mislin, *Les Saints-Lieux*, ii, 25 (Paris, A.D. 1851).

⁷ *Un chapitre inédit de la question des Lieux-Saints* (Paris, A.D. 1861).

⁸ As an alternative view, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Golgotha."

⁹ For instance, the Mamertines had such a place on the Pompeian Way outside their city (Messina), and the Romans one for the crucifixion of slaves and malefactors of the lowest class, about 2½ Roman miles from the Esquiline Gate (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 60).

¹⁰ *Sestertium*, from *semis tertius*, that is, two and a half (miles from the city); *κόραξ*, *corvus* (Alexander de Alexandro, *Dies Geniales*, lib. iii,

there must have been such a place at Jerusalem; and that its name was Golgotha.

The objections to the explanation are :—That as the singular, not the plural, is always used in the Bible narrative—"the place of a skull" (κρανίου τόπος), not "the place of skulls" (κρανίων τόπος), or simply, as in Luke, "the skull" (τό κρανίον)—the name could not have referred to a collection of skulls; that decapitation, though it was a Roman form of punishment, and may have prevailed amongst the Jews under Roman rule, was not a common Jewish custom, and that the name, which possibly existed before the Roman occupation of Palestine, could not have been derived from the skulls of decapitated persons; that since, in accordance with Jewish law (Deut. xxi, 23), the Jews buried those who had been put to death on the evening of the day of their execution, and crucified Jewish criminals were allowed burial under the Romans,¹ the unburied dead or their skulls could not have been lying about; that a fixed public place of execution, according to Western ideas, is unknown in the East, and that if such a place existed at Jerusalem, and was known as Golgotha, the name would probably have been attached to places of a similar nature in other parts of Palestine—there is, however, no known instance of such use of the name;² that, if the words in John xix, 41, Matt. xxvii, 60,³ are to be taken literally, the explanation involves the almost inconceivable theory that the garden of Joseph of Arimathea was the public place of execution or immediately adjoined it, and that Joseph deliberately made a new tomb for himself at, or very near, a spot which every Jew must have regarded with abhorrence as cap. 5, p. 92a), raven or crow, a term probably borrowed from the unburied bodies on which the birds fed.

¹ Matt. xxvii, 58; John xix, 38. This was apparently omitted in exceptional circumstances (Josephus, *Wars*, iv, 5, § 2).

² The same objection applies with equal, if not greater, force to the suggestions of Langlois, and Bovet (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 196, 3rd ed., Paris, A.D. 1862), that the name was applied to, or connected with, a cemetery of rock-hewn tombs.

³ "Now in the place (ἐν τῷ τόπῳ) where he was crucified was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb"; and Matthew says that Joseph laid the body "in his own new tomb."

unclean;¹ that, philologically, the view that Golgotha means place of execution is inadmissible.

The explanation of the place-name incidentally raises the question of the existence or non-existence of a public place of execution at Jerusalem. This point is discussed in the next chapter. It will be sufficient here to admit that the Place of Stoning, or Beth ha-Sekelah, may possibly have been a fixed spot in late Jewish, *i.e.*, Maccabæan and post-Maccabæan, times; and that, if Stephen suffered martyrdom at the Place of Stoning, that spot was, according to a tradition at least as old as the fifth century, outside the Damascus Gate. There is, however, no evidence of any kind to show that the Beth ha-Sekelah was called Golgotha,² or that it was the place at which the Romans executed criminals either by crucifixion or by decapitation. A consideration of Roman custom leads to the belief that crucifixion at a Jewish place of execution, if there were one, was a possible but not a probable occurrence. Authorities who accept the view that Golgotha was a public place of execution are not always agreed with regard to its identity with the Jewish "Place of Stoning." For instance, Hildebrand, regarding the two places as identical, locates the scene of Stephen's martyrdom at "the place of a skull."³ Conder believes that Christ was crucified at the Beth ha-Sekelah.⁴ Warren, on the other hand, writes:⁵ "It (Golgotha) was probably distinct from the place of stoning, because at this time the Jewish Sanhedrin, though it could condemn, could not put to death without the intervention of the Roman Governor."

3. *Because Golgotha, in some fashion or other, resembled a human skull.*—This is the explanation which finds most favour at the

¹ It is, on the other hand, quite conceivable that Joseph may have owned the ground in which the supposed tomb of Adam was situated, and have selected a place in it for his own sepulchre.

² There is no apparent connection between "the place of a skull" or "the skull," and the infliction of the death penalty by stoning.

³ *Qui extra urbem ductus ad calvarie locum.*" Joachim Hildebrandus, *De Precibus veterum Christianorum*, p. 17, § 10 (A.D. 1667).

⁴ *Handbook to the Bible*, 4th ed., 1887, pp. 355, 356.

⁵ Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Golgotha."

present day ; but there are differences of opinion with regard to the nature of the resemblance. A large majority of writers consider Golgotha to have been either a rounded knoll, or underfeature, of bare rock, or a hillock with skull-shaped top ; and associate with it the idea of height, prominence, and wide visibility. Thus Jeremy Taylor writes :¹ " Calvary, a place difficult in the ascent, eminent and apt for the publication of shame, a hill of death and dead bones, polluted and impure " ; Fuller, that it was so called " Either from the fashion thereof, because that hill was rounded up in the form of a man's head " ;² and Warren, " From the appearance of the place itself, from its round and skull-like contour, the Hebrew word Golgotha being applied to the skull from its rounded form." ³ Fisher Howe considers⁴ that Golgotha was the crown of an " isolated skull-shaped hill," with " a skull-like front or face," and " eminently conspicuous " ;⁵ Bovet says that it was " A small knoll, or summit, like those seen in large numbers to the north of Jerusalem. . . . It was no doubt a bare rock, such as those knolls usually are." ⁶ Renan writes that Golgotha " corresponds, it seems, to our word *chaumont*, and probably designated a knoll of bare rock (*tertre dénudé*) having the form of a bald head." ⁷ Thenius remarks, that " It may have had its name from its likeness to a skull " ;⁸ and he cites as analogies the tumuli in Thessaly called *Cynocephalæ* (Liv., xxxiii, 7), the hill called *Εὐρύηλος*, *latus clavus*, near Syracuse (Thucyd., vii, 2 ; Liv. xxv, 25), and the Ochsenkopf, a peak of the Fichtelgebirge.

¹ Heber's edition of the works of Jeremy Taylor, iii, p. 374, § 3.

² Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* ; " or, because men's bones were scattered thereabouts " Fuller (*Pisgah—Sight of Palestine*, p. 344).

Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. " Golgotha."

⁴ *The True Site of Calvary* (New York, A.D. 1871).

⁵ *Of the Speaker's Commentary on the Bible, New Testament*, vol. i, p. 190, " on Matt. xxvii, 33 "—" A mound sloping on all sides, sufficiently high to be seen from some distance."

⁶ *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 196.

⁷ *Vie de Jésus*, 16th ed., p. 429.

⁸ *Golgotha*, &c., in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, vol. xii, Part 4, pp. 1-34 (A.D. 1842).

A similar view is taken by Meyer, who compares the German use of the words *kopf*, *scheitel*, and *stirn*.¹ Guthe maintains that the name was derived from a knoll, or, better still, an underfeature with a projecting cliff of rounded form, which reminded those who looked at it of a skull. His view is that the natural feature was the origin of the place-name; and that Jewish fancy declared the grotesque skull to be that of Adam, and placed the tomb of the first man beneath it.² General Gordon considered the resemblance to a skull to consist in the form of the ground, as represented by a contour on the Ordnance Survey Plan of Jerusalem.³

The explanation is considered unsatisfactory by Alford,⁴ Mommert,⁵ and others.

There is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a knoll, a hillock, or a hill. The narrative does indeed imply that the crucifixion was visible to many spectators; but this would have been the case if the crosses had been erected in one of the valleys that enclose or intersect the Jerusalem plateau, and the lookers-on had stood on its slopes. The features of the ground near the city are, in fact, such that elevation is not necessary for visibility.⁶

No early Greek or Latin writer suggests resemblance to a skull as an explanation of the place-name; and, with the exception of Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory Nazianzen, no Greek writer connects Golgotha with the idea of height or altitude.

¹ *Commentary on Matt.* xxvii, 3. According to Meyer, the writers Calovius, Reland, Bengel, Paulus, Lücke, de Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Volkmar, Keim, and Weiss trace the name to the shape of the hill. See also Brandt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte*, p. 168; and Arts. "Golgotha" in Schenkel, *Bibel Lexikon*, and Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*.

² Hauck, *Realencyklopædie für protestantische Theologie*, Art. "Grab das heilige," 3rd ed. (A.D. 1899).

³ On the $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale plan of 1864-5; see *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 78; 1901, pp. 402, 403, and Appendix VII.

⁴ *The Greek Testament*, vol. i, p. 292, on Matt. xxvii, 33.

⁵ *Golgotha und das heilige Grab in Jerusalem* (Leipzig, A.D. 1900).

⁶ See the extract from Ambrose (Appendix III., 10, ii), "The place of the cross was either in the midst, that it might be seen of all," &c.

Cyril, lecturing in the immediate vicinity of the isolated rock of Golgotha, which rose above the general level of the platform upon which the churches of Constantine stood, alludes to it as "this holy place which is raised above all others," and "this holy Golgotha rising on high, and showing itself to this day."¹ Gregory (A.D. 325-391) calls the rock "tower-like."² Both ideas, however, appear to have been current in the fourth century, for they are referred to and declared to be erroneous by Epiphanius. "There is nothing to be seen in the place resembling this name; for it is not situated upon a height that it should be called [the place] of a skull, answering to the place of the head in the human body; neither has it the shape of a lofty watch-tower, for it does not even rise above the places round about it."³

The skull-like appearance and elevation of Golgotha appear to have been fancies introduced from the West. No Greek writers use the expression "mount." Without exception they call⁴ the spot "Golgotha," "the place Golgotha," "the holy place Golgotha," "the skull," "the place of a skull," or "of the skull," &c. The first, so far as is known, to use any expression connecting Golgotha with altitude is the Bordeaux Pilgrim (circa A.D. 333) who visited Jerusalem whilst the churches of Constantine were being built, and calls the spot "little Mount Golgotha"⁵ (*Monticulus Golgotha*). At first the expression does not seem to have found favour with Latin writers, for Jerome uses the terms "the skull" (*Calvaria*), "the place of a skull" (*locus Calvariae*), and "the rock of the cross"⁶ (*crucis rupes*);

¹ *Catechetical Lectures*, x, 19; xiii, 39. The lectures were delivered in the Basilica of Constantine, called by St. Silvia the "Great Church in Golgotha," to distinguish it from the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection.

² Appendix III., 18.

³ Appendix III., 3.

⁴ Γολγοθά; ὁ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ τόπος; ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθᾶ; κρανίον; κρανίου τόπος; ὁ τόπος τοῦ κρανίου; τοῦ κρανίου χώρος; &c.

⁵ *The Bordeaux Pilgrim*, p. 23, "The little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified." *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.

⁶ *Epistola ad Paulinum* (circa A.D. 395), Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxii, col. 581. The expression "in Montem Calvariam" occurs in a collection of writings wrongly (?) attributed to Jerome (*On Mark*); Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxx, col. 565.

Rufinus (A.D. 345-410) mentions "the rock of Golgotha" (*Golgothana rupes*);¹ see also Eucherius² (*circa* A.D. 440). The "mount" is unknown to Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine; but in the sixth century Golgotha is referred to as a "mount" (*Mons*) in the Breviarius³ (*circa* A.D. 530), and by Theodosius.⁴ Bede and Willibald, in the eighth century, revert to the earlier form "Golgotha," and the "place of a skull," but in the ninth century "Mount Calvary" reappears in the pilgrimage of Bernard (A.D. 870).⁵ In later times the expression is very frequently used by Latin authors, from whose writings it has passed into the languages of the West. It would almost appear that the Western type of mind required a material elevation of Golgotha to complete the spiritual idea of looking up to the Redeemer upon the Cross, and to ensure wide visibility. At any rate, the idea of height in connection with the Crucifixion has been so persistent in the Western mind that in Latin translations from the Greek, *κρανίου τόπος*, "the place of a skull" is often rendered *Mons Calvariae*, Mount Calvary;⁶ and in the Calvaries of Roman Catholic countries the cross stands on an eminence reached by a *Via Dolorosa* marked by the stations of the Cross.⁷ So, too, in our own country, the words of a popular hymn—

"There is a green hill far away, outside a city wall"—

teach every child to believe that Christ suffered on the top of a hill. The origin of the term "Mount" Calvary may perhaps be sought in the isolation of the rock of the Cross, which, as we

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix, 6. Juvenius uses the expression "the field named Golgotha" (*Evangelicæ Historiæ*, lib. iv, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xix, col. 334).

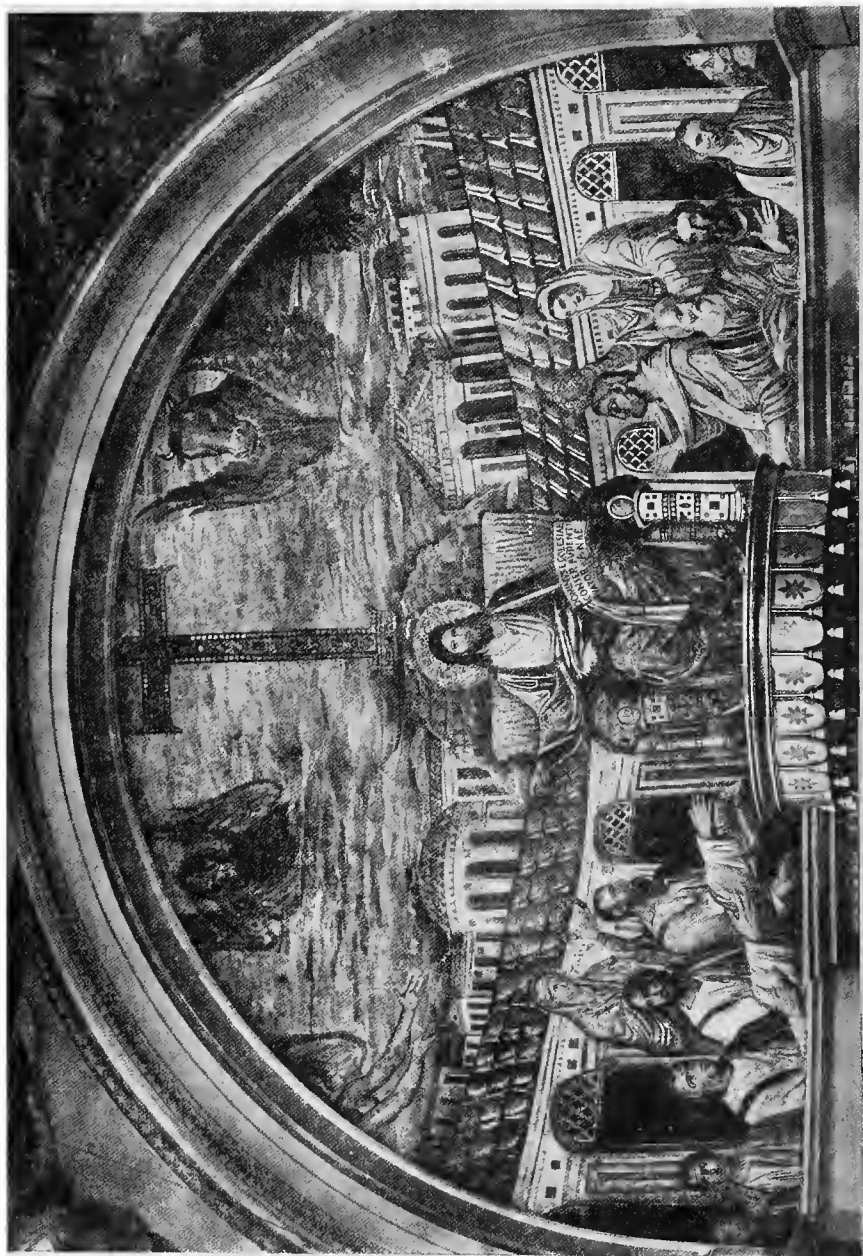
² *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii. ³ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii.

⁴ *De Terra Sancta*, ii. The accepted reading is *locus Calvariae*, as in *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii, but some old MSS. read *Mons Calvaria* (Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pp. 63, 355).

⁵ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iii.

⁶ Also *locum sacri Montis Golgotha*, for ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθᾶ. Even in the last English edition of "Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*" *κρανίου* is translated Mount Calvary (Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. ii).

⁷ These "Ways of the Cross" were introduced by the Franciscans in the Middle Ages, for those who were unable to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.



MOSAIC IN THE APSE OF THE BASILICA OF S. PUDENZIANA, ROME.

shall see later on, formed part of the design of Constantine's architect. In the very interesting mosaic in the tribune of the Basilica of S. Pudenziana at Rome, which is supposed to date from the fourth century,¹ and to represent Constantine's churches at Jerusalem, and on the Mount of Olives, the cross is represented as standing on a little hill that corresponds exactly to the *Monticulus Golgotha* of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. If this form were originally given to the rock,² the idea that its rounded top was skull-like would appeal strongly to the materialistic tendency of the Western mind.

On several tombstones of the sixth century, found by M. Clermont-Ganneau in Palestine, the cross stands upon a three-lobed or trefoil base, which, in ancient art, *e.g.*, Assyrian, is the symbol for a hill or mountain. M. Clermont-Ganneau, from whose "Archæological Researches" the illustration (Fig. 1) is taken,³ regards the symbol as evidence that popular belief in very early times began to regard Golgotha as an eminence—"Mount Calvary." The base seems, however, to be a conventional representation of "the rock of the cross," which possibly first came

¹ The church is supposed to occupy the site of the house of Pudens, in which St. Paul lodged. The two daughters of Pudens were converted by St. Paul, and from one of them the church derives its name. The mosaic represents Christ enthroned, and blessing with the right hand. Beside Him are SS. Peter and Paul, in the act of being crowned by the two daughters of Pudens, and other figures. In the background are the cross on its rock, emblems of the Evangelists, and buildings which will be more fully noticed later. The church is said to have been restored by Pope Siricius (A.D. 384-398), and the mosaics, though often repaired, to date from the fourth century, or to have been copied from others of that date (Murray, *Handbook to Rome*).

² Many authorities believe that the Mount Calvary of the present day is an artificial construction, and this was, perhaps, the view of Quaresmius, if we may judge from his interpretation of Gregory Nazianzen's (A.D. 325-391) *Christus Patiens* (Appendix III., 18). My own examination of the spot has led me to believe that the "Mount" is natural rock, somewhat altered from its original form by the vicissitudes which it has undergone and the various reconstructions of the church. The mosaic appears, at first sight, to confirm the idea of artificial construction; but the horizontal lines are probably intended to represent the thin beds of limestone.

³ *Palestine Fund Memoirs, Archæological Researches in Palestine*, i, 337; ii, 407, 409, 410, 416, and the accompanying woodcuts.

into use in the fifth century, when the attitude of the Church in Jerusalem towards "holy places," and symbolism in art was, to say the least, sympathetic. The symbol is so suggestive of a hill, and the upper lobe is so skull-like in form, that the whole could not fail to strengthen the Western theory that Golgotha was a hill with a skull-shaped summit.

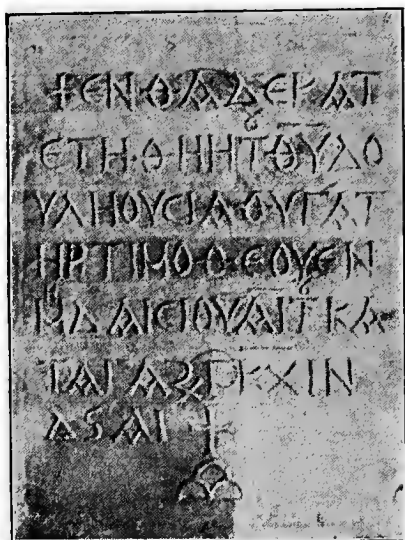


FIG. 1. TOMBSTONE FROM GAZA.

It has been urged, in support of the view that Golgotha derived its name from its skull-like appearance, that place-names of a similar nature occur in the Bible and Josephus, *e.g.*, the shoulder (*shēchem*, Gen. xlviii, 22, *cf.* Josh. xv, 8, xviii, 16), the navel, apparently for a pass, in Judges ix, 37, and Gamala, from the hump of a camel, in Josephus. Place-names taken from fancied resemblance to parts of the human body are known in all languages, but there is no evidence that any physical feature was called "the skull"¹ or "the place of a skull," from its like-

¹ El-Jumeijmeh, "the little skulls," a small village on a hill-top in Northern Palestine, has been cited (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Art. "Golgotha") as an instance of a place-name analogous to Golgotha. The origin of the name

ness to a human skull, in Hebrew, or in any of the cognate languages. It may be added that the thin beds of hard siliceous chalk, or limestone, which form the upper surface of the Jerusalem plateau, do not weather into bare rocky knolls of skull-like form and appearance, such as are sometimes to be seen in places where the softer rock comes to the surface. On the small plateau the knolls only assume a rounded form when covered with soil or rubbish. There is no feature which can be compared with the Schneekoppe in the Riesengebirge, the Schneekopf in the Thüringer Wald, or the Tête de Nore, near Marseilles, cited by Brandt¹ as skull-shaped hills resembling Golgotha. If any resemblance to a skull existed at Golgotha it must have been to a profile as suggested by Guthe (see p. 12).

The natural conclusion from the above discussion seems to be, that Golgotha derived its name from a local legend which connected it with a skull, possibly that of Adam,² as all the early Christian Fathers who mention the subject assert. And that the theories which identify "the place of a skull" with a public place of execution, or with a spot, whether on an eminence or not, which resembled a skull, are of later growth and probably of Western origin. One interesting but very obscure question, the possible connection between Golgotha and the name, *Ælia Capitolina*, of Hadrian's new city, is discussed in Chapter IX.

is not known, but there is no resemblance between the hill and little skulls. Probably, as in the case of Ramath-lehi (Judges xv, 17), "the hill of the jaw-bone," the place-name is derived from some incident or legend connected with the spot. Hilprecht mentions a village, and part of a mound, at the south end of the ruins of Babylon, called *Jumjuma*, meaning "Skull, Calvary," but no explanation of the place-name is given (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 30, 165, n. 2).

¹ *Die Evangelische Geschichte*.

² In *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 403, Dr. Schick suggests that the skull was that of Goliath, brought to Jerusalem by David (1 Sam. xvii, 54), buried there by him, and found again when Nehemiah rebuilt the walls.

CHAPTER II.

WAS THERE A PUBLIC PLACE OF EXECUTION AT JERUSALEM
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST?

THE view that there was a public place of execution at Jerusalem is supported by no direct evidence. But many writers have accepted it as being, in their opinion, in accordance with Jewish and Roman custom, and some remarks seem necessary upon what is at present known of the circumstances connected with capital punishment amongst the Jews and Romans.

1. *Jewish Capital Punishment*.—According to the Talmud,¹ four methods of capital punishment were sanctioned by Jewish law—stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangling (*Sanhedrin* vii, 1). Of these it is only necessary to take the first and third into consideration.

The penalty of *decapitation*, or death by the sword, is not sanctioned directly by the Divine command. Its indirect sanction is deduced from a comparison of the words in Ex. xxi, 20, “he shall surely be punished,” with those in Lev. xxvi. 25, “and I will bring a sword upon you that shall execute the vengeance of the covenant” (*Sanhedrin* vii, 1). The instances of execution by sword or spear recorded in the Bible are due either to Divine direction (Ex. xxxii, 27); to individual action, prompted by Divine impulse (Num. xxv, 7, 8; 1 Sam. xv, 33; 1 Kings xix, 1); or to an order from the King or persons in authority.² None of the sentences appear to have been carried out at a public place of execution.

¹ *Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, vol. x, *Sanhedrin*, translated by M. Schwab.

² Judg ix, 5; 1 Sam. xxii, 18, 19; 2 Sam. i, 15, iv, 2; 1 Kings ii, 25, 34; 2 Kings x, 7, xxi, 4; 2 Kings xi, 16–20; 2 Ch. xxiii, 15; Jer. xxvi, 23; Matt. xiv, 10.

Stoning was the primitive and popular form of execution inflicted on criminals guilty of heinous crimes. Originally everyone took part in the execution as a patriotic act, which removed a criminal of the worst description from the community. Moses, by Divine command, introduced reforms which restrained the passions of the multitude by insisting that those who had testified against the condemned person should commence the stoning.¹ The Talmudists completely altered the method of execution; they made it judicial, and threw the condemned person down from a height. He was only stoned if he did not succumb to the fall (*Sanhedrin* vi, 5). The criminal was executed outside the camp or city,² possibly near one of the gates (Deut. xvii, 5, xxii, 24); but, apparently, sometimes within the camp or city limits (Deut. xxii, 21; cf. John x, 31, where the Jews are said to have taken up stones to stone Jesus in Solomon's Porch). After the stoning, the body was hung on a sort of gibbet until sunset, and then buried outside the city, heaps of stones being raised over it (Deut. xxi, 23; Josh. vii, 26; x, 26, 27).

The method of execution in later times is described in the Talmud. The sentence was carried out at some distance from the place where the Court sat (*Sanhedrin* vi, 1). According to Maimonides,³ if the trial took place outside the city, the place of execution was three Sabbath days' journey from it. The place of stoning, or Beth ha-Sekelah, was twice the height of a man. One of the witnesses threw the condemned person down from this elevation in such a manner that he fell upon his back. If the fall did not kill him, another witness cast the first stone; and, if this did not suffice, the bystanders, or all Israel, stoned him till he died.⁴ In carrying out the sentence a natural feature, such as a low cliff, or rock-scarp, was not necessary, and is not mentioned in any of the treatises of the Talmud. But "a cliff of pre-

¹ Ex. xvii, 4, xix, 13; Lev. xxiv, 14-16; Deut. xiii, 9, xvii, 2-7, xxi, 21, xxii, 21, 22; Josh. vii, 25; Luke xx, 6; Acts vii, 58, xiv, 5; cf. John viii, 7.

² Lev. xxiv, 14; Josh. vii, 24-26; 1 Kings xxi, 13; Acts vii, 58.

³ *Sanhedrin* xii, 3, p. 96. Quoted by Hanauer in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 318, 319.

⁴ *Sanhedrin* vi, 5.

cipitation" may be referred to in Luke iv, 29,¹ if the intention of the Jews was to stone Jesus. When the accused had been found guilty and sentenced by the Sanhedrin, a stage or scaffold of wood,² which could be set up at any convenient spot, and thrown away after use, like the gibbet upon which the body was exposed after death, was perhaps used, the spot becoming for the time the Beth ha-Sekelah. The bodies of those stoned for blasphemy or idolatry were exposed after death on a removable gibbet, but were taken down when night commenced and buried without honour in a common burial-place which belonged to the Sanhedrin.³

There is nothing in the Bible or Josephus to suggest that condemned persons were stoned at a spot set apart for the purpose. Places of public execution, according to Western ideas, are not, and never have been, customary in the East.⁴ The usual practice has been, and is, to execute important criminals at places where the greatest impression would be made on the people; and in the case of obscure criminals to allow the soldiers, or others in charge, to carry out the sentences where they pleased. It is, however, a possible inference from the fact that the Sanhedrin owned a burial-place for executed criminals (*Sanhedrin* vi, 9), that the Beth ha-Sekelah, whether a cliff or a scaffold, was not far from the sepulchre. Assuming that this was the case, there is nothing in the Talmud to show the direction of the place of stoning, with regard to the city. There is, it is true, a tradition, at least as old as the fifth century A.D., which places

¹ "And led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might throw him down headlong."

² This was, apparently, the view taken by Munk, who writes, "Selon la loi traditionnelle (*Mischnah*, 4^{me} partie, *Synhedrin*, ch. 4, § 4), on lançait le patient du haut d'un échafaud élevé de deux hauteurs d'homme, et puis on l'accueillait de pierres" (*Palestine*, p. 214b, n. 1). So also S. Mendelsohn, in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. "Capital Punishment"—"The convict having been placed on a platform twice his height."

³ *Sanhedrin* vi, 6, 7, 9; Josephus, *Ant.* iv, 8, § 6; cf. iv, 8, § 24, where the body of a rebellious child is to be exposed, not hung up.

⁴ Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, Art. "Golgotha." Fallmerayer appears to go too far when he says that in Jerusalem and the whole East there never was, and is not now, a public place of execution according to Western ideas (*Gesammelte Werke*, i, p. 160).

the scene of Stephen's martyrdom on the north side¹ of the city, outside the Damascus Gate. There is also a local tradition current amongst the Jerusalem Jews of Spanish origin,² which identifies the Beth ha-Sekelah with *el-Edhemtyeh*,³ or Jeremiah's Grotto, and the knoll beneath which it lies. But another local tradition⁴ places the spot to the west of the city, near the Convent of the Cross. How far the local traditions are trustworthy it is impossible to say, but probably not much reliance can be placed upon either of them.

Roman Capital Punishment.—The question whether the Romans had a public place of execution at Jerusalem, and, if so, whether it was identical with the Beth ha-Sekelah, is equally obscure. With regard to *decapitation*, Jerome writes: "Outside the city, and without the gate, there are places wherein the heads of condemned criminals are cut off, and which have obtained the name of Calvary—that is, of the beheaded"⁵; as if there

¹ In the original Greek of the Latin version of the story of the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen, it is said that the martyr's body lay for a night and a day "on the *exopyla* of the town on the side by which we go to the Kedar." M. Clermont-Ganneau considers the *exopyla* to be the heaps of refuse outside the city, and "the Kedar" to be some unknown place near Jerusalem (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1900, p. 66). A different view is taken by P. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, 1900, p. 142. It may be remarked that the Damascus Gate represents the position of the wall of Hadrian, and that the tradition may have referred originally to the gate in the second wall of Josephus, which lay some distance to the south.

² The ancestors of these Jews only settled at Jerusalem in the 15th century, and there is no allusion to their tradition of earlier date than the last half of the 19th century. Jews, however, lived at Jerusalem centuries before the expulsion from Spain, and some of them a few years ago possessed hereditary freehold property in the north-east quarter of the city which they alleged had come down to them from their remote ancestors (Chaplin, *Quarterly Statement*, 1889, pp. 10, 11).

³ Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106-7) describes (ix) this place as "a flat rocky mountain which split up at the time of Christ's crucifixion; the place is called Gehenna." Whether the name was originally *el-Edhemtyeh*, as given by Mejr ed-din, or *el-Heidemtyeh*, "the rent," is uncertain. The valley to the east, i.e., the head of St. Anne's ravine (see page 25), is connected by Moslems with death and the last judgment (*Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel, Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iv).

⁴ Hammer (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pages 318, 319).

⁵ Appendix III., 11, iii.

were, in his day, several places of execution, each of which was called Calvary. This is no evidence against the view that, in the first century A.D., there was a fixed place of execution, but it is suggestive of Roman custom.

Crucifixion, in one form or another, was widely spread in the ancient world. From the Phœnicians it seems to have passed to the Greeks and Romans, and the latter introduced it into the Provinces for the punishment, at first, of slaves, highwaymen, rebels, &c. The Jews hung up or exposed the bodies of criminals after death; but crucifixion as a form of capital punishment was unknown to the Jewish penal law.¹ The Romans² crucified criminals outside the city or camp. They usually selected for such executions the side of a frequented road or pathway; but they often carried them out in a conspicuous place like the Campus Martius, at a spot set apart for the purpose like the Sestertinum (see p. 8), at the place where the crime was committed, or occasionally on a hill.³ But the soldiers were frequently allowed to carry out the sentence of crucifixion where they pleased. At Jerusalem, Florus had Jews of equestrian rank crucified in his presence whilst seated on the *bema* in front of Herod's palace⁴; and Varus seems to have crucified Jews at any

¹ The crucifixion of 800 Jews, within the walls of Jerusalem, by Alexander Jannæus (Josephus, *Wars*, i, 4, § 6), seems to have been an exceptional act of barbarity. It has been suggested (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Crucifixion") that in Num. xxv, 4; Deut. xxi, 22; Josh. viii, 29; and other passages in the Old Testament, "hanging" implies crucifixion; but this is doubtful. It probably indicates the hanging, or exposure of the body upon a gibbet after death, as a mark of ignominy. Such exposure was apparently not uncommon amongst the Egyptians (Gen. xl, 19), the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi, 12), and the Jews (2 Sam. iv, 12; xxi, 6, 9). Minute details with regard to the Jewish mode of exposure after death in later times are given in the Talmud.

² The authorities for the Roman custom with regard to crucifixion are given in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*; in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Arts. "Cross," "Crucifixion," and "Punishments."

³ The practice seems to have been similar to that which prevailed in this country, when felons were gibbeted by the roadside, or on a conspicuous spot, as spectacles in *terrorem* (cf. "There the black gibbet glooms beside the way," Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*).

⁴ Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 14, § 9.

convenient spot as he marched through the country.¹ In ordinary cases the body was left upon the cross until it had perished through the action of rain or sun, or had been devoured by birds and beasts. Sepulture was usually forbidden, but, in consequence of the Jewish law,² an exception was made in favour of the Jews.³

The conclusion seems to be that, with our present knowledge, it is impossible to say whether there was, or was not, a public place of execution at Jerusalem either before or after the Roman occupation. There is no evidence that the Romans, during their occupation of the city, executed criminals at a public place of execution. It would have been contrary to their usual practice to do so. There is no evidence of any value that the Jewish place of stoning was a fixed spot: there is only a bare possibility that it may have been so in Maccabæan and post-Maccabæan times. The view that there was a Jewish public place of execution at Jerusalem in the first century A.D., and that during the Roman occupation it was the place at which criminals were crucified or decapitated is not supported by any evidence direct or indirect.

¹ Josephus, *Ant.*, xvii, 10, § 10.

² Deut. xxi, 22, 23.

³ Matt. xxvii, 58; John xix, 38; cf. Josephus, *Wars*, iv, 5, § 2.

CHAPTER III.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM AT THE TIME OF THE
CRUCIFIXION.

THE evidence available for the determination of the position of Golgotha cannot be adequately discussed without some knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion.

The ancient city was built at the end of a well-defined spur, which, stretching southward, for about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, from the swelling ground that separates the waters of the Dead Sea from those of the Mediterranean, lies between the valley of Hinnom,¹ and that of the Kidron (see plan of Jerusalem). The latter, known also as the valley of Jehoshaphat, runs eastward, from its source, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and then, changing direction to the south, sharply separates the long high ridge of Olivet from the lower ground upon which the city stands. The valley of Hinnom, after following a southerly course for $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, turns eastward, and meets the valley of the Kidron below the south-east corner of the city. The enclosed space may be described as a small rocky plateau, of about 1,000 acres, which falls gradually towards the south-east and terminates in abrupt slopes. The enclosing valleys, at first little more than shallow depressions in the ground, become, as they approach the city limits, deep, rocky ravines, and their point of junction is 672 feet below the ground in which they rise. Thus whilst, to the north, there is no material difference between the general level of the plateau outside the walls and that of the highest parts of the city within them, the ravines on the other three sides fall so rapidly, and are so trench-like in character, that they leave

¹ The names in common use have been adopted for the purposes of this paper, without reference to questions of identification.

upon the beholder the impression of a ditch at the foot of a fortress.¹

The surface of the plateau is broken by two shorter ravines which rise to the north of the city walls. The more important, the Tyropœon, runs southward to join the Kidron at Siloam, and divides the lower portion of the plateau into two spurs of unequal size. The western is high and broad-backed, but its continuity is broken by a short ravine² that falls abruptly eastward from the vicinity of the Jaffa Gate, and joins the Tyropœon about 700 yards above Siloam. This ravine formed a natural ditch to the *first* or old wall, and near its head stood Herod's palace which, with its three great towers, formed the acropolis of the Upper City of Josephus. From one of the towers, Hippicus, the wall ran eastward along the south side of the ravine, to the Xystus, and there joining the Council House (near *a* on plan), ended at the western portico of the Temple.³

The eastern and lower spur, Mount Moriah, is for the most part a narrow ridge of rock, and upon it once stood the Temple and the Castle of Antonia. In three places at least (*b*, *c*, and *d*) its crest line is now broken by rock-hewn ditches, and at one spot, in the north-west corner of the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif, a large portion of the ridge has been quarried away. One of the ditches (*b*) separates "Jeremiah's Grotto" from the modern city wall; another (*c*) lies beneath the street that leads to St. Stephen's Gate; and the third (*d*) is near the north-west corner of the platform upon which the Dome of the Rock stands. The outer ditch (*b*) is probably later than the time of the Crucifixion,⁴ the other two are certainly earlier.

The second of the small ravines⁵ rises in the eastern half of the plateau, and, running through the north-east corner of the

¹ For fuller details of the topography, see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, "Jerusalem," 2nd ed., p. 1585 ff.

² I have called this "Palace Ravine" on the plan, from the proximity of Herod's palace.

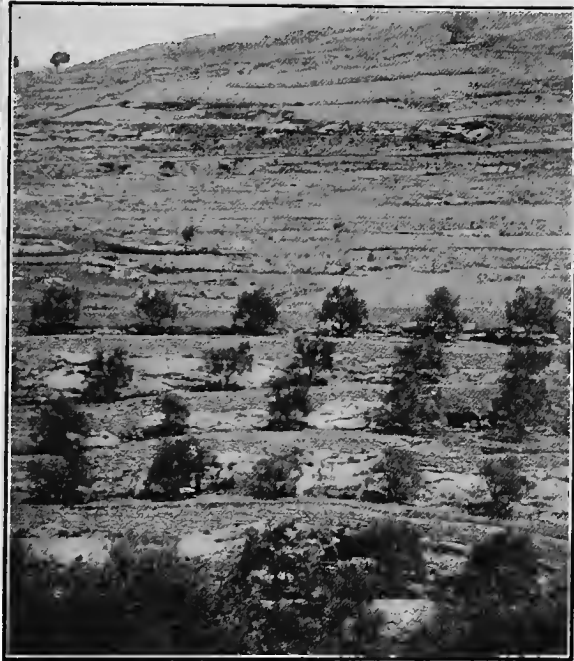
³ Josephus, *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

⁴ See Chapter X., p. 113.

⁵ Called "St. Anne's Ravine" on the plan.

Harâm esh-Sherîf, falls into the Kidron a short distance to the north of the Golden Gate. In it lie two ancient pools, and on its eastern side now stands the Church of St. Anne.

Those portions of the ravines which lie within the city walls are so filled with *débris* that neither their character nor their true course can now be distinguished: their beds lie in places from 80 feet to 125 feet beneath the surface of to-day. Even the rocky sides of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, above which the walls of the city rise, present the appearance of steep continuous slopes, broken only by a few terraced gardens. Originally the aspect of the ground must have been very different. At Jerusalem the limestone hills consist, in ascending order, of beds of pink and white indurated chalk, of a thick stratum of soft, easily-worked stone (*meleke*), of thin beds of hard reddish and grey stone (*misse*), and of soft white limestone with bands of flints and fossils. The strata have a south-easterly dip, and the hard beds of *misse*, which form the surface of the plateau, pass eastward beneath the soft white limestones of the Mount of Olives. Before the city was built these strata must have formed great steps on the hill-side, and their edges must have stood out like artificial walls enclosing the hills. From the hardness of the rock there could have been no great accumulation of detritus, and the general aspect of the site could not have been very unlike that of many spots in the rugged country of Judæa. How far the original features of the ground had been modified by the time of the Crucifixion it is difficult to say, but there can be little doubt that the ravines were then deep and rocky, and that the terrace-formation was well marked within and without the walls. Beyond the limits of the city the terraces were probably planted with fig, olive, and vine; and the small cliffs, or scarps, in which the limestone beds terminated, were utilised for the construction of rock-hewn tombs. Deeply-cut ravines, with terraced sides, are common in the limestone formation of Central and Southern Palestine, and in many places the conjunction of cultivated terrace and scarp with rock-hewn tombs may still be seen. In fitting a site of this



HILLSIDE WITH CULTIVATED TERRACES, ENDINO IN
SCARPS WITH ROCK-HEWN TOMBS.

nature to the requirements of a capital city, with its public buildings, its streets, its open places, and its fortifications, it was obviously necessary to obtain a certain number of level spaces, or platforms. This was done partly by quarrying away large masses of rock and partly by constructing massive foundations of hewn stone. In nearly every quarter of the city excavations bring to light isolated rock-scarps and fragments of solid masonry that, in many cases, are due to these rock-clearances and sub-structures, or to small quarries whence building material has been obtained. In no instance is the age of these remains certain, and, without extensive excavation, it is extremely hazardous to base a theory with regard to the course of the ancient walls on the assumption that any two isolated ruins are connected.

According to Josephus,¹ Jerusalem, when besieged by Titus, was defended on the north by three walls, and on all other sides by one. The outer, or *third* wall, on the north, was built after the Crucifixion by Agrippa (A.D. 41-43), and need not be considered here. Nearly all authorities agree that the oldest, or *first* wall, ran eastward from the citadel by the Jaffa Gate to a point in the west wall of the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif at or near Wilson's Arch. The course of the *second* wall, which is still uncertain, is discussed in Chapter XI. Outside the *first* and *second* walls the eastern and western spurs were occupied by terraced gardens and a few villas; in the valleys there were large reservoirs with conduits, which carried their water to the city, and there are some slight indications that the rocky sides of St. Anne's ravine, beneath the north-east corner of the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif, were honey-combed with rock-hewn tombs. Inside the walls Herod's palace and gardens spread over the ground now covered by the citadel at the Jaffa Gate and the Armenian gardens to the south; the castle of Antonia stood at the north-west angle of the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif; and the palace of Agrippa—the old Asmonæan palace, occupied a fine site, on the western spur, facing the Wailing Place of the Jews.

¹ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

It may be inferred, from the known tendency of main roads and streets to preserve their original direction during many centuries, and through periods of great change,¹ as well as from the marked character of the topographical features, that the principal approaches to Jerusalem, and several of the streets, follow very closely the lines of those which existed in the time of Christ, and, probably, at an earlier date. Thus the great highway from the north appears, on reaching the "Tombs of the Kings," to have branched off, as the modern road does, in three directions. The *eastern* branch,² following the direction of the St. Anne's ravine, reached the castle of Antonia and the Temple without leaving the eastern spur. The *western* branch avoided the Tyropœon Valley, and, keeping to the higher ground of the western spur, probably entered the city near Herod's palace. The *central* branch ran southward to the Tyropœon Valley, or perhaps followed the western road to the head of that valley (*s* on plan), and then turned down it to the Damascus Gate. At a point south of this gate the road appears to have forked—one arm (*fff* on plan), now represented by the street el-Wâd, followed the west side of the Tyropœon to the Pool of Siloam, where it left the city and went on to the wilderness of Judah; the other arm (*ggg*), keeping to a higher level, ran nearly due south through the city, along a line still well marked, and passed out by a gate in the south wall to the Valley of Hinnom. This must have been always one of the principal streets³ of the city, and on it there must have been a fortified gateway in each of the three walls.

From the Jordan Valley on the east, one road crossed the ridge of Olivet, and another, followed by Christ on a memorable occasion, wound round the shoulder of the same hill. The

¹ Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in London. In excavations at Jerusalem the houses of an old street have been found several feet beneath the surface, in exactly the same line as those of the modern street.

² The roads and streets which are supposed to follow the direction of those in the time of Christ are shown on the plan by red dotted lines.

³ This street and that following the direction of el-Wâd are represented in the Madeba mosaic as having colonnaded sides. See Plate IX.

approach to the city seems to have been up St. Anne's ravine, but there was, doubtless, a pathway with steps leading directly across the Kidron to the Temple precincts.¹ The roads from Hebron, Bethlehem, and the western districts appear to have entered the city by a gateway, near the Jaffa Gate, from which a street (*h h*) ran directly to the Temple precincts near Wilson's Arch.² There may also have been posterns in the west wall, giving access to paths which led to the valley of Hinnom.

The principal streets, running north and south, were connected by cross streets, forming blocks (*insulae*) which were intersected by narrow winding lanes.³ The two main streets which cross each other, almost at right angles, probably had a central roadway for chariots, camels, &c., and, on either side, a *trottoir* for foot passengers with colonnades, similar to those of the principal streets of Damascus, Samaria, Gadara, &c. Other streets, possibly representing those of pre-Christian date, are that (*i i*) running from the citadel to the Sion Gate, which, perhaps, skirted the gardens of Herod's palace; that (*k k*) connecting *i i* and *g g*; and two streets (*l* and *m*), which may have led westward from the Temple precincts to the city. There seems also to have been a road (*n n*) running east and west, which, after the *third* wall was built, may have connected the castle of Antonia with the tower Psephinus. Whether these streets crossed the Tyropœon and "Palace" ravines by bridges or causeways is unknown. Most of the bazârs,⁴ market places,⁵ and important public and private buildings, incidentally mentioned by Josephus, must have been in existence in the time of Christ, and the great Temple built by Herod was then in its full glory.

¹ In Byzantine times a flight of steps led down from the Golden Gate to a bridge over the Kidron, whence there was a path to the Church of the Ascension.

² The ancient street was, probably, within the line of the first wall.

³ Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv, 16, § 2; *Wars*, ii, 14, § 9; v, 8, § 1; vi, 6, § 3. Making allowance for the different topographical conditions, the streets and narrow lanes could not have been very unlike those of Pompeii.

⁴ *Wars*, v, 8, § 1.

⁵ *Wars*, i, 13, § 5; ii, 14, § 9, 19, § 4; v, 4, § 1.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POSITION OF GOLGOTHA.—THE BIBLE NARRATIVE.

THE principal sources of information available for the determination of the site of Golgotha are the Bible; writings of earlier date than the official recovery of Golgotha during the reign of Constantine; the works of Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Epiphanius, who must have known the circumstances under which the site was recovered; the histories of Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Theophanes, and others, who were compilers, and recorded the traditions current at the times they wrote; letters, sermons, treatises of the Church Fathers; the monograph of Alexander Monachus (sixth century), *De Inventione Crucis*; and early traditions and legends.

The Bible narrative of the Crucifixion, and of the events which preceded it, contains, unfortunately, no definite information with regard to the position of Golgotha, or of the places connected with the trial and condemnation of Christ.

After the Last Supper, Christ and his disciples left the city, and crossing the brook¹ Kidron, went to the Mount of Olives, to a plot of ground, or garden, called Gethsemane.² The spot was one to which Jesus often resorted with his disciples, and it was consequently well known to Judas who betrayed him.³ Luke, who does not mention Gethsemane, says⁴ that Jesus "went, as his custom was, unto the Mount of Olives," and that when he was "at the place" he bade his disciples pray.

¹ Revised Version, Margin, "or ravine, Greek, *winter-torrent*."

² See Chapter V.

³ Matt. xxvi, 30, 36; Mark xiv, 26, 32; John xviii, 1, 2, 26.

⁴ Luke xxii, 39, 40.

From Gethsemane Christ was taken, in the first place, to Annas, the high priest by right, who, after informal inquiry, sent him bound to Caiaphas, the actual high priest—Annas having been deposed. At the house of Caiaphas,¹ possibly his official residence, where the scribes and elders were assembled, a preliminary investigation was held, and, early the next morning,² Christ was led away to the place³ where the Sanhedrin usually held its sittings, and brought before the full Assembly of the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people.⁴ Immediately after his condemnation, whilst it was still early, Christ was taken to the Prætorium (palace), and handed over to Pilate⁵ that he might be put to death by the Roman power.

It is still uncertain whether the Prætorium of the Gospels⁶ was Herod's palace on the western spur, or the Castle of Antonia to the north of the Temple. The former was, almost certainly, the usual residence of Pilate when at Jerusalem, whilst the latter was at once the headquarters of the Roman garrison,⁷ and the prison in which important criminals were confined. It is possible that Pilate went to the Castle of Antonia, and even passed the night there, during the critical days of the feast; but it is equally permissible to suppose that Christ, having been tried and condemned at Herod's palace, was taken in the first place to the Antonia and that, after a few moments' delay, he was led out thence to crucifixion with the robbers who suffered with him.

The offence for which Christ was tried and condemned by Pilate was political—sedition against Cæsar.⁸ The Jews abandoning their first charge of blasphemy, accused him of treason.

¹ See Chapter V.

² Luke xxii, 66, "at dawn."

³ Possibly the Council House mentioned by Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4, § 2). See Chapter V.

⁴ Matt. xxvi, 57, xxvii, 1; Mark xiv, 53, xv, 1; Luke xxii, 54, 66; John xviii, 13, 24.

⁵ Matt. xxvii, 2; Mark xv, 1; Luke xxiii, 1; John xviii, 28.

⁶ See Chapter V.

⁷ Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, § 8.

⁸ Luke xxiii, 2; Matt. xxvii, 11; Mark xv, 2; cf. *Apostolic Constitutions*, v, 14. Many Jews were crucified for this offence by Florus (Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 14), and by Varus (Josephus, *Ant.*, xvii, 10, § 10)

The trial, whether it took place at Herod's palace or at the Antonia, was, in accordance with Roman custom, public. Pilate, probably, had his judgment seat¹ (*βῆμα*) erected in the open air, in front of the Prætorium, as his successor, Florus, did some years later.² A great crowd had assembled whilst the trial was proceeding,³ and apparently followed Christ when he was sent to Herod Antipas,⁴ who was then residing at the Asmonæan Palace.⁵

Christ having been condemned by the Roman Governor, was sentenced to be *crucified*. If he had been sentenced to death by the Sanhedrin, according to the Mosaic law, he would have been *stoned* (see p. 19); but, the Great Assembly having lost the power of capital punishment, Jewish methods of execution had been replaced by Roman. Crucifixion was the punishment reserved by the Romans for those to whom the honour of death by the sword was not granted; and Christ was treated like ordinary highwaymen, robbers, slaves, and persons guilty of sedition. His crucifixion was an act of the Roman Government. According to common custom, execution followed quickly upon condemnation. He was handed over to a detachment of Roman soldiers, commanded by a centurion, and led away with two robbers⁶ to Golgotha, to be crucified.⁷

It has been suggested⁸ that Pilate "chose Golgotha for the

¹ See p. 22.

² Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 14, § 8.

³ This seems to be the meaning of Matt. xxvii, 17, "When therefore they were gathered together."

⁴ Luke xxiii, 7, 11; *cf.* Acts iv, 27. Son of Herod the Great and Malthace, called Herod the Tetrarch in the New Testament.

⁵ The palace was situated to the right of the street leading from Herod's palace to the Temple.

⁶ The robbers (*λῃσται*) crucified with Christ were brigands, freebooters, or outlaws, and must not be confounded with thieves (*κλέπται*,—so in John x, 8, "thieves and robbers," *κλέπται κ. λῃσται*). Thus Josephus calls Hezekias, who was subdued by Herod the Great, and Eleazar, "arch-robbers" (*ἀρχιλῃσται*, *Wars*, ii, 4, § 1; 13, § 2); and those with them and with Simon, "robbers" (*Wars*, ii, 4, § 2; 13, § 2). In the Bible the word is applied to Barabbas (John xviii, 40).

⁷ Matt. xxvii, 31-33; Mark xv, 20-22; Luke xxiii, 26-33; John xix, 16-18.

⁸ Canon McColl, in *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 283, n. 2.

Crucifixion for the purpose of insulting them (the Jews), not in order to fulfil their law." There is, however, no indication of motive on the part of Pilate in the Bible narrative. No instructions to the centurion with regard to the place of execution are mentioned. There is only the simple statement that Pilate "delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified."¹ From this statement it may be inferred, perhaps, that the military authorities, to whom Christ was transferred for execution, were allowed to carry out the ordinary punishment for sedition where they pleased.² In this case it is most probable that the selection of the place of execution was made by the centurion, and that his choice of Golgotha was accidental, or dictated by motives of convenience; and that it was not intentional, or due to any desire on the part of Pilate to insult the Jews.

There is an old tradition that the procession to Golgotha passed through the streets of Jerusalem, then thronged with Jews who had come up for the Passover. But whether the tradition refers to the "*circumferre*,"³ which the Romans considered an essential part of the punishment, or to a temporary transfer from Herod's palace to the Antonia, as suggested above (see p. 31), or to the visit to Herod Antipas, is uncertain. The route of the procession depends upon the site of the Prætorium, which is not certainly known. But modern tradition is clearly at fault in identifying the first part of the *Via Dolorosa* with a street that lies above the ditch which, at the time of the Crucifixion, must have protected the Antonia, and the *second* wall.⁴

Golgotha, the scene of the Crucifixion, was, according to the Bible, outside the city walls⁵ and "nigh to the city."⁶ The spot

¹ Mark xv, 15; cf. Matt. xxvii, 26; Luke xxiii, 25; John xix, 16.

² See p. 22. According to Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 16th ed., p. 428), sentences on those condemned for sedition, as Christ was, were also carried out by the soldiers.

³ The condemned person, on his way to execution, was led through the principal streets and exposed to insult and injury.

⁴ See Chapter XI.

⁵ "Without the gate" (Heb. xiii, 12, 13; cf. Matt. xxvii, 32; Mark xv, 20; John xix, 17). That is, outside the *second* wall.

⁶ John xix, 20.

was near a frequented thoroughfare leading from one of the city gates to the country,¹ and was visible from "afar,"² and presumably from some place whence the chief priests, scribes, and elders could look on, and revile, without the risk of incurring ceremonial defilement.³ In the place (ἐν τῇ τόπῳ) where he was crucified there was a garden (κῆπος); and in the garden a "new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid," that belonged to Joseph of Arimathea.⁴ This may mean that the garden was a comparatively small enclosure⁵ within the limits or area of the place (ὁ τόπος) called Golgotha.

The Bible narrative, it will be seen, gives no indication of the direction of Golgotha with regard to the city,⁶ or with reference to any feature connected with it. It does not mention the position of the gate⁷ by which Christ passed out of the city, or the name of the place to which the frequented thoroughfare led. It states, it is true, that the spot was "nigh to the city," and visible from "afar," but these statements are not conclusive evidence of position, since the words "nigh" (ἐγγύς),⁸ and "afar"

¹ Matt. xxvii, 39; Mark xv, 21, 29; Luke xxiii, 26.

² Matt. xxvii, 55; Mark xv, 40; Luke xxiii, 49.

³ Matt. xxvii, 41; Mark xv, 31; John xviii, 28.

⁴ Matt. xxvii, 60; Mark xv, 46; Luke xxiii, 53; John xix, 41.

⁵ An enclosed garden (κῆπος κεκλεισμένος) is mentioned in the Song of Solomon (iv, 12). The word Golgotha is used by some early writers to denote the actual spot where the crosses were erected, and a larger area round that spot, including the place where the crosses were found.

⁶ There may be, however, an indication of position in Heb. xiii, 11, 12. "For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the holy place by the high priest as an offering for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus, also, that he might sanctify the people through his own blood, suffered without the gate." The late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem held that this was the case, and maintained that as the sin offering in the Temple was slain on the north side of the altar, so Christ, the Antitype, was crucified north of the same altar, when he suffered without the gate.

⁷ Whether Paul had any particular gate in his mind is uncertain. At Rome, condemned criminals left the city by the Esquiline Gate, and at Athens by the Charonian Gate. According to a mediæval tradition, Christ, bearing his cross, passed out by the *Porta Judicaria*.

⁸ John uses the same word to define the relative positions of the tomb and the cross (xix, 42); of Christ, when walking on the lake, and the boat (vi, 19); and of Bethany and Jerusalem (xi, 18). In Acts the Mount of

(μακρόθεν),¹ as used in the New Testament, appear to have no very definite meaning. It has been suggested² that the transfer of the cross to Simon, at or just outside the city gate,³ may indicate that Golgotha was not near at hand; but this is not very apparent. The transfer of the cross was unusual, but it may well be supposed that the Lord, after all his sufferings, mental and physical, sank beneath the burden,⁴ and that the soldiers, impatient of delay, impressed a man, coming from the opposite direction, who met the procession as it left the city. Or the transfer may have been due to humane considerations on the part of the centurion.

It would appear, then, that the only certain facts to be gathered from the Bible narrative are: that Christ was crucified outside the city, and, in accordance with Roman custom, close to a public thoroughfare; and that in the place where he was crucified there was a garden which contained a new rock-hewn tomb.⁵ Golgotha was evidently so well known that it was not necessary to define its position more precisely. The garden was most probably a rock-terrace (see p. 26) planted with fruit trees, such as the olive, fig, and vine, or with trees that gave a grateful shade; the entrance to the tomb would naturally be in the

Olives is said to be *nigh* to Jerusalem (Acts i, 12), and Lydda to Joppa (Acts ix, 38). See also Luke xix, 11; John iii, 23; vi, 23; xi, 54; Acts xxvii, 8. The word appears to be used as a pleonasm, like μακρόθεν.

¹ A late Greek word and well-known pleonasm. It is used to define the relative positions of Peter and Christ on the way from Gethsemane to the House of Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi, 58; Mark xiv, 54; Luke xxii, 54); of Christ and the fig tree (Mark xi, 13); of the Pharisee and the publican in the Temple (Luke xviii, 13); and of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi, 33). See also Mark v, 6; viii, 3.

² Gautier, in *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 78.

³ This is the usual explanation of the expression "as they came out" (Matt. xxvii, 32); but the words may refer to the departure of the procession from the Prætorium.

⁴ The language of Mark xv, 22, they "bring him" (καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν), literally "bear him," to Golgotha, seems to imply this.

⁵ "The grave of Jesus Christ and Golgotha lay near each other, or, properly, the garden with the grave, which belonged to Joseph of Arimathea, the Jewish Councillor, was situated at the place called Golgotha." (Guthe, in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, Art. "Grab, das heilige.")

vertical face or edge of the next higher-lying terrace ; and upon this higher terrace the crosses may have been erected. The topographical features of Golgotha were, probably, not unlike those represented in the accompanying illustrations. In the fore-ground of each is the top or floor of a rock-terrace—the garden (*κηπος*)—upon which, in one instance, wheat or barley has been grown ; and in the back-ground of each is the vertical face or edge of the next higher-lying terrace with the mouths of several rock-hewn tombs. It may be remarked that a family tomb in a garden is mentioned in connection with the burials of Manasseh and Amon.

TOMBS WITH TERRACE GARDENS IN FRONT.



No. 1.—NEAR THE “TOMBS OF THE JUDGES,” JERUSALEM.



No. 2.—“IN THE VALLEY OF HINNOM.”

CHAPTER V.

ON THE POSITION OF CERTAIN PLACES MENTIONED IN THE
BIBLE NARRATIVE — GETHSEMANE — THE HOUSE OF
CAIAPHAS — THE HALL OF THE SANHEDRIN — THE PRÆ-
TORIUM.

THE evidence available for the identification of the places mentioned in the Bible narrative is, unfortunately, in no case conclusive. But some statement with regard to it seems a necessary preliminary to a discussion of the position of Golgotha.

GETHSEMANE is called by Matthew (xxvi, 36), and Mark (xiv, 32), "a place," or, more accurately, as in Revised Version margin, "an enclosed piece of ground" (χωρίον);¹ and by John (xviii, 1) "a garden," or orchard (κήπος).² Luke (xxii, 40) uses the indefinite term "the place" (τόπος), to signify the spot where what he narrates occurred. No descriptive details are given in the Bible, but the Hebrew name, "an oil press," and the expressions "went in" and "went out" (εἰσῆλθεν and ἐξῆλθεν, John xviii, 1, 4) seem to indicate that the place was one of those terraces planted with olive trees, which form such a marked feature of the scenery in the hill country of Judæa. From the fourth century, possibly from the date of the Empress Helena's visit to Jerusalem, in A.D. 326, Gethsemane has been shown at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Proximity to the Kidron may perhaps be inferred from John xviii, 1, 2, and is considered by Stanley³ and others to be an argument in favour of the

¹ The word *χωρίον* is translated "parcel of ground" in John ix, 5; "field" (called Akeldama) in Acts i, 18, 19; "land" (of Ananias) in Acts v, 3, 8; and "lands," in the plural, in Acts iv, 34.

² The same word is used by John (xix, 41) for the garden in the place where Christ was crucified and buried.

³ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 455.

traditional site. But a comparison of the statements in Luke xxi, 37, and xxii, 39, has led some authorities to believe that the garden was higher up the mount. This view derives some support from the early tradition that Christ taught the Apostles in a cave near the summit of the Mount of Olives. Thus Eusebius¹ mentions a cave, near the top of the hill, where Jesus prayed, and this may be the "sacred cave" over which Constantine built a church;² but he simply describes Gethsemane as an "enclosed piece of ground" at the Mount of Olives where the faithful used to pray.³ The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) saw "a stone at the place (apparently near the traditional Gethsemane) where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ," and afterwards ascended "to the Mount of Olives, where, before the Passion, the Lord taught his disciples." Cyril⁴ apparently distinguishes between Gethsemane, "where the betrayal happened," and the Mount of Olives, "on which they were that night praying." St. Sylvia (A.D. circa 385) seems to connect the "cave in which the Lord taught the Apostles" with the Church of the Ascension.⁵ Eucherius (circa A.D. 440) mentions two churches on the Mount—one at the place of the Ascension, the other where Christ talked to his disciples.⁶ The first to distinctly state that Gethsemane was "at the foot of the Mount of Olives" is Jerome.⁷ The general conclusion is that, although the authenticity of the traditional site cannot be proved, it is not impossible or improbable.

THE HOUSE OF CAIAPHAS,⁸ with its uncovered courtyard⁹ and its porch,¹⁰ closed by a door or gate,¹¹ was perhaps the official

¹ Appendix IV., 8, xii.

² Appendix V., 1, xx.

³ Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*², 248¹⁸.

⁴ *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 38.

⁵ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.

⁶ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii.

⁷ *Onomastica Sacra*², 130²².

⁸ αὐλή in Mutt. xxvi, 3, 58; Mark xiv, 54; John xviii, 15; and οἶκος in Luke xxii, 54.

⁹ Matt. xxvi, 69; Mark xiv, 66; Luke xxii, 55.

¹⁰ πυλῶν, Matt. xxvi, 71, or προαύλιον, Mark xiv, 68. It is uncertain whether the word used by Mark refers to a forecourt or to a porch.

¹¹ θύρα, John xviii, 16; cf. the gate of the porch of Mary's house, Acts xii, 13, 14.



NO. 1.—THE MOUNT OF OLIVES AS SEEN FROM JERUSALEM; THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE IN FOREGROUND.



residence of the high priest. It was probably not far distant from the Temple and the hall in which the Sanhedrin sat; and it may have been the same place as the house (*oikos*) of Ananias, the high priest, which was situated, apparently, near the Asmonæan palace, and was destroyed by the insurgents during the tumult that commenced the war with Rome.¹

In the houses of the wealthy the public and private apartments were built round a paved court, and this was entered from the street through a porch, or passage, which was closed by a heavy door, and had a room on one side for the porter and attendants. In some instances the houses had a forecourt and an inner court, and this appears to have been the case in that of Caiaphas. It may be inferred, from a comparison of Matt. xxvi, 57-75; Mark xiv, 53-68; Luke xxii, 54-61; John xviii, 12-27, that Caiaphas and Annas lived in the same house, in which both, doubtless, had their own separate apartments.

THE HALL OF THE SANHEDRIN.—The Sanhedrin, or Great Council, at Jerusalem consisted of 70 members—chief priests² scribes, and elders, with the high priest as president. Under the Romans it could try important cases, and pass sentences of death,³ but they were not valid until confirmed by the Roman procurator.⁴ The Great Council originally sat, on ordinary days, in a stone hall⁵ (*lishkath ha-Gazith*) in the inner court, on the south side of the Temple; and on Sabbaths and festivals in the Temple synagogue—in the *chel* between the outer court and the court of the women.⁶ But 40 years before the destruction of Jerusalem, or, more probably, when Archelaus was deposed,

¹ Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 17, § 6.

² The chief priests included those who had held the office of high priest and had been deposed, and influential members of the families from which the high priests were selected.

³ Matt. v, 22.

⁴ John xviii, 31; Josephus, *Ant.*, xx, 9, § 1.

⁵ According to the Talmud of Babylon, *Yoma*, the hall was in the form of a large basilica. Here alone, according to the old law, sentence of death could be pronounced.

⁶ Maimonides, *Sanhedrin*, 3.

and the first Roman governor was appointed (A.D. 7), the right to inflict capital punishment was withdrawn, and the Sanhedrin transferred its sittings to "the sheds," or "trade halls."¹ These "halls," or "market," in which people bought and sold, and where the "tables of the money-changers" (Matt. xxi, 12; Mark xi, 15; Luke xix, 45) probably stood, must have been in the outer court, or precincts of the Temple. And that part of them in which the Sanhedrin sat was perhaps the same place as the "Council House" (βουλῆ), which, according to Josephus, lay between the Xystus and the western portico of the Temple.² The "Council House" must, from the nature of the ground, have been on the Temple Mount, and either within the Temple precincts, or partly within them, and partly on the bridge which connected the Temple with the Xystus,³ near Wilson's Arch (*see* plan). The view that the Sanhedrin was sitting in the "Council House" when Christ was brought before it, seems, however, to conflict with the statement in Matt. xxvii, 5, which apparently indicates, though not certainly, that when Judas cast down the pieces of silver, the members of the

¹ Talmud of Babylon, *Aboda Zara* 8, b., f. 8; *et consedit in tabernis*, Lightfoot, in *Matt.* xxvi, 3, p. 370. Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus*, Bk. iii, ch. v) identifies the "halls" or "Temple Market" with the "Bazârs of the sons of Annas" mentioned in Rabbinical writings, and locates them in a part of the Temple Court. He suggests that the Sanhedrin sat "in the private *locale* attached to these very bazârs," and that there the condemnation of Christ "may have been planned if not actually pronounced."

² The *first wall* extended "to the Xystus, and then, joining the Council House, ended at the western portico of the Temple" (Josephus, *Wars*, v. 4, § 2. As Schürer remarks (*History of the Jewish People*, II., i, p. 190, ff., Eng. ed.), the Council House must have been on the Temple Mount, as there was nothing between the Temple and the Xystus but a bridge. It could not have been in the upper city, for the Romans destroyed the βουλευτήριον (= βουλῆ) before they took that part of the city (*Wars*, vi, 6, § 3). Schürer argues that *lishkath ha-Gazith* means that the hall was so named because it was near the Xystus, and not because it was built of wrought stones, which would hardly be a characteristic feature.

³ *Wars*, ii, 16, § 3. This was one of the principal approaches to the Temple, and the point at which it entered would be a convenient place for the money-changers, &c.

Sanhedrin were in the *naos*,¹ or sanctuary, and not in the outer courts or precincts.

The PRÆTORIUM was originally the tent of the Prætor in a Roman camp, but the word was afterwards applied to the official residence of the Governor or Procurator of a Roman province; and, in the New Testament, it denotes the official residence of the Roman Governor in Jerusalem. Amongst the Romans it was customary for the governors of provinces to appropriate to their own use the palaces in which the kings and princes had formerly dwelt. Thus in Sicily the Proprætor lived in the castle or palace of Hiero;² and at Cæsarea the Procurator occupied Herod's Prætorium³ (Palace). It is impossible to believe that Pilate, when staying at Jerusalem for the transaction of public business, did not follow the usual custom, and select as his residence the magnificent palace that Herod had built for himself in the Upper City.⁴ It would have been derogatory to the dignity of an official of his rank to live in a building of less importance, and his neglect to occupy it would have been regarded in an Oriental country as a sign of weakness. His occupation of the palace is implied by the statement that he insulted the Jews by hanging inscribed shields in it;⁵ by the circumstances attending the tumult which followed his application of the Corban to the construction of an aqueduct;⁶ and by the presence of his wife, who would not have lodged in the Antonia, which was inferior as a residence, and was the headquarters of the legion that

¹ The word *naos* (*ναός*), usually applied to the actual Temple, in this case evidently includes the inner court which is generally considered to have formed part of the *hieron*, or Temple with its courts. Possibly *naos* may not accurately represent the original Aramaic of Matthew.

² Cicero, *Oratio in Verrem*, II., v, 12, 30.

³ Acts xxiii, 35, xxv, 23.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 9, § 3; *Wars*, i, 21, § 1, v, 4, § 4.

⁵ ἐν τοῖς ἑπτάδοσι βασιλείοις, Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*, § 38.

⁶ Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii, 3, § 2; *Wars*, ii, 9, § 4. Kreyenbühl has shown (*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, pp. 15 ff.) that the tumult could only have occurred in front of Herod's palace; and as Pilate was seated on the *bema* when he gave the signal to his soldiers which caused the disturbance, it is a fair inference that he was living in the palace at the time.

garrisoned Jerusalem.¹ It may also be remarked that the Antonia is called "the barracks" (*παρεμβολή*, Revised Version, "castle"), and not the Prætorium, in the only passages in the Bible that allude to it;² and that there is no certain instance of the application of the word *prætorium* to a camp or barracks.³ If the Antonia was the Prætorium, it is difficult to explain John xviii, 28. As a crowd was not allowed to enter the castle, there could have been no fear of ceremonial defilement. Possibly the expression *ἡ αὐλή ὃ ἐστὶν πραιτώριον*⁴ should be translated "the palace which is the Prætorium." At a later date (A.D. 66) Gessius Florus, Pilate's successor, certainly occupied Herod's palace,⁵ and "set up his judgment seat (*bema*, *βῆμα*) in front of it, and took his seat thereon. Then the chief priests and persons of influence . . . came up and stood before the judgment seat."⁶ From this interesting passage it would appear that there was an open space in front of the palace, possibly adjoining, or opening on to the "upper agora" of Josephus, where the governor sat to administer justice. Probably the *bema* was usually set up on the same spot,⁷ and if the palace was the Prætorium, that spot may have been a small raised platform, with a tessellated or mosaic pavement, which was called in Aramaic *Gabbatha*, and in Greek *Lithostroton*.

Although the evidence in favour of the identification of the Prætorium with Herod's palace is very strong, it must not be forgotten that a tradition, at least as old as the fourth century, places "the house or Prætorium of Pilate" to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

¹ *Wars*, v, 5, § 8; cf. *Ant.*, xv, 11, §§ 4, 7.

² Acts xxi, 34, 37; xxii, 24; xxiii, 10, 16, 32.

³ See the argument of Bishop Lightfoot in *Epistle to the Philippians*², p. 99.

⁴ Mark xv, 16. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4, § 4) calls Herod's palace *ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλή*, and the palace of the Emperor is an *αὐλή* (Irenæus in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v, 20, § 5).

⁵ The palace was occupied by Sabinus during the rising when Archelaus was Ethnarch (*Wars*, ii, 3, § 2; *Ant.*, xvii, 10, § 2).

⁶ *Wars*, ii, 14, § 8.

⁷ On one occasion Pilate had the *bema* placed in the great stadium at Jerusalem (*Wars*, ii, 9, § 3).



NO. 1.—THE BARRACKS AT THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE HARAM;
PROBABLY THE SITE OF ANTONIA.



NO. 2.—THE "ECCE HOMO" ARCH; A RELIC OF HADRIAN'S CITY OF ELIA.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim,¹ passing northward along the main street of Jerusalem, had the basilica of Constantine on his left hand, and on his right, "below in the valley," the ruins of "the house or prætorium of Pontius Pilate." Possibly Cyril² alludes to the same place as the "Prætorium of Pilate now laid waste." Peter the Iberian (Georgian), Bishop of Maiumas in the fifth century, on leaving Golgotha "went down to the church, which is called that of Pilate, and thence to that of the Paralytic," on his way to Gethsemane. He thus places the Church of Pilate³ between the Sepulchre and the Church of St. Anne.⁴ The sixth century tradition was that the Church of St. Sophia occupied the site of Pilate's house, or the Prætorium;⁵ and, according to Sepp,⁶ the "Dome of the Rock," in the Ḥarām esh-Sheriff, is, in great part, the original Church of St. Sophia, built on the site of the Prætorium. Clermont-Ganneau,⁷ on the other hand, identifies the Prætorium with the Antonia, and holds that the Church of St. Sophia, which succeeded the Church of Pilate mentioned by Peter the Iberian, stood on the site now occupied by the Turkish barracks.

The existence of this tradition, at a time when the towers of Herod's palace were standing, and the Antonia had long disappeared, certainly points to a very early belief that the latter place was connected in some way or other with the events which led up to the Crucifixion. Cumanus, at the time of the feast of unleavened bread, strongly reinforced the garrison in the Antonia, and was himself either in the castle or on the porticoes of the Temple.⁸ Pilate may have also gone to the castle for the day, and have set up his *bema* on the open paved space between

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.

² *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 39.

³ Possibly on the site now occupied by the Armenian Church of the Spasm.

⁴ *Pierre l'Ibérien*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii, p. 382.

⁵ The Breviary of Jerusalem; Theodosius; Antoninus Martyr; see *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii.

⁶ *Jerusalem und des Heilige Land*, p. 355 ff.

⁷ *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, iii, p. 228 ff.

⁸ Josephus, *Ant.*, xx, 5, § 3; *Wars*, ii, 12, § 1.

the Antonia and the Temple.¹ On the other hand, it is possible that Christ, after the trial and judgment at Herod's palace, was handed over to the soldiers for execution ; and that, in the first place, the centurion led him through the streets to the Antonia, and then, after receiving the two robbers from the commandant, passed on to Golgotha.

With our present knowledge, the conclusion must be that the position of the Prætorium of the Gospels cannot be certainly ascertained. An identification with Herod's palace is supported by Alford, Edersheim, Ewald, Furrer, Grimm, Guthe, Keim, Kreyenbühl, Schürer, Sepp, Spiess, Tobler, Winer, &c. ; whilst the Antonia is preferred by Caspari, Clermont-Ganneau, Krafft, Mühlau, Swete, Tischendorf, Weiss, Westcott, &c.

¹ Josephus, *Wars*, vi, 1, § 8 ; 3, § 2. Some writers identify this paved space with the *Lithostroton* of the Gospels.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE
TRADITIONAL SITES.

THE absence of any definite statement in the Bible with regard to the position of Golgotha has led to much curious speculation since A.D. 1738, when Jonas Korte vigorously attacked the authenticity of the traditional site, and gave wider currency to doubts that had previously been expressed. The scene of the Crucifixion has been placed north, south, east, and west of the city ; but the more important authorities are now agreed that it must have been some spot (outside the *second* wall of Josephus), which was situated on the small plateau that lies between the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. According to tradition, the ground upon which Constantine built his great churches¹ fulfils these conditions, and it is necessary, in the first place, to consider carefully and impartially everything that may be advanced in favour of or against the authenticity of this tradition. Was the official recovery of Golgotha based upon any certain tradition ? Is there anything in the form of the ground which is not in accordance with the Bible narrative ? Was the traditional site outside the *second* wall ? These are some of the questions which arise for consideration.

The advocates of the view that the two traditional sites now shown as Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre are authentic, support their opinion by the following arguments : ²—

1. It is obvious from the Bible narrative that the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb were known to the friends and enemies

¹ It is unnecessary to discuss the theory of Fergusson that the churches were on the eastern hill, for they are clearly shown on the western in the Madaba mosaic (see Plate IX).

² The statement has been compiled from the works of Chateaubriand, Williams, Mommert, and other writers.

of Jesus who were at Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, and it is certain that many of those persons were alive when, ten years later, Herod Agrippa (A.D. 41-43) built the *third* or outer wall of defence on the north side of the city.

2. The construction of Agrippa's wall brought the two sites within the limits of the walled city, but, as the Jews regarded tombs¹ as unclean, no houses were built above them. Moreover, the existence of buildings in such close proximity to the *second* wall would have been prejudicial to its defence, and their erection would not have been permitted. The holy places thus remained bare and unoccupied, and could not have been forgotten before the city was besieged by Titus.

3. In obedience to the warning of Jesus,² the members of the Christian community fled from Jerusalem (*circa* A.D. 67-68) before the siege commenced, and established themselves at Pella. When Titus, whose destruction of the city was not complete, left for Rome, most of the Christians returned, and settled down amongst the ruins, after having been absent three or four years. Since the altitude of the holy places was slightly greater than that of the ground upon which the *second* wall stood—and their distance from the third wall was appreciable—they could not have been materially altered in appearance during the progress of the siege. Even supposing that they had been covered by one of the mounds of the besiegers, the sites would not have been lost. The Christians during their short absence could not have completely forgotten the exact positions of places so intimately connected with the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. Many of them, men and women, had passed their lives at Jerusalem; some had probably witnessed the Crucifixion; and one at least (Simeon, son of Clopas, a cousin of the Lord's), suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (*circa* A.D. 108) at the reputed age of 120 years. Further, the unaltered nature of the ground after the siege is indicated by the circumstance that Hadrian, when he erected a Temple of Venus on the spot (*circa*

¹ Golgotha being the reputed tomb of Adam.

² Matt. xxiv, 15, 16.

A.D. 135–136) carried out no demolition, and removed no rubbish, but was obliged to fill up hollows, and obtain a level platform by bringing the necessary material from a distance.

4. Nothing is known to have occurred during the interval that elapsed between the return from Pella and the suppression of the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian, which would justify the belief that all trace of the holy places had been obliterated, or that the Christians, whose numbers were steadily increasing, had forgotten their position. Simeon, son of Clopas, a contemporary of the death and resurrection of Jesus, who succeeded the Apostle James as Bishop of Jerusalem, lived to the first decade of the second century, and he was followed by thirteen Bishops of Hebrew origin, who would not have allowed a knowledge of the position of the holy places to die out.

5. The tradition with regard to the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb was thus continuous from the date of the Crucifixion to the time when Hadrian founded the Roman colony of *Ælia* on the ruins of Jerusalem, and a temple of Venus was built above the Sepulchre of Christ. By the erection of the temple—an act of profanation which in itself shows that the two places were then honoured by Christians—the holy places were completely concealed, but their position was definitely marked for all time, and they were preserved from injury.

6. After the foundation of *Ælia*, the city was visited by pilgrims from all parts of the world, and it became a matter of common knowledge that the holy places lay beneath the paved platform upon which the temple of Venus stood. When, therefore, Constantine decided to recover the sites, and build churches in their honour, it was only necessary to demolish the temple and clear away the made ground beneath it. Eusebius, a contemporary, expresses no surprise at the recovery of the sites in his account of the circumstance: his remark¹ that “contrary to all expectation,” the “venerable and hallowed monument of Our Lord’s Resurrection” was rendered visible by the clearance of the superincumbent soil, is a natural expression of astonishment at

¹ Appendix V., I., iv.

the preservation of the Tomb during so many years, and has no reference to a miraculous discovery. Parallel cases in modern times are the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Troy, and of Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete, both of which may be described as being "contrary to all expectation."

It will be observed that the above arguments involve the assumption that Golgotha and the Tomb were objects of reverence, or at least of interest, to the Christians from the date of the Resurrection to the time of Constantine; that the tradition with regard to their position was continuous throughout that period; and that the ground now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside the *second* wall. This assumption raises three questions, each of which requires separate discussion—the possibility, or otherwise, of a continuous tradition; the attitude of the early Christians towards the holy places; and the course of the *second* wall. The last question is in the main topographical and archæological, the first two are for the most part historical; and it is necessary to inquire what light is thrown upon them by the history of Jerusalem and its Church during the period A.D. 33–326, so far as it is known.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF JERUSALEM A.D. 33-326.

AT the time of the Crucifixion (A.D. 29 or 33) Judæa was governed by a Roman official of equestrian rank, styled procurator,¹ who resided at Cæsarea, and was to a certain extent subordinate to the Imperial Legate of Syria. The governor was invested with the military command, and a corps of auxiliary troops, raised from the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine—the Jews being exempted from military service—was placed at his disposal for the maintenance of order. He was also the supreme judicial authority, and decided matters of life and death, except in the case of Roman citizens, who could appeal

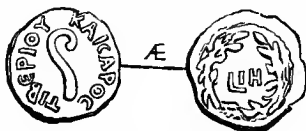


FIG. 2.—COINS OF PONTIUS PILATE, A.D. 32-33.

to the emperor. The administration of the civil law was to a great extent left in the hands of the Sanhedrin; and this was also the case with the criminal law, excepting that death sentences required the confirmation of the procurator. The Jewish worship was tolerated; great deference was paid to the religious opinions and prejudices of the Jews; the worship of the emperor was never enforced; and the copper coins struck by the procurators bore only the name of the emperor and inoffensive emblems.² The Christians were regarded originally by the Roman officials as a Jewish sect, and, to a certain extent, they

¹ For a list of the Procurators, see Appendix IV., 1.

² Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*; Caignart de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*.

benefited by the freedom granted to the Jewish religion. Until the reign of Nero¹ their persecutors were the Jews, and not the Romans. At Jerusalem one of the results of the Roman policy was to throw great power into the hands of the Sadducees or higher clergy, at the head of whom was the high-priestly family of Ananus. This power was often abused, and when, as in the reign of Caligula, the administrative services were demoralised, it was used to persecute the Christians. It was apparently at such a period that Stephen was martyred (A.D. 37 or 38), and that persecution drove many Christians from Jerusalem.

In A.D. 41, Herod Agrippa was appointed by the Emperor Claudius king of the territory over which Herod the Great had reigned, and the force of auxiliaries was transferred to him. Herod, who observed the Jewish religion strictly, and endeavoured in every way to conciliate the Jews, was naturally hostile to the Christians, but it was only towards the close of his reign that he became a violent persecutor. Early in A.D. 44 he killed James, the son of Zebedee, with the sword, and imprisoned Peter.² Shortly afterwards he died at Cæsarea. During his reign the *third* or outer wall of defence was commenced.³ Its course is not certainly known, but there can be no doubt that the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb were enclosed by it. Those sites evidently formed part of an ancient Jewish cemetery, and there is every reason to believe that, in view of the state of Jewish feeling at that period, they were not occupied by buildings.

On the death of Herod the government was resumed by Rome, and Cuspius Fadus was appointed procurator. He was followed by a succession of governors whose mal-administration and cruelty gave rise to the disorders and popular tumults that culminated in the war with Rome and the destruction of Jeru-

¹ The persecution of Nero was local and transient. It did not extend to Palestine. The Christians at Rome were accused of incendiarism, and punished for their hatred of mankind (*odium generis humani*, Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 38-44).

² Acts xii, 1-4.

³ Josephus, *Wars*, v, 4, § 2. See Chapter XI.

salem. The Christians no doubt suffered as much as the Jews from the brutality of the governors, but Christianity played no part in the disturbances. During one period of anarchy, between the death of Festus (A.D. 61) and the arrival of Albinus (A.D. 62), when the high priest Ananus¹ was in power, James, the brother of the Lord, and the head of the Jerusalem Church, was possibly killed.² The war broke out in A.D. 66, and, during its progress,³ some time before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem (April, A.D. 70), the Christians fled to Pella,⁴ a city of Decapolis with a mixed population in which the Greek element preponderated. Only 35 years had elapsed since the Crucifixion, and it seems certain that several of the refugees, and possibly every Christian of mature age, knew the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb.

Whilst the Christians were at Pella, Jerusalem was taken by Titus (August, A.D. 70), who is said to have ordered its complete destruction, with the exception of the three great towers connected with Herod's palace and a portion of the west wall. How far this order was carried out is uncertain. Josephus writes as if all the walls and houses, with the exception mentioned, were razed to the ground;⁵ but Eusebius is perhaps nearer the truth when he states⁶ that only half the city was destroyed. Those portions of Jerusalem which lay north of the

¹ The son of the Ananus (Annas) who was connected with the trial of Christ.

² Appendix IV., 8, i. The persecution in which James perished may have been later, perhaps in A.D. 64 or 65.

³ Probably during the winter of A.D. 67-68, soon after the arrival in Jerusalem of John of Gischala (Nov., A.D. 67); cf. Matt. xxiv, 20, "Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter."

⁴ Pella (now *Fahil*, east of Jordan; see Schumacher (*Pella*), and Merrill (*East of Jordan*), originally a Greek military settlement, was taken and destroyed by Alexander Jannaeus because the people would not adopt Jewish customs. It was restored by Pompey, who granted it self-government and freedom from taxation; and was attacked by the insurgent Jews at the commencement of the war of A.D. 66-70. When the Christians took refuge in the town, Galilee and Perea had been completely subdued by Vespasian. The flight is mentioned by Eusebius (Appendix IV., 8, ii) and Epiphanius (Appendix IV., 9, ii). The Galilean Christians appear to have taken refuge east of Jordan during the campaign in Galilee.

⁵ *Wars*, vi, 9, §§ 1, 4; vii, 1, § 1.

⁶ Appendix IV., 8, xi.

first wall, and those which lay on Mount Moriah and in the Tyropœon Valley, were the scene of much street fighting, and must have been practically destroyed during the progress of the siege. But the "Upper City," on the western spur, was not carried by assault. The Jews were seized with a panic when a breach was made in the west wall, near Herod's palace, and fled from the wall and from the towers. The Romans entered without striking a blow, and though the place was sacked and fired by the soldiers,¹ many houses must have remained intact. The military requirements of the Roman garrison necessitated some demolition; but there is no evidence that a plough was passed over the ruins, or that Titus ever intended that the city should never be rebuilt. Josephus would certainly have mentioned such an act of exauguration if it had taken place.

After the capture of the capital, Judæa became an independent province, which was occupied by the celebrated Tenth Legion, Fretensis,² and a body of "auxiliary troops of foreign origin, drawn in part from the farthest lands of the west." The province was retained by Vespasian as a private possession, and its revenue was paid to his privy purse;³ but lands in the vicinity of Jerusalem were granted to the Tenth Legion. The commander of the legion, who was usually of prætorian rank, was also the governor of the province, and resided, as the procurators had done, at Cæsarea.⁴ The legion, or the bulk of it, was quartered in the "Upper City," and, until the reign of Hadrian, Jerusalem was neither a colony nor a *municipium*, but a Roman legionary fortress or camp, with no power to strike coins. During this period (A.D. 70-132) there was no attempt

¹ *Wars*, vi, 8, §§ 4, 5. Several public buildings were destroyed before the siege, *e.g.*, the house of Ananias, and the palaces of Agrippa and Berenike (*Wars*, ii, 17, § 6).

² The Tenth Legion, with some troops of cavalry and cohorts of infantry (*Wars*, vii, 1, § 2).

³ *Wars*, vii, 6, § 6.

⁴ *Wars*, vii, 10, § 1. The names of only a few of the governors are known (Appendix IV., 2). Their position may be compared with that of the officers who are Governors and Commanders-in-Chief at Gibraltar, Malta, and Bermuda.

at reconstruction, and no large buildings were erected. Beyond the levelled ground in the immediate vicinity of the "Camp" the walls of the fortifications, of the palaces, and of the houses lay as they had been left by Titus.¹ A few heaps of ruins may have become overgrown with rank vegetation; but there was nothing to prevent a person who had known the city before the siege from recognising any particular spot or street within the walls. The physical features underwent no change; but here and there they may have been concealed by the *debris* of the city.

The "Camp," or legionary fortress, was protected on the north and west by Herod's towers and portions of the *first* wall; but of its limits on the south and east, and of its defences on those sides, nothing is known with certainty.² The garrison must have consisted at first of the whole or of the greater part of the Tenth Legion,³ with a due proportion of auxiliaries, forming together a force of about 6,000 or 7,000 men. By the side of this force, but living apart from it in separate quarters (*canabæ*), there must have been a large miscellaneous population, possibly amounting to 2,000 or 3,000, which consisted of camp followers, merchants, small traders and others who were attracted by the presence of a large permanent garrison. The total military and civil population a few years after the siege would thus be from 8,000 to 10,000. The quarter of the city inhabited by the latter is unknown, but it was probably the region of the bazârs and that part of the "Upper City" which was not occupied by the legionary fortress⁴—a broad space being left

¹ So Jerome writes, "The ruins of the city stood for fifty years, until the time of the Emperor Hadrian (*Epistola ad Dardanum*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxii, col. 1,106).

² The size of the "Camp" and its position in the city are discussed in Chapter XI.

³ Many traces of the Tenth Legion have been found at Jerusalem (*Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 103; 1885, p. 133; 1886, pp. 21-24, 72, 73).

⁴ Recent excavations have shown that the southern portion of the western spur was thickly populated in Roman times, and the finds include bricks with the stamp of the Tenth Legion (*Revue Biblique*, 1902, p. 274 ff.). Possibly this may indicate one quarter occupied by the civil population. See also tile of Tenth Legion found on the eastern slope of the same spur (*Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 20).

between the fortifications of the "Camp" and the nearest houses. After the complete suppression of the rebellion the Jews were not unkindly treated, possibly owing to the fact that Judæa had become Imperial property and to the relations between Titus and Berenike. No attempt was made to interfere with the great Rabbinical school at Jamnia, and no edict was issued forbidding Jews to visit or reside in Jerusalem. According to Basnage,¹ families of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were left in Jerusalem, and settled there to serve the Roman garrison. In all probability those poverty-stricken Jews who had not been deported or sold by Titus, and those who had not compromised themselves by taking part in the war,² were allowed to dwell in the unoccupied parts of the city. And here, too, amidst soldiers and civilians drawn from all parts of the known world, the Christians may have settled down on their return from Pella, making many converts and worshipping in a small building³ which in happier times was to become the "Mother Church of Sion," the "mother of all the churches."

In the "Camp" itself, so long as it remained a legionary fortress, there could have been no church, synagogue, or temple. The fact of the return from Pella is undoubted,⁴ the date is unknown. Dr. Robinson, following Münter,⁵ places it after the suppression of the revolt in Hadrian's reign, and the foundation of Ælia.⁶ Renan considers it most probable that part of the church returned after the complete pacification of Judæa⁷ (*circa*

¹ *Histoire des Juifs*, vii, 9, § 11; 11, § 3.

² Possibly all devout Jews came to mourn over the ruins of the Temple and city, purchasing liberty to do so from the soldiers. The numbers and prosperity of the Jews when the rebellion broke out under Hadrian, some sixty years later, shows that they could not have been greatly oppressed.

³ According to Epiphanius (Appendix IV., 9, i), there was a church on Mount Sion in Hadrian's time, on the spot where the Disciples partook of the Supper after the Ascension.

⁴ The only distinct reference to the return is that by Epiphanius (Appendix IV., 9, ii).

⁵ Münter, *The Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 448.

⁶ *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, i, p. 371, edition of 1856.

⁷ Dr. Robinson (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, i, 367) characterises this view, when advanced by Chateaubriand (*Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*,

A.D. 73), but that the date may possibly have been as late as A.D. 122, when, according to him, Hadrian decided to rebuild Jerusalem as *Ælia*.¹ The earlier date would seem the more probable and the more natural. There was nothing in the political condition of the country to prevent the return, and the Christians would hardly have neglected such a favourable field for missionary enterprise as that presented by the camp and its *entourage*. An early return may perhaps be inferred from the statement of Eusebius with regard to the election of Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem, in succession to James.² Assuming that a small Christian community, with Simeon as Bishop, settled down amidst the ruins of the city about A.D. 72–75, the absence would have been at most seven years—a period far too short to blot out all remembrance of the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb. Even supposing that the Jerusalem Church did not exist, as a body, until A.D. 122, it is impossible to believe that the city was never visited between A.D. 72 and A.D. 122 by individual Christians who were well acquainted with the holy places, and fully capable, had they so wished, of imparting their knowledge to others, and so perpetuating the tradition. The quotation of Eusebius from Hegesippus³ that the “monument” (ἡ στήλη) of James “still remains by the Temple,” implies a knowledge of Jerusalem after the siege by the Christians. On the whole, it seems to be a fair conclusion that the circumstances connected with the siege and with the residence of the Christians at Pella were not such as would have rendered a continuous tradition with regard to Golgotha and the Tomb impossible, either amongst the Jews or the Christians.

Introduction, p. 124, Paris, A.D. 1837), as “nothing more nor less than a mere figment of imagination”; but he brings forward no evidence in support of his own theory, nor is any supplied by Bishop Münster.

¹ *Les Évangiles*, pp. 39, 56.

² Appendix IV., 8, iii The date of Simeon's accession is nowhere stated. Eusebius apparently places the accession after the capture of Jerusalem; Lightfoot and others think that it took place immediately on the death of James, before the siege; and Renan and others suppose that Simeon was elected after the return from Pella.

³ Appendix IV., 8, i.

After the capture of Jerusalem every Jew over 20 years of age who wished to retain his religion was compelled to pay to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome the tax of two drachmae (half a shekel), which formerly had been paid to the Temple of the Lord.¹ The annual collection of this tax, rendered intolerable by the coins, bearing the head of the emperor, with which it was paid, must have kept alive a deep feeling of resentment amongst the Jews. Under Domitian the tax was collected with great harshness, and Christians of Jewish origin suffered equally with the Jews.² Some alleviation, possibly in the method of collection, was granted by Nerva,³ but the country seems to have remained in an unsettled state throughout the reign of Trajan. A few minor outbreaks were suppressed, and order was completely restored in the first year of Hadrian,⁴ A.D. 117. The Jews subsequently remained quiet, waiting for an opportunity, until A.D. 132, when they broke out in open revolt under the leadership of Bar Koziba (*Cozeba*)⁵ or Bar Kokba (*Cocheba*).

According to Dion Cassius,⁶ the cause of the rebellion was Hadrian's decision to rebuild Jerusalem as a heathen city, and to erect a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish Temple. Spartianus, on the other hand,⁷ gives as the reason the issue of Hadrian's edict forbidding the practice of circum-

¹ Appendix IV., 4, i; Josephus, *Wars*, vii, 6, § 6; cf. Matt. xvii, 24.

² The decisive test was circumcision, and, in cases of doubt, Christians of Jewish origin were publicly examined before a tribunal (Suetonius, *in Domitianum*, § 12). The tax was probably paid in denarii, Pl. VII., Fig. 2.

³ The clemency of Nerva was apparently commemorated by a coin bearing the legend FISCIVDAICI CALVMNIA SUBLATA (Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, Pl. VII., 1).

⁴ The final act appears to have been the capture of Lydda by Lusius Quietus, followed by a great slaughter of the Jews.

⁵ The name probably comes from the town of Chezib, or Chozeba; after Bar Koziba's failure and death it was interpreted as "son of a lie." The name Bar Kokba, "son of a star," which appears in Christian writers, has reference to Balaam's prophecy in Num. xxiv, 17. For the Jewish traditions, see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. "Bar Kokba."

⁶ Appendix IV., 4, ii.

⁷ Appendix IV., 5.

cision—an edict which applied to non-Jewish as well as to Jewish people. Eusebius says¹ that the colony was established after the suppression of the insurrection. This statement may be reconciled with that of Dion Cassius by supposing that the founding of the colony was interrupted by the revolt, and completed after its suppression. Hadrian was a great builder and restorer of cities: he had seen the ruins of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the old capital of the Jews to its former magnificence may well have appealed to his imagination. Possibly, too, he may have considered the foundation of a colony in a strong position in Judæa a wise precaution in view of the state of Jewish feeling,² which must have been well known to him. It would seem, then, that the revolt was due to a combination of circumstances—the annual irritation produced by the collection of the temple tax, the edict forbidding circumcision, and the decision³ to rebuild Jerusalem as a heathen city, with its principal temple on the spot once hallowed by the Temple of Jehovah.

The insurgent Jews, animated by the belief that the Messiah had appeared in the person of Bar Koziba,⁴ at first carried everything before them. Jerusalem was taken,⁵ and 50 fortified places and 955 open towns and villages appear to have fallen

¹ Appendix IV., 8, x.

² The growth of the civil population at Jerusalem may have been so great as to have become dangerous.

³ Probably in A.D. 130, when Hadrian visited Syria (Appendix IV., 9). Renan gives A.D. 122 as the date of the visit.

⁴ The destruction of the Temple, and consequent cessation of the sacrifices, gave fresh strength to the Messianic hope of the Jews, whose aspirations, partly political, were of sufficient importance to attract the notice of the emperors. According to Hegesippus (Appendix IV., 8, v.), Vespasian, Domitian and Trajan attempted to extirpate the royal race by hunting down and executing all Jews of the House of David. It is not proved that Bar Koziba proclaimed himself the Messiah, but Rabbi Akiba said of him, "This is the King Messiah," and the people certainly believed him to be so when they anointed and crowned him king at Bethel. All the Jews in Palestine, and probably all the Samaritans (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. "Bar Kokba"), joined him; the Christians held aloof.

⁵ This is evident from the recapture of the city and from the coins, though Jewish writers are silent.

into their hands.¹ Coins were struck,² and an attempt was made to rebuild the Temple.³ Little is known of the incidents connected with the progress of the war. Jewish tradition relates that the Romans fought 52 battles, not always with success.⁴ The capture of Jerusalem by the Jews, and its recapture by the Romans, although both seem certain, are nowhere described. Tineius Rufus,⁵ the governor, and Marcellus, the governor of Syria, who was sent to his assistance, were unable to quell the rising, and it was not until the arrival of Severus from Britain, in A.D. 135, that the war was brought to a close by the capture of Bether (*Bittir*), after it had lasted three and a half years. The date of the recapture⁶ of Jerusalem is uncertain, but the city would appear, from the coins, to have been in the hands of the Jews for more than a year. The termination of the war

¹ Appendix IV., 4, iv.

² Madden (*The Coins of the Jews*, Lond., 1881, pp. 234-246), describes coins of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, which are superstruck on the obverse with the name *Simon* and some device such as a wreath, a cluster of grapes, a tetrastyle temple, or more probably the *Stoa Basilica*, &c., and on the reverse with the legend, *the deliverance of Jerusalem*. There are also coins of Vespasian and Trajan which are superstruck with the legend, *second year of the deliverance of Israel*. See also Caignart de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*.

³ The attempt to rebuild the Temple may be inferred from Chrysostom, the Paschal Chronicle, G. Cedrenus, and Niceph. Callistus, *cf.* Jerome, Appendix IV., 11, iii. According to Jewish tradition, Hadrian granted the Jews permission to rebuild the Temple, but withdrew it, after work had been commenced, in consequence of the representations of the Samaritans.

⁴ The Roman armies certainly experienced disasters and mishaps, and one of these may have been the loss of Jerusalem. The Tenth Legion, or a part of it, which was at Jerusalem early in the third century, when Dion Cassius wrote, may have been temporarily withdrawn for service east of Jordan, in the lately-formed province of Arabia, and the weakened garrison rushed before there was time for the concentration of troops.

⁵ Called Tinnius Rufus by Syncellus; Tynius Rufus (*Chronicles*), Timus Rufus (*in Dan*, ix), and Titus Annius Rufus (*in Zach*, viii) by Jerome; and Turnus Rufus and Tyrannus Rufus by the Rabbis (Appendix IV., 23).

⁶ The fact of the recapture of Jerusalem is stated by Appian and the Samaritan Book of Joshua. It may also be inferred from Eusebius (Appendix IV., 8), Chrysostom (Appendix IV., 14), Jerome (Appendix IV., 11), the Paschal Chronicle (Appendix IV., 24), &c.

left Palestine a desert, and Jerusalem a heap of ruins.¹ According to the Mishna, Jerusalem was levelled down with the plough but according to Maimonides and Jerome the plough was only passed over the site of the Temple.² The prisoners were sold at the annual market by the Terebinth, near Hebron, and at the Gaza market, which was afterwards called "Hadrian's Mart," or were shipped to Egypt for sale.³ A heavy poll tax was imposed upon all Jews, and the laws against them were stringently enforced.

The position of the Church at Jerusalem, and the attitude of the governors towards it and towards the Judæo-Christians, are obscure. When the Church re-formed round Simeon it had lost its pre-eminence. Christianity had passed beyond Judaism and entered a wider field; but those Christians who had carried with them to Pella an unabated reverence for the Law, appear to have returned unchanged. Titus, at the time of the siege, seems to have regarded the Christians as a Jewish sect,⁴ and at first the governors, probably, saw little difference and made little distinction between the Judæo-Christian and the outcast Jew. Simeon and the Bishops who succeeded him were of the circum-

Justin Martyr (Appendix IV., 7); cf. Jerome (Appendix IV., 11, iv). The end is said to have been presaged by the fall of Solomon's monument and other omens (Appendix IV., 4).

² *Taanith* iv, 6; cf. Maimonides (Appendix IV., 23), and Jerome (Appendix IV., 11, iii). If the plough had been passed over Jerusalem, Hadrian could not have rebuilt the city. The tradition may refer either to the ceremony of initiation when a new city was founded (see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 308), or to the exauguration of the site of the Temple, as an intimation to the Jews that no emperor would ever permit their place of worship to be rebuilt. In the latter case it is difficult to explain the attempt of Julian to rebuild the Temple; and the temple of Jupiter erected by Hadrian, though within the precincts or peribolos wall of the Temple, could not have stood on the exact spot occupied by the sacred building.

³ Jerome (Appendix IV., 11, iv); Paschal Chronicle (Appendix IV., 24).

⁴ Titus, in a council held during the siege of Jerusalem, is said to have expressed the view that the Temple ought to be destroyed, in order that the religions of the Jews and the Christians might be extirpated, for though opposed to each other, they had the same origin (Appendix IV., 12), (see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 254).

cision,¹ and it was only gradually that all attempt to conform to the Mosaic Law was abandoned. The alienation from Judaism became complete when Bar Koziba was openly received as the Messiah. The Christians, who were eagerly expecting the second coming of Christ, could not listen to the claims of another (earthly) Messiah, and could take no part in a movement of which the Messianic character was so pronounced. They were consequently persecuted with peculiar violence by the insurgent Jews.² During the period A.D. 73–135 there appears to have been no formal law forbidding Christianity, and no express edict ordering its suppression. Christianity was, however, a *religio illicita*, and those who avowed themselves Christians were “treated like brigands caught in the act.”³ Under Domitian, the Christians at Jerusalem, especially those who had been circumcised, were no doubt harassed and persecuted;⁴ but they afterwards derived benefit from the milder policy of Nerva and Trajan, and their attitude towards the insurgent Jews must have produced a favourable impression upon the local governors and relaxed their severity. The only event that need be noticed is the martyrdom of Simeon, who was put to death because, as a relation of Christ, he was regarded as a descendant of David and one of the royal race.⁵

It would appear from the above that nothing occurred prior to the rebellion that would render the transmission of a tradition, brought back from Pella, impossible; and it cannot be supposed that every Christian, whether of Jewish or Gentile descent, who

¹ There seems no reason to doubt the succession of Judæo-Christian bishops as given by Eusebius on the authority “of writings” (Appendix IV., 8, ix).

² Appendix IV., 7, 11, 17. Basnage (*Histoire des Juifs*, xi, p. 361) considers that the heathen suffered as well as the Christians. In the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Art. “Bar Kokba,” it is maintained that the Christians were not compulsorily circumcised, and that they were not tortured.

³ Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 209 ff.

⁴ The tax was collected from all uncircumcised Jews, and Millman has well suggested (*History of Christianity*, ii, ch. 4) that the Christians suffered more than the unbelievers from the measures taken to collect the temple tax (see p. 56).

⁵ Appendix IV., 8, viii.

knew the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb, perished during the revolt. Nor is it probable that any existing tradition was broken by the action of Hadrian.¹ It may be true, as suggested by Williams,² that the Emperor regarded the Jerusalem Church as an offshoot of the Synagogue, and that its members shared the lot of the Jews. But it is equally true that the Gentile Christians were not banished from *Ælia*, for it had long been known that they were not a Jewish sect.

Hadrian, on the suppression of the rebellion, was able to carry out his project of rebuilding Jerusalem; and in A.D. 136, the year in which he celebrated his *vicennalia*,³ the new city was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and made a Roman colony under the title *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*.⁴ The size of the city is



FIG. 3.—COINS OF HADRIAN, FOUNDER OF THE COLONY.

unknown, but it was probably surrounded by a wall⁵ which excluded the southern portion of the western spur, and included the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb. Hadrian adorned the new colony with magnificent buildings, for which much of the material was obtained from the ruins of the Temple, palaces, &c.⁶

¹ Unger (*Die Bauten Constantin's*, pp. 20, 21), assuming that there was a tradition with regard to the position of Golgotha in the time of Hadrian, considers that it may almost be regarded as certain that some of the inhabitants remained who knew where Christ was crucified and buried.

² *The Holy City*, i, p. 215.

³ The twentieth year of his reign. On these festivals, which previously had only been celebrated by Augustus and Trajan, it was customary to build or dedicate new cities, or to re-name old ones.

⁴ *Ælia*, from *Ælius Hadrianus*, and *Capitolina*, in honour of the god to whom the city was dedicated.

⁵ For the city and its wall, see Chap. XI.

⁶ Appendix IV., 8, xiii.

On the site once occupied by the Temple of Jehovah the Emperor erected a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which appears, from Imperial coins struck at Jerusalem, to have been similar in plan and arrangement to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, as restored by Domitian (see note on Coins, p. 70). There were three *cellæ*, and of these the central one was occupied by a statue of Jupiter, who was regarded as the guardian deity of the city. In the *cellæ* to the right and left were statues of Juno and Minerva; and there were also, in the temple precincts, statues of the founder of the city.¹ Amongst other buildings attributed to Hadrian are the two Demosia, the theatre, the Triameron, the Tetranympion, the Dodekapyllon, formerly called Anabathmoi (the "steps"), and the Kodra.² On the gate which led to Bethlehem was sculptured a boar, the fifth in rank of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army, and probably connected with the Tenth Legion, which had long been quartered in the adjoining camp.³

The constitution of *Ælia* was that of a Roman colony; and the city was divided into seven quarters, each having its headman. Jews were excluded by stringent laws. They were forbidden to enter under pain of death. Guards were stationed to prevent their entrance, and they were not allowed even to gaze upon the city from a distant height.⁴ Pagans and Christians

¹ Appendix IV., 4. The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions two statues of Hadrian; Jerome, in *Is.*, ii, 9, a statue of Jupiter and one of Hadrian; and in *Matt.* xxiv, 15, an equestrian statue of the Emperor (Appendix IV., 11, ix). Possibly there was a statue in the temple, and an equestrian statue in the precincts. An inscription in the south wall of the Harâm esh-Sherif probably belonged to a statue of Antoninus Pius in the temple precincts.

² Appendix IV., 24.

³ Bliss and Dickie found a tile with the stamp of the Tenth Legion, and a boar (*Excavations at Jerusalem*, Pl. xxvii). See Clermont-Gauneau (*Trois Inscriptions de la X^{me} Légion Fretensis; Horus et St. Georges; Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, i, 90, for the boar of the Tenth Legion).

⁴ Appendix IV., 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17. The prohibition, which probably applied to circumcised Christians as well as to Jews, was still in force early in the fourth century. It does not appear to have been relaxed until the reign of Constantine (Bordeaux Pilgrims). Eusebius in his "Theophania" describes the people of Jerusalem as being not Jews but "foreigners and descendants of another race" (Appendix IV., 8, xiv).

alone were allowed to reside in the city, and the magnificence of the colony was of an essentially pagan character. The chief religious worship was that of Jupiter Capitolinus. But Bacchus, Serapis, Venus, or Astarte, the Dioscouri, and the local Tyche, or city goddess, are represented on the coins¹ of the city, and a

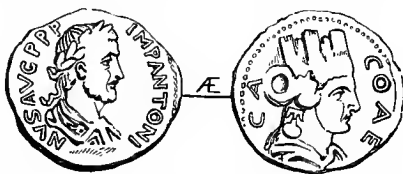


FIG. 4.—COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS, WITH TURRETED BUST OF THE CITY.

temple may have been dedicated to one or more of these deities by Hadrian or some later emperor. On the ground now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stood one such temple, with regard to which there appear to have been two distinct traditions—one Greek, the other Latin. The first is that unknown persons erected a temple of Aphrodite above the Tomb of Christ; the second that Hadrian set up (whether in a temple or not is not directly stated) a statue of Venus on the spot where Christ suffered, and a statue of Jupiter above the Tomb.

The *Greek tradition* is in general agreement with the statement of Eusebius (A.D. 260–339)—the only writer on the subject who could have seen the Temple before it was demolished to make room for Constantine's churches. In his *Life of Constantine*² Eusebius says that certain ungodly and impious persons covered up the Tomb and built, on a paved floor above it, “a gloomy shrine” to Aphrodite, thinking that they would thereby conceal the truth. Sozomen (A.D. 375–450) states³ that the Tomb and Golgotha were covered up by pagans who had formerly persecuted the Church, and that the whole place was enclosed by

¹ The coins range from A.D. 136 to the reign of Valerian, A.D. 260.

² Appendix V., 1, ii.

³ Appendix V., 2, i.

a wall and paved. The pagans erected a "temple" to Aphrodite, and set up "a little image," so that those who went to worship Christ would appear to bow the knee to Aphrodite. Socrates (A.D. 379) relates¹ that those who hated Christianity covered the tomb with earth, on which they built a temple of Aphrodite with her image. In the later tradition of Alexander Monachus,² who wrote in the sixth century, the holy places were covered up by the Jews, and the temple and statue of Aphrodite were the work of idolaters of later date.

The *Latin tradition* rests upon the authority of writers who, although some of them may have conversed with old men who had seen the temple when young, had no personal knowledge of the "holy places" before their isolation from the surrounding rock by Constantine's architect. So far, then, as they contradict Eusebius, they cannot be given the preference. Rufinus (A.D. 345-410), who does not mention a temple, says³ that an image of Venus had been set up by the ancient persecutors on the spot where Christ had hung upon the Cross, so that if any Christian came to worship Christ, he might appear to be worshipping Venus. Jerome (A.D. 346-420) writes,⁴ circa 395, that from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine there stood a statue of Jupiter in the place of the Resurrection, and one of Venus, in marble, on the rock of the Cross, which was worshipped by the people. "The instigators of the persecution thought that they would take away our faith in the Resurrection and the Cross if they defiled the holy places with idols." Paulinus of Nola (A.D. 353-431), writing to Severus, says⁵ that Hadrian, "imagining that he could kill the Christian faith by defacing the place, consecrated an image of Jupiter on the site of the Passion." Sulpicius Severus (A.D. 363-420) states⁶ that images of demons were set up both "in the temple and in the place where the Lord suffered." Ambrose (A.D. 340-397) says,⁷ in a doubtful passage, that Christ suffered in

¹ Appendix V., 3, i.

² Appendix V., 5.

³ Appendix V., 12.

⁴ Appendix V., 13, i.

⁵ Appendix V., 14, i.

⁶ Appendix IV., 12, ii.

⁷ Appendix V., 10.

the Venerarium (*i.e.*, the place where the statue of Venus was set up).

The conflicting statements of the Greek and Latin writers may, perhaps, be reconciled by supposing that during the early part of Constantine's reign the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb were covered and hidden from view by an artificial platform, upon which, immediately above the Tomb, stood a temple of Venus (Aphrodite)¹ containing statues of that goddess and of Jupiter (Zeus). That in the latter part of the reign, Constantine's architect, who cut away the rock to obtain a level platform for the churches, left the two "holy places" standing up from the floor as separate masses of limestone. And that in after years, when the size and internal arrangement of the temple had been forgotten, this isolation gave rise to the theory that each holy place had been intentionally defiled by the erection upon it of an image of a heathen deity.² It may, perhaps, be inferred, from the discrepancy between Jerome and Paulinus with regard to the statue on the rock of the Cross, that there was no very definite tradition when they wrote.

The statements respecting the origin of the temple cannot be reconciled. The expressions "gloomy shrine"³ and "impious persons," used by Eusebius, conveyed the impression that he is describing a small temple, and not a building erected by Imperial command. When Eusebius wrote no one would have ventured to call one of the emperors an impious person. On the other hand, the statement that the material for the substructures was obtained from some place outside the city (*ἐξωθεν*), and that the shrine stood on a paved platform, does not support the view that

¹ I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the Greek and Latin writers with regard to the deity. In a Roman colony a temple of Venus would be more natural than one dedicated to Astarte, and Eusebius would probably have mentioned the Syrian goddess if the building had been erected in her honour. The coins bearing a supposed representation of a temple of Astarte are no proof that that particular temple stood above the Tomb.

² The original form of the ground, and the distance apart of Golgotha and the Tomb, seem to exclude the theory that they were included in one temple, and that each had its special statue in that temple.

³ *σκότιος μυχός*; Socrates and Sozomen use the usual word *ναός*.

the building was insignificant. Hadrian, whose name is mentioned in connection with the "holy places" by no Greek writer, is first introduced by Jerome and Paulinus, who wrote sixty to seventy years after the temple had been demolished. There is no proof that he built the temple of Venus; that he erected any temple at a place known in his time as Golgotha; or that he intended to build one above the tomb of Christ. It is very unlikely that Hadrian, who had confirmed and extended Trajan's policy of leniency towards the Christians, and who must have known how they had been persecuted by the Jews for not taking part in the revolt, would have intentionally insulted them by building a temple above the Tomb, or by setting up statues above the Tomb and on the site of the Passion. On the other hand, it would be not altogether unlike the ironical spirit of the Emperor to extend contemptuous toleration to those he considered wretched fanatics, and at the same time to cover up their holy places as a sort of sarcastic jest.¹ It must also be remembered that Hadrian zealously patronised the Græco-Roman religious rites; and that, in erecting temples in the Oriental provinces of the empire, his purpose was that they should act as constant reminders of the cult of Rome, and of the connexion between the provinces and the metropolis. The Emperor built the great temple of Venus at the capital, and temples of Venus at other places; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he built one at Jerusalem in addition to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (see p. 62). The discovery of a fragment of an inscription in two lines, in the Russian property at the East end of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, perhaps lends some support to this view (see Fig. 5).

The inscription has been attributed to Hadrian, and may have been connected with the temple. If he did build a

¹ Dr. Sanday writes (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 74):—"It does not follow that there was any intentional profanation of a site known to be held sacred. If the building of the pagan temple dates, as it probably does, from the reign of Hadrian, Roman animosity was then directed not against the Christians but against the Jews."

temple of Venus, the probability is that the selection of the Tomb as its site was not intentional. The theory that because a temple of Jupiter was built on the site of the Temple of the Jews; the site covered by the temple of Venus must have been a spot which the Christians held to be sacred, is unsound.



FIG. 5.—INSCRIPTION FOUND AT EAST END OF CHURCH
OF HOLY SEPULCHRE.

All authorities concur in the opinion that the defilement of the "holy places" was intentional; and admitting, for the sake of argument, that the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb were known¹ to Christians, Jews, and Pagans, it is quite conceivable that an attempt was made to cover them up and defile them during some period of persecution. If this was the case, the defilement was probably a spontaneous act on the part of the local authorities, and not due to an Imperial rescript. A possible explanation is that some of the squatters who occupied the region of the bazârs after the capture of the city by Titus (see p. 53), erected a small shrine dedicated to Astarte above the Sepulchre, which was recognized afterwards as the Tomb of Christ, and that Hadrian replaced the shrine by a temple dedicated to Venus.

¹ For the discussion of this question, see Chap. VIII.

Little is known of the history of Ælia¹ during the period A.D. 136-326. With the foundation of the new city the Jerusalem Church lost its distinctive Judæo-Christian character.

The rebellion of the false Messiah had broken the close relations that existed between the Church and the Synagogue, and, on the termination of the war, political necessity dictated the election of a Gentile bishop. Under Marcus and his Gentile successors, the Church fell more and more under the influence of Greek thought and sentiment. The breach with Judaism soon became complete, and the Church eventually branded as heretics those Judæo-Christians, such as the Nazarenes or Ebionites, who held to the law and rejected Paul as an exponent of Christianity. So great was the revulsion in feeling, that the place upon which the Temple of Jehovah had stood was, in course of time, regarded as accursed and profane.

The Christians no doubt suffered during the several persecutions, but they do not appear to have been specially molested. The long tenure of the Jerusalem bishopric by Narcissus (A.D. 190-213 ?); the foundation by his successor, Alexander (A.D. 213-251), of a library which was extant in the time of Eusebius;² the collection of books and manuscripts formed by Origen at Cæsarea (A.D. 231-253); and the pilgrimage of a lady mentioned by Cyprian,³ indicate that, in Judæa, and in Ælia, the Church grew and prospered in spite of persecution. Nothing occurred that would have led Christians who knew the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb to forget them.

In Jewish tradition, however, there may have been a break. Except, possibly, during the later years of the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211), the order forbidding Jews to approach

¹ The name Ælia so completely supplanted Jerusalem, that a Governor of Palestine, in the reign of Diocletian, is said to have asked what city the latter was (Eusebius, *The Martyrs of Palestine*, xi). Eusebius in his *History* calls the city Ælia, and in his *Life of Constantine* Jerusalem. For some years after Constantine's reign the two names were used together.

² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vi, 20. (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xx, col. 572.) Alexander was bishop coadjutor until the death of Narcissus.

³ *Epistola*, 75. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, iii, col. 1,164.)

the city was strictly enforced, and there was no relaxation until the reign of Constantine. During the long period of 190 years the Jews may well have forgotten the exact positions of places that were of no special interest to them, although, possibly, a general idea of the direction in which they lay may have survived.

The brief epitome of the history of Jerusalem which has been given above strongly suggests the conclusion that if Golgotha and the Tomb were regarded by the early Christians as "holy places," or as of any special importance, the Church would have experienced no difficulty in preserving a knowledge of their positions until they were officially recovered by order of Constantine.¹ Whether the attitude of the early Christians towards those places was such as to encourage the belief that the knowledge was preserved, is another question. It is also apparent that, until the foundation of Ælia in A.D. 136, nothing occurred to break the continuity of any Jewish tradition connected with Golgotha.

NOTE ON THE COINS OF ÆLIA.

The bronze coins of Ælia supply certain information which demands a short notice. The long series commences with Hadrian, and ends with Valerian (A.D. 136-260), and some of the most interesting types are reproduced here.

1. (Fig. 3, p. 61).—A coin of Hadrian. *Rev.* COL. AEL. KAPIT., and in the *exergue* COND. A colonist driving two oxen to the right, behind them a standard fixed in the ground.² "This coin represents the foundation of the colony—a colonist drawing the furrow to mark the limits of the future enclosure,"³ and not, as some writers have supposed, the exauguration of the Temple and its precincts by passing a plough over the ruins. The same type is found in a coin of Marcus Aurelius.⁴

¹ There was no "yawning breach in the history of the Christian Church of Jerusalem between its first founding and the time of Constantine." The two breaks were Pella and the outbreak in Hadrian's reign. (Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 75.)

² Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 249, No. 1.

³ Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, p. 60.

⁴ Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 257, No. 2.

2. (Pl. VI, No. 1).—A coin of Hadrian. *Rev.* COL. AEL., and in the *exergue* CAP. Jupiter seated in a distyle temple, and on either side of him a standing figure holding a spear.¹ "This coin represents the three divinities—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, who were worshipped in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome and Ælia."² A coin of the same type was struck in the reign of Diadumenian (A.D. 217–218).³ The type may be compared with the medals and coins representing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome. The temple rebuilt by Vespasian appears, from a bronze medal of that Emperor (Pl. VII, No. 5), to have been hexastyle, with three *cellae*, in which were figures of Minerva, Jupiter seated on his throne, and Juno. But, after its destruction by fire in the reign of Titus, it seems to have been rebuilt and completed by Domitian as a tetrastyle temple, with three *cellae*⁴ (Pl. VII, Fig. 6). Legend, CAPIT., and in the *exergue*, RESTIT. The temple erected by Hadrian at Ælia was possibly built on the same plan as that at Rome.

3. (Pl. VI, No. 3).—A coin of Hadrian. *Rev.* COND., and in the *exergue*, CO. AE. CAP. A crowned figure standing in a hexastyle temple, holding a head in the right hand and a sceptre in the left. The right foot resting upon a rock, or block of stone.⁵ The figure has been identified, erroneously, with Astarte by De Saulcy and others; but it represents, apparently, the city Tyche holding the bust or head of the reigning Emperor, and resting on a sceptre. The rock has, perhaps, reference to the site of the city. The legend COND. shows that the coin must have been struck soon after No. 1.

4. (Pl. VI, No. 4).—A coin of Antoninus Pius. *Rev.*, the city Tyche; same type as No. 3, but standing in a tetrastyle temple. In the *exergue* C. A. C.⁶ Coins of similar type were struck during the reigns of M. Aurelius and Verus, Pescennius Niger, Septimus Severus, Diadumenian, and Elagabalus.⁷

5. (Fig. 4, p. 63).—A coin of Antoninus Pius. *Rev.*, CO. AE. CAP. A turreted bust of the city.⁸

6. (Pl. VI, No. 5).—A coin of M. Aurelius and Verus. *Rev.* COL. CAP., and in the *exergue* AEL. Jupiter seated in a tetrastyle temple.⁹

¹ Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 250, No. 3.

² Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, p. 60.

³ Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 265, No. 1.

⁴ For details, see Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 6 ff.

⁵ Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 249, No. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255, No. 13.

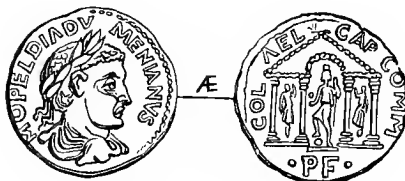
⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 260, No. 4; 266, No. 2; 269, No. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253, No. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 259, No. 3.



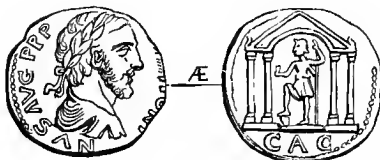
No. 1.—COIN OF HADRIAN.



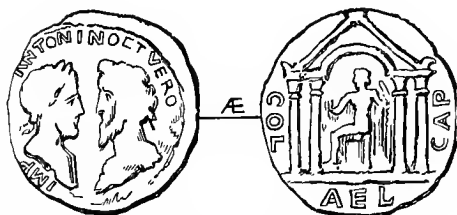
No. 2.—COIN OF DIADUMENIAN.



No. 3.—COIN OF HADRIAN.



No. 4.—COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS.



No. 5.—COIN OF M. AURELIUS AND VERUS.



No. 1.—COIN OF FIRST REVOLT.

No. 2.—COIN IN WHICH TAX WAS PAID.

No. 3.—COIN OF SECOND REVOLT.

No. 4.—COIN OF SECOND REVOLT.

No. 5.—MEDAL OF VESPASIAN.

No. 6.—COIN OF DOMITIAN.

7. (Pl. VI, No. 2).—A coin of Diadumenian. *Rev.* COL. CAP. COMM., and in the *exergue* P.F. The city Tyche crowned and standing in a tetrastyle temple, holding the head of the Emperor, and resting upon a sceptre, the right foot resting upon a rock or a helmet.¹ On either side, in the spaces of the columns, a "Victory" standing on a globe. There is a coin of Elagabalus of similar type.²

Amongst other types are—the bust of Serapis, which appears on the coins of ten emperors; Bacchus; the Dioscuri; the head of the sun radiate; the Roman eagle on a standard; the eagle on a thunderbolt; the city Tyche seated, holding a patera and cornucopiae; the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. None of these, however, throw any light upon the temples or cults of the city.

COINS REPRESENTED ON PLATE VII.

No. 1. Small bronze coin of first revolt (A.D. 66–70). *Ob.*, *Cheruth Zion*, "deliverance of Zion," round a vine leaf. *Rev.*, *Shenath Shetaim*, "year two," round a two-handed vase.³

No. 2. Coin (denarius) in which the two drachmae tax was paid. *Ob.*, Titus laureated; T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. *Rev.*, in the centre a palm tree, to the right a seated captive—Judaea, to the left Titus standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing left foot on helmet.⁴

No. 3. Shekel, or debased Attic tetradrachm, of second revolt (A.D. 132–135). *Ob.*, conventional representation of a tetrastyle temple, or, more probably of the west end of the southern portico, *Stoa Basilica*, of the temple; above the portico a star. *Rev.*, "The freedom of Jerusalem," the *ethrog*, citron, and *lulab*, bundle of twigs.⁵

No. 4. Coin of second revolt struck on a Roman coin. *Ob.*, Simon, within a wreath, on the rim are traces of TIAN (Domitian) AVG. *Rev.*, "The freedom of Jerusalem," round a three-stringed lyre.⁶

No. 5. Bronze medal of Vespasian with representation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, as restored by that Emperor.

No. 6. Cistophorus of Asia Minor, of Domitian, representing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as restored by the same Emperor. Signed CAPIT., and in the *exergue* RESTIT.

¹ Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, p. 266, No. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268, No. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219, No. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206, No. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239, No. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235, No. 8.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS TOWARDS
GOLGOTHA AND THE TOMB.

THE discussion of this point is beset with difficulties. There is not in the works of any writer prior to the age of Constantine, so far as I am aware, the faintest shadow of a hint that the early Christians held the places of the Crucifixion and Burial in any special honour, that they offered prayers to God at them, or that they even knew where they were situated. This silence, which has opened a wide field for speculation, is suggestive, but not conclusive. At one extreme is the view of Chateaubriand,¹ that the Holy Sepulchre was honoured, under the name *Martyrion*, from the very birth of Christianity as a witness or testimony of the Resurrection; and, at the other, the opinion of those who believe that to the early Christians the risen Lord was everything and the Tomb nothing. Between the two extremes lies the suggestion² that, although there was no special cult of the Holy Sepulchre in the first centuries of Christianity, it may well have happened that the small Christian community of Jerusalem, which was at enmity with and hated by the whole world, preserved the memory of places round which all their hopes of the fulfilment of prophecy were gathered. In which direction does probability lie? The first Christians were Jews, and this question must be considered from the Judæo-Christian rather than from the Hellenic or Latin point of view.

Little is known of the rites and customs of the Jews connected with the burial of the dead; but it is at least certain that

¹ *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, "Introduction."

² Unger, *Die Bauten Constantin's des Grossen am heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem*, pp. 20, 21. See also Guthe, "Grab, das heilige," in Hanck's *Realencyklopædie*:—Even if the first Christians, as spiritual followers of Christ, attached no importance to the scene of the Resurrection, it would have been contrary to human nature and custom to have forgotten it.

every Jew attached great importance to burial in the family tomb;¹ and this suggests the belief that the disciples and friends of Jesus did not intend the sepulchre of Joseph to be His permanent resting-place. The body was placed in it² because they were pressed for time—the Sabbath was nigh, and the tomb was close at hand. According to John (xix, 39, 40) the body, when taken down from the Cross, was bound “in linen clothes with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to bury”; and the preparation for burial, though hurried, was apparently complete.³ Matthew, Mark, and Luke state that the body was wrapped by Joseph in a linen sheet, but mention no spices. All four Evangelists describe the visit of the women to the Sepulchre on the first Sunday morning: Mark says that “when the Sabbath was past” the women “bought spices that they might come and anoint him”; Luke states that, after the entombment, they “returned and prepared spices and ointments,” and that on the first day “they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared.” Matthew and John do not allude to the spices.⁴ The body was apparently laid on the rock-hewn bench which surrounded the ante-chamber;⁵ it was certainly not placed in a loculus.

¹ There was a common belief that if a Jew wished to be reunited with his family in *Sheol*, he must be buried in the family sepulchre. Even the bones of an executed criminal were removed from the common tomb to the family vault when the decomposition of the body was complete.

² Possibly Joseph, in begging the body from Pilate and placing it in his own grave, intended to save it from the indignity of burial in the common tomb, and to mark his profound feeling of respect for Jesus (*cf.* Gen. xxiii, 6; 2 Ch. xxiv, 16).

³ For what is known of Jewish burial customs, and their application to the question of Christ's burial, see articles by Bender in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vols. 6 and 7; articles on Anointment, Burial, Tombs, Dead, Mourning Customs, &c., in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*; *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; *Encyclopædia Biblica*; *Jewish Encyclopædia*; and *Revue Biblique*, 1902, pp. 567, 568.

⁴ Matt. xxvii, 59; xxviii, 1; Mark xv, 46; xvi, 1; Luke xxiii, 53; xxiv, 1; John xix, 39, 40; xx, 1.

⁵ Such ante-chambers are common in the rock-hewn tombs of Palestine, and according to Cyril (Appendix V., 16, iii) the traditional Holy Sepulchre had one, which was cut away when the church was built.

The usual explanations of the visit of the women are, that they intended to complete the burial by anointing the body and clothing it in the usual grave-clothes, or that they simply desired to spread spices over the body to counteract the effect of decomposition before the body was placed in a loculus. The anointment of a lacerated body which had lain in the tomb thirty-six hours—a period sufficient for incipient decomposition (*cf.* John xi, 39), is most unlikely, and is opposed to the little that is known of Jewish sentiment and custom. The other explanation is less open to objection; but it seems at least as probable that the motive of the women was the preparation of the body for removal on a bier (*σποός*, Luke vii, 14) to a family tomb, either at Bethany, Bethlehem, or on the slopes of the Mount of Olives.

The first Christians “had all things in common,” and “as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostles’ feet.”¹ Joseph of Arimathea was a secret disciple of Christ,² and, according to tradition, he was one of those who went out as a missionary to the Gentiles. There is no reason to suppose that he acted differently to other Christians, and it is probable, if not certain, that, like Joseph, surnamed Barnabas,³ he sold his property, including the garden and tomb, for the benefit of the common purse.

Visits to family tombs were not uncommon amongst the Jews. They were a tribute to the memory of those members of the family buried in the sepulchre, and were not unconnected with current beliefs respecting the dead. But a visit by a Jew, or by a Judæo-Christian, to an empty tomb for the purpose of prayer, is almost inconceivable in the early days of Christianity. Apart from this, it was the general belief amongst the first

¹ Acts ii, 44, 45; iv, 34, 35; *cf.* v, 1–11.

² John xix, 38.

³ The special mention of Barnabas is, perhaps, due to the fact that he was afterwards a companion of Paul. Plessing (*Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab*, pp. 45–46) discusses at length the action of Joseph with regard to the Tomb. His conclusion is that if Joseph became a teacher, he must have sold his property, and with it the rock-hewn grave.

Christians that Jesus was alive, that He had been raised by God, and had become a heavenly being ("He is risen," "He is ascended into heaven"); and many eagerly expected His immediate return to reign on earth, and so complete the death and resurrection. Peter, John, James, and Jude preach a risen Christ sitting at the right hand of God. How could they have been silent in their letters if they had believed the Tomb to be a powerful aid to holiness and a true religious life? The early Christians needed no prayers at an empty tomb to remind them of their risen Lord, and it is not probable that they paid visits to places which, to those who had known Jesus in human form, must have been full of painful memories.

Any cult of the Tomb during the early years of Christianity seems impossible,¹ but a change may perhaps have occurred after the return from Pella. The Jewish believers at Jerusalem maintained that a strict observance of the Mosaic law in its literal sense was essential to Christianity; their chief place of worship was the Temple;² and, in greater or less measure, they adhered to the national and political forms of Judaism. The lines of demarcation between Christian and Jew, and between Church and Synagogue, were but faintly marked. After the destruction of the Temple, the law and tradition became everything to the Jew. What was the effect of the national disaster upon the Jewish believers? The cessation of the Temple services probably led to a development of meetings for prayer in private houses³ and in the synagogues or churches. The Jerusalem Church gradually lost its supremacy, but its members continued to regard compliance with the ceremonial law as essential, and efforts to impose the yoke of the law upon Gentile Christians did not cease until the third century.⁴ No one can suppose that the rulers of

¹ Especially if, as has been suggested above, Joseph's tomb was never intended to be the permanent resting-place of Christ's Body, and had, shortly after the Ascension, passed into other (non-Christian) hands.

² Acts ii, 46; xxi, 20-26.

³ Acts i, 14; xii, 12.

⁴ For the Judæo-Christians and "Jewish Christianity," see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. ed., i, 289-301; Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine*

the reconstructed church at Jerusalem sanctioned prayers at the Tomb, or anything in the form of a cult of "holy places." At that early period the spirituality of Christianity had not so completely expended its force as to render such an act probable or even possible.¹

It cannot be denied, however, that the return from Pella was an occasion which might reasonably give rise to visits to those places which were connected with the last days of Christ's life at Jerusalem. Such visits, due at first, perhaps, to curiosity, to a desire to see whether the operations of the great siege had altered the appearance of the localities, may in later years have been supplemented by prayers, and these simple acts may have gradually developed into a cult of Golgotha and the Tomb. There is, however, no evidence that any development, such as that suggested, took place; and there is nothing in the scanty records of pilgrimages before the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) to suggest its probability.

A more reasonable supposition is that the Christians resorted to the Mount of Olives, where Christ taught his disciples, and whence He ascended into heaven; and there are some grounds for believing that this was the case. Eusebius, in a passage of great interest,² written before A.D. 325, says that people came from all parts of the earth to the Holy City, "to hear the story of Jerusalem," and "to worship on the Mount of Olives, over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city." It is true that the historian describes what occurred in his own time; but worship on Olivet was evidently of earlier origin.³ Beside the way of the wilderness,

Encyklopædie der Wissenschaften und Künste, Art. "Juden-Christen"; Williamus' *Holy City*, i, pp. 217-224.

¹ As those who had known Christ in human form died, and His divinity more and more filled the thoughts of men, a cult of the Tomb seems less and less possible.

² Appendix IV., 8, xii.

According to Eusebius, "God established it, in the place of the earthly Jerusalem and of the services which used to be held there, after the destruction of Jerusalem." Appendix IV., 8, xii.

at the top of the ascent of the mount, there appears to have been a sanctuary, "where God was worshipped";¹ probably the same spot to which Ezekiel saw the offended God of Israel remove from the Temple mount.² The worship described by Eusebius, however, may have grown out of the visits which were almost certainly paid to the mount by the Christians who returned from Pella. There is no feature near Jerusalem to which a resident would more naturally resort to note the changes that had taken place during his temporary absence, or to point out to a friend the site connected with the historic Jesus. The city, exposed to view in all its details, lies at the feet of the spectator. Is it not also a fair inference, from the absence of any allusion to the Tomb by Eusebius, that the place of Christ's burial was not known when he wrote, or, at any rate, that it was not a "holy place"?

It is most improbable that visits to, or any cult of, the Tomb originated with the early Gentile Christians. The whole spirit of Paul's teaching is opposed to the view that they attached any importance to material objects connected with the life of Christ. It is of the Risen Lord that Paul speaks, rather than of the historic Jesus. The Christ of the Epistles is "not an earthly but a heavenly figure." To the early Christians it was not of pressing importance "to be acquainted with the life of Jesus on the earth": their thoughts "were fixed on the heavenly Christ, in whose career the earthly appearance of Christ was a mere transitory, though an important, episode."³ They believed that the End of the world, and the Kingdom of heaven, were at hand, and their minds were set "on things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth."⁴ Even the earthly Jerusalem

¹ 2 Sam. xv, 30, 32.

² Ezek. xi, 23; xliii, 1. Prof. G. Adam Smith in *Expositor*, 1905, p. 89.

³ Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, pp. 6-9, where the attitude of the early Christians is well put. See also Harnack, *History of Dogma*, pp. 82-87.

⁴ Bovet takes a different view:—"It is true that such was the point of view of St. Paul, and doubtless of the other Apostles. But one would deceive oneself if one attributed the same spirituality to the masses which, from Pentecost onwards, composed the Christian Church. . . . One might with much more reason suppose that the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem

had given place, in their imaginations, to that blissful kingdom of which it is written, "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all."

No record of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the first three centuries by any Christian from the West has survived; but according to Eusebius, Melito of Sardis (who died about A.D. 180) visited the East, and "reached the place where the Gospel was proclaimed and the Gospel history was acted out";¹ and Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, who succeeded Narcissus as Bishop of Jerusalem, visited the Holy City *circa* A.D. 212, "in consequence of a vow, and for the sake of information in regard to its places."² Origen went to Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley, and Sidon (A.D. 226-253), partly, at least, to investigate the footsteps of Jesus and of his disciples and of the prophets.³ Firmilian, while on a visit to Palestine, visited Origen "for the purpose of the holy places";⁴ and in the time of Eusebius pilgrims visited Jerusalem to hear the story of the city, and to worship on the Mount of Olives (see p. 76). The *Cave of the Nativity* at Bethlehem is referred to by Origen,⁵ and Eusebius alludes⁶ to the cave on Olivet near which Christ taught his disciples. The site of the house at which the Apostles met after the Ascension appears also to have been known, and to have been occupied by a church which, according to a fourth-century tradition, existed in the reign of Hadrian.⁷ No other sacred localities are mentioned. The absence of any allusion to Golgotha or the Tomb, in passages such as the above, which might naturally be expected to contain some reference to them, is most

already attached a particular interest, perhaps even an exaggerated importance, to the sacred places in their midst" (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 3rd ed., pp. 193, 194).

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 26, § 14.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 11, § 2.

³ Origen, on *John* vi, 24; (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xiv, col. 269).

⁴ Jerome, *de Viris Illustribus*, 54.

⁵ *Contra Celsum*, i, 51; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xi, col. 756.

⁶ Appendix IV., 8, xii.

⁷ Appendix IV., 9, i. This may well have been the case if the house was on the western spur outside the limits of the Roman Camp (see p. 145).

marked, and suggests that their exact positions were unknown to the writers, or that they attached no importance to them.¹

The attitude of Christians during the first three centuries to Golgotha and the Tomb is, in truth, a matter upon which no one can speak with any certainty. I can only express my personal belief that sacred localities, as we deem them, had little attraction to the early Christians; that the Jerusalem Church attached no importance to them; that no steps were taken to preserve a knowledge of the position of those connected with the Crucifixion and Resurrection; that the Church would have discouraged anything in the nature of reverence to the Tomb; and that, even amongst the less spiritual-minded members of the community, the survival of a tradition relating to Golgotha and the Tomb is improbable, although not, perhaps, impossible. The Christians of the first century, at least, could hardly fail to remember the great principle of their Master's teaching: "The hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."²

¹ Jerome, in an eloquent passage (Appendix V., 13, iii), refers to the number of bishops, martyrs, and men of ecclesiastical learning who had visited Jerusalem every year since the Ascension; but there is no evidence of these numerous pilgrimages before the official recognition of Christianity by Constantine.

² John iv, 21-24. Even St. Jerome is fully in accord with the spirit of this text, for he writes: "*Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia æqualiter patet cœlestis: 'Regnum enim Dei intra vos est'*" (Appendix V., 13, i).

CHAPTER IX.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE TRADITIONAL SITES WITH
GOLGOTHA AND THE TOMB IN THE REIGN OF CON-
STANTINE.

THE only contemporary account of the discovery of Golgotha and the Tomb, and of the erection of churches in their honour, is that given by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*.¹ The "Life" has, somewhat unjustly, been called a travesty of history. Its literary style, so different from the simple prose of the *Ecclesiastical History*, its exaggerated praise of the Emperor, and its frequent attribution of Divine inspiration to his actions,² create a not unnatural prejudice in the mind of the reader. But its author was no deliberate falsifier. His object seems to have been to write a panegyric rather than a sober history. After years of suffering he had seen his religion triumphant, and he wrote with poetic enthusiasm of the sovereign who had wrought

¹ Appendix V., 1.

² Commentators have attached undue importance to this attribution of Divine inspiration. There was a widespread tendency amongst the early Christians, as there is in Palestine at the present day, to see in everything the hand of God; and the words of Eusebius would have been considered only natural at the time when they were written. Constantine laid the "everlasting foundations of Constantinople" in "obedience to the commands of God" (*Codex Theodosianus*, lib. xiii, tit. v, leg. 7). Bishop Alexander is said to have journeyed from Cappadocia to Jerusalem "by Divine direction" (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vi, 11, § 2); it was by God's help that, according to Sozomen (Appendix V., 2), and Socrates (Appendix V., 3), Helena discovered the Tomb of Christ; and when Justinian was building the Church of the Virgin at Jerusalem, "God pointed out in the nearest mountains a bed of stone" suitable for the quarrying of large columns that it was impossible to bring from a distance (Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, v. 6; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii).

such a marvellous change. Can anyone regard his exuberant language as a crime? Is he the only court prelate who has written fulsome praise of a monarch whose conduct was not above reproach? Constantine was not a perfect Christian, but neither was he a Caligula, a Nero, or a Commodus, and he was infinitely superior to many of his successors who reigned centuries after Christianity had become the religion of the State.

Eusebius, from his relations with the Imperial Court, and as Metropolitan of the Jerusalem See, was in a position to obtain accurate information, and, making allowance for his extravagant language, what he says with regard to the orders of the Emperor, and to the steps taken to carry them out, is deserving of the closest attention. His meaning is sometimes obscure, but his honesty and sincerity are apparent, whilst the general freedom of his writings from the fables and prodigies that disfigure later church histories are remarkable. The statements which he makes with regard to the "holy places," and to the churches erected in their honour, are not always clear, but some of the difficulties disappear when it is remembered that the *Life of Constantine* was written after the Cross had been found,¹ and that the Emperor built two distinct churches—the Anastasis, and the Martyrion or Basilica of the Cross. There is no account of the finding of the Cross by an eye-witness,² but its discovery when, or soon after, Golgotha and the Tomb were laid bare by excavation is attested by the letter of Cyril of Jerusalem, written in May, A.D. 351, to the Emperor Constantius,³ and by the allusions which Eusebius

¹ The *Theophania* and *The Praise of Constantine*, were also written after the discovery.

² Eusebius avoids all direct reference to the Cross in such a marked manner, as to imply disapproval of the circumstances connected with its discovery. To him the Resurrection was of infinitely greater importance than the instruments of the Passion.

³ "In the reign of your father Constantine, the beloved of Heaven, of happy memory, the salutary wood of the Cross was discovered at Jerusalem, the Divine One having permitted him, who duly sought after righteousness, to discover the Holy Places, which had heretofore been hidden away" (*Ad Constantinum*, iii; Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxxiii, cols. 1,168, 1,169).

apparently makes to the Cross.¹ The two churches are referred to by Eusebius, and are distinctly mentioned by St. Silvia and others.² They stood not far from each other on a paved platform: one, the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, contained within its walls the reputed Tomb of Christ; the other, the Martyrion, or Church of the Cross, stood above the spot where the crosses were found. In the open air, between the two churches, but a little to the south of their common axis, the rock upon which it was believed that the Cross had stood rose some fifteen feet above the level of the platform.

It must also be remembered that the history of the "holy places," as told by Eusebius, although it is happily free from the fabulous legends which disfigured the accounts of later years, is incomplete. There is no indication of the motive, other than Divine inspiration, which led Constantine to institute a search for Golgotha and the Tomb; the discovery of the Cross is not mentioned; the letter of Constantine to Macarius is apparently a reply to a communication that has not been preserved; and one expression in it, "the present wonder," seems to imply a previous "wonder," the nature of which is left to the imagination. Whether information on these points was given by Eusebius in

¹ The expressions "the token of the most holy Passion," the "assurance of the Saviour's Passion" (Appendix V., 1, vi); the "trophy of the Saviour's victory over death" (Appendix V., 1, ix, xx, xxi); and the "Church sacred to the salutary sign" are opposed to the view that the finding of the Cross is a "legend which grew up after the church was built" (Guthe, "Grab, das heilige," in Hauck's *Realencyklopædie*. See Appendix VI.

² Eusebius, Appendix V., 1, xx, xxi). In her "Pilgrimage to the Holy Places" (*Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i), St. Silvia calls the basilica "the great church built by Constantine which is in Golgotha behind the Cross," and "the holy church which is in Golgotha, which they call the Martyrium." (See also Eucherius, *On the Holy Places*; *The Breviary of Jerusalem*; Theodosius, *The Topography of the Holy Land*; Antiochus Monachus, Appendix V., 6; and Theophanes, Appendix V., 8, ii.) St. Silvia also alludes to open-air services that were held before and behind the Cross which stood on the "rock of Golgotha" (see p. 13). The rock-hewn bases of the columns of the Anastasis, which were visible before the fire of 1808 (Mariti, *Istoria dello stato presente del città di Gerusalemme*), indicate the extent to which the rock was cut away to obtain a level platform, isolate the tomb, and give prominence to the rock of Golgotha.

his "Oration on the Sepulchre of the Saviour," or in his treatise on "The Structure of the Church of our Saviour, and the Form of His Sacred Cave,"¹ is unknown, for the two works are unfortunately lost. If it was given, he may have considered the repetition of the details unnecessary in his *Life of Constantine*. On the other hand, the omission of all reference to the discovery of the Cross may have been intentional.² The author could make no adverse comments on an incident in which the Emperor and his mother were so deeply interested, and he may have decided to remain silent. Or he may have desired to say nothing that would divert attention from the fact that the Resurrection, to which the empty Tomb bore witness, and not the material Cross, was the basis of Christian belief.

Eusebius relates³ that, after the Council of Nicæa, Constantine, being inspired thereto by the Saviour, decided to make the place of the Resurrection "conspicuous and an object of veneration to all," and that he forthwith gave orders for the erection of a house of prayer. The Emperor, "inspired by the Divine Spirit,"⁴ directed that the spot should be purified, for impious men, hoping to conceal the truth, had covered up "the sacred cave," and built above it a shrine dedicated to Aphrodite. When the shrine and its sub-structures were cleared away, and the natural surface of the ground was exposed, "immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's Resurrection became visible." The Emperor then ordered a house of prayer to be erected round "the sacred cave," on a scale of Imperial magnificence.

After describing the discovery of the Tomb, Eusebius quotes a letter from Constantine to Macarius, which was apparently written with full knowledge that the Cross had been found. The Emperor writes that "No power of language seems adequate

¹ Appendix V., 1, ix.

² It may be remarked that Jerome, although he mentions the Cross, makes no allusion to its discovery. Possibly he gave little weight to the legends connected with the incident.

³ Appendix V., 1, i-xvi.

⁴ See note, p. 80.

to describe the present wonder. For that the token of that most holy Passion,¹ long ago buried underground, should have remained unknown for so many years truly transcends all marvel I desire then that you should especially be convinced that of all things it is most my care how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred spot which, under Divine direction, I relieved, as it were, of the heavy weight of foul idol worship—a place holy indeed from the beginning, but which has been made to appear still more holy since it brought to light the assurance of the Saviour's Passion.”² Instructions are then given for the construction of a basilica; “For it is just that the place which is more wonderful than the whole world should be worthily decorated.”³

After stating that the instructions of Constantine were carried out, Eusebius writes: “So on the monument of salvation itself was the New Jerusalem built, over against the one so famous of old Opposite this the Emperor reared, with rich and lavish expenditure, the trophy of the Saviour's victory over death⁴ and first of all he adorned the sacred cave,

¹ This is evidently the Cross. The “token” of the Passion is the Cross, not the Tomb, and the “present wonder” may be its discovery after it had lain buried for nearly 300 years,—the implied previous “wonder” being the recovery of the Tomb in perfect preservation.

² The meaning seems to be that, in the Emperor's opinion, the Tomb, holy as it was in itself, had been made still more holy by the discovery in its immediate vicinity of the Cross—the token, or assurance, of the Saviour's Passion.

³ It seems clear from the previous order to build a church round the Tomb, and from the similarity of the decorative details of this church to those of the basilica that was actually built (Appendix V., 1, vii, viii, xii), that the Emperor intended to build, in addition to the church round the Tomb, a large church above the spot where the Cross was found, a place “more wonderful than the whole world.” If, however, the letter refers to one church only, the explanation may be that the Emperor originally intended to include all the “holy places” in one great church, and that he afterwards approved of a plan for erecting two churches submitted to him by his architect after a study of the ground.

⁴ This expression is apparently applied by Eusebius (Appendix V., 1, xx, xxi) and Cyril to the Cross (see Appendix VI.). “New Jerusalem” may be compared with “New Rome,” the name of the new capital on the Bosphorus, afterwards known as Constantinople.

which was, as it were, the chief part of the whole work." Eastward of the cave "the basilica was erected, an extraordinary work" of great height and extent. In a later chapter¹ the two churches, with their adjuncts, are, apparently, called a "temple," raised as a "conspicuous monument of the Saviour's Resurrection."

Eusebius, it will be observed, writes as if it were well known to everyone that the Tomb lay beneath the temple of Aphrodite. He expresses no doubt as to its authenticity, and makes no allusion to an enquiry by Macarius, or by any government official, with regard to the scene of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Constantine, according to him, is inspired by Christ to make the Tomb a "holy place," and at once issues orders for the removal of the temple and its substructures. The historian certainly says that, when the clearance was made, the Tomb was exposed to view "contrary to all expectation"; but this may only mean that there was a tradition that the "sacred cave" had been destroyed, or injured, when the temple was built, and that those who superintended the excavation were astonished to find it perfectly preserved. The expression may be understood in the sense in which it might be applied to the remarkable discoveries of Schliemann. The distinguished archæologist knew where to excavate, and found the objects of his search, although no one expected him to do so.

Is this an accurate account of what occurred, or is it a compromise between the necessary avoidance of anything likely to give offence to the Imperial family, and a strong desire on the part of the historian to dissociate himself from the steps that were taken to find and identify the Cross? There is some reason for thinking that the latter may have been the case.

Constantine was a man of imperious temper, who brooked no resistance to his will. He was successful in all his under-

¹ Appendix V., 1, xvi.

takings, and believed that his success was due to intercourse with the Deity,¹ through the medium of dreams and visions, which were to him what "the voices" were to the Maid of Orleans. His belief in a Divine vocation seems to have been very real, and it was encouraged rather than discouraged by his Christian advisers. He had seen the sign of the Cross in the sky,² had placed it upon the standards of his army and upon the shields of his soldiers, and, through it, had gotten a great victory and the empire of the world. His training, his methods of thought were those of the West, and until he came to the East he was under the guidance of Western bishops, and was acquainted with Western Christianity alone.³ He had all the materialistic tendency of the Latin, and more especially of the Roman mind; and this tendency would, almost naturally, lead him to order a search to be made for the Cross.⁴ The view, suggested by Eusebius, that the prime motive of the Divine inspiration was the discovery and decoration of the Tomb, must be accepted with reserve. It was the Cross and not the Tomb which influenced the decision of the Emperor at critical moments, and in the salutary power of which he firmly believed.⁵ Can it be supposed that in consequence of a Divine inspiration, immediately

¹ The inscription on the triumphal arch erected by Constantine to commemorate his victory of the Milvian bridge, dedicated A.D. 315, has the words *Instinctu Divinitatis*. Writers allude to him as being *divino monitus instinctu*; and he himself, in his letter to Macarius, writes that his action was due to "Divine direction" (see p. 84).

² The importance attached to this vision is indicated by the legend *iv τούτῳ ὕψι*, so frequently found on ancient crosses.

³ It was only after he became sole Emperor, A.D. 323, that he was brought into close contact with the Christianity of the East.

⁴ The search may have been partly due to political motives. The Emperor may have thought that as the sign of the Cross had given him victory in the field, so the Cross itself, if found, would be a rallying point for Christians, and heal the dissensions in the Church.

⁵ On a statue of himself, holding a spear which terminated in a cross, erected by the Emperor at Rome, an inscription proclaimed to all that by that salutary sign he had saved the city, and restored the senate and the Roman people to their ancient dignity and splendour (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ix, 9; *Life of Constantine*, i, 40).

after the Council of Nicæa, the Tomb took the first place in his thoughts and the Cross the second?¹

The view that Constantine wished to find the Cross is indirectly supported by the rapid development of the cult of the Cross. Less than twenty-five years after the Emperor's death Cyril could write that the wood of the Cross had been "distributed piecemeal to all the world";² Julian was able to taunt the Christians with reverencing the Cross as a divinity; and the heathen had come to regard it as a Christian idol no less materialistic than their own.

The later Greek traditions are far more concerned with the discovery of the three crosses, and the identification of the true Cross than they are with the recovery of the Tomb, and in these traditions the principal figure is not the Emperor but his mother, the Empress Helena. Thus in the fourth and fifth centuries Socrates³ attributes the recovery of the Tomb and the Cross to Helena, assisted by Macarius. Sozomen says⁴ that her zeal for Christianity made her anxious when at Jerusalem to find the wood of the Cross; and Theodoret states⁵ that she was the bearer of Constantine's letter to Macarius, and discovered the Cross. In the sixth century Alexander Monachus writes⁶ that Constantine ordered Macarius to find the Cross, the Tomb, and sacred relics, and that he sent his mother, at her own request, to Jerusalem that she and the bishop might search together for the Cross. According to Theophanes⁷ the Emperor ordered

¹ If the Emperor had regarded the Resurrection as the central point of interest, the building, the Anastasis, which commemorated it, would not have been subordinated to another structure, the Basilica, by which it must have been dwarfed, and from some points of view almost hidden. For the Cross and Constantine, see Clos, *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. i; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Art. "Constantinus."

² "The whole world is filled with the portions of the wood of the Cross" (*Catechetical Lectures*, iv, 10); the wood of the Cross confutes me which, from hence, has been distributed piecemeal to all the world" (*Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 4).

³ Appendix V., 3, i.

⁴ Appendix V., 4, iii.

⁷ Appendix V., 8, i.

⁴ Appendix V., 2, i.

⁶ Appendix V., 5, iii.

Macarius, on his return to Jerusalem from Nicæa, to search out "the place of the holy Resurrection, and Golgotha, the place of the Skull, and the life-giving wood (of the Cross)."

The Latin tradition of the fourth and fifth centuries is, that Helena on her arrival at Jerusalem made inquiry with regard to the place of the Crucifixion, and that when its situation was pointed out to her, she had the superincumbent buildings and earth removed, and found the three crosses. The Cross of Christ was then identified with the aid of Macarius.¹

Assuming that the object of Constantine was to find the Cross, and that the Bishop of Jerusalem was instructed to search for it, the first step would obviously be to recover Golgotha and the Tomb. In no other locality could there have been any chance of success.² Was the situation of the two places known to Macarius? A consideration of the history of Jerusalem and of the early Church has suggested (see p. 79) that the survival of any tradition with regard to them to the time of Constantine is improbable, but not impossible. Eusebius does not mention a tradition, but he says nothing that is inconsistent with a previous knowledge of the place, and his narrative, taken by itself, may perhaps be held to support the view that the position of the Tomb was known. On the other hand, the impression produced by the works of later writers is that, although there may have been some recollection of Golgotha amongst the inhabitants of Jerusalem, there was no certain knowledge of its exact situation. It is true that these later writers were not eye-witnesses, and that they only relate what had become known to them through tradition, but they had access to the archives of the Church, and

¹ Appendix V., 11, iii; 12, ii. The account of the identification of the true Cross given by Severus is possibly that authorised by Macarius. It states that the body of a dead man, on its way to the grave, was carried to the spot where the crosses were found, and that when removed from the bier and placed in contact with the Cross of Christ, it stood upright. The story that the three crosses were carried to the room of a sick lady seems to be an exaggeration of the official account.

² The custom of the Jews was to bury the cross upon which anyone was hanged with the body (Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebræicæ et Talmudicæ*, on Acts viii, 1).

their statements, especially those which are common to all, must have had some foundation in fact.

Amongst Greek writers, Socrates says¹ that Helena recovered the Tomb, "after much difficulty." Sozomen states² that "it was no easy matter" to discover the Cross and the Tomb, and that according to some their situation was pointed out to the Empress by an Oriental Jew, who derived his knowledge from family documents, but that the more probable view was that God revealed it "by means of signs and dreams." Alexander Monachus writes³ that Helena, upon her arrival at Jerusalem, charged Macarius and his suffragans to search for the Cross, and that being at a loss what to do, they offered prayers to God, and were answered by a miraculous revelation of the place to the bishop. In the letter of the Emperor Leo to Omar,⁴ the site is said to have been disclosed by Jews under torture. According to Rufinus⁵ the place of the Crucifixion was pointed out to Helena "by signs from heaven"; and according to Severus⁶ the Empress, having first obtained the requisite information, had the spot cleared. Gregory of Tours says⁷ that the Cross was pointed out to Helena by a Jew named Juda.

It will be convenient at this point to sum up the evidence for and against the existence of a definite tradition. In support of the view that the "holy places" were well known to the Christian community at Jerusalem, it may be urged that during the three centuries which followed their recovery the authenticity of the sites was never questioned by Jews or heathen, and that the Christians would not have acquiesced in identifications which they knew to be false. Even Julian, and those who taunted the Christians with worshipping the Cross as an idol, so far as is known, accepted their recovery as genuine; and no accusation

¹ Appendix V., 3, i.

² Appendix V., 2, i.

³ Appendix V., 5, iii.

⁷ Appendix V., 15. The legend of the discovery of the Cross by Judas for Helena has come down in Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions; and Nestle considers that the original Helena legend was in Syriac.

⁴ Appendix V., 7.

⁵ Appendix V., 12, ii.

⁶ Appendix V., 11, iii.

was brought against Macarius of perpetrating a "pious fraud"¹ during the period when a deliberate fraud, if there were one, would hardly have escaped detection. Eusebius writes as if the position of the Tomb were well known, or, at any rate, as if there were no difficulty in finding it. The Greek and Latin writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries mention no miracle in connection with its recovery, such as that which attended the identification of the true Cross. If the site of the Tomb had been lost, or if there had been any doubt on the subject, Constantine, it has been argued, would have ordered a preliminary inquiry and search, but of this there is no trace in the writings of Eusebius, the only eye-witness. The selection of an inconvenient site on the slope of a rocky hill, where extensive quarrying would be necessary for the erection of a large church, must have been due to the existence of a tradition.² If Macarius and his suffragans had acted upon mere caprice, if they had believed that Golgotha was a rounded hill-top, or if the Emperor had instructed them simply to erect churches in remembrance of the Passion and the Resurrection, they would have chosen a conspicuous spot, such as a knoll with a conveniently situated Jewish sepulchre, and not a tomb in an ancient cemetery within the walls of Hadrian's city. In all probability, also, they would have left the tomb intact, and made an effort to preserve the appearance of reality, instead of cutting away the rock so as to leave that portion of the Tomb only upon which the body of the Lord had rested.

The supporters of the opposite view maintain that there is no

¹ Taylor (*Ancient Christianity*, ii, 277) imputes deliberate fraud to Macarius; but it is impossible to believe that the bishop could have had a cave hewn out of the rock beneath a pagan shrine, and that the heathen would have assented to the fraud.

² Finlay's argument (*History of Greece*, i, Ap. iii) that the minute registration of landed property in the Roman Empire and the provinces, and the maps connected with it, would have enabled Macarius to identify the garden of Joseph, must not be pressed too far. The condition of Jerusalem before the siege by Titus was not such as to facilitate the execution of a cadastral survey by the Romans, and all the city archives were destroyed during the war. A later survey would be of little value for purposes of identification.

positive proof of a definite tradition, and that the story of the recovery of the "holy places" has not sufficient guarantees to justify its acceptance. For three centuries after the time of Constantine no writers refer to a tradition, or advance any argument in favour of the sites, and most of them consider it necessary to ascribe their recovery to an inspiration or to Divine guidance. Nor, excepting the allusion by Eusebius, in his *Theophania*,¹ to "one cavern," is mention made of any mark or sign by which the Tomb that was uncovered was known to be that of Christ. The silence of Eusebius with regard to a tradition is no more a proof that there was one, than his omission to mention the discovery of the Cross, and the part played by Helena in the transactions at Jerusalem is evidence that the Cross was not found when the "holy places" were recovered, and that the Empress was not present during the operations which led to their recovery. It may plausibly be suggested that the historian disapproved of the proceedings, and that his silence with regard to many details is due to his honesty, and to a feeling that, in view of the official recognition of Christianity as the religion of the State, he was obliged to accept the broad outlines of the situation created by the Imperial order to find the Cross. The writers later than Constantine convey the impression that nothing was certainly known with regard to the position of Golgotha, and that an inquiry of some kind preceded its recovery. The fact that Macarius sought for and found a cave beneath the temple of Aphrodite, is no proof that the cave² was the Sepulchre of Christ, or that there was a tradition with regard to it. The existence of a Jewish cemetery at the spot must have been a matter of common knowledge, and it would have been a very natural inference from the well-known characteristics of such cemeteries that there was a Tomb beneath the temple.³ Macarius very possibly formed a

¹ Appendix V., 1, xxiii.

² It is remarkable that Eusebius generally uses the word *ἄντρον*, *cave*, for the Sepulchre, and not the usual *τάφος* (see Appendix VI.).

³ The statement of Eusebius that impious men "set themselves to consign [the Tomb] to darkness and oblivion" (Appendix V., 1, ii), hardly means

theory with regard to the site of Golgotha after more careful consideration than has been given to the subject by some modern theorists, and it is most unlikely that anyone in the fourth century would question an identification accepted by a bishop and his suffragans. There is every reason to believe that Macarius acted in good faith, and an attempt will be made later to discover the reasons which led him to fix upon the traditional sites; but the fact that the scene of the Transfiguration,¹ and the sites of the battle in which David slew Goliath,² and of Rephidim,³ were wrongly identified in the early part of the fourth century, suggests the possibility that the bishop may have made a mistake.⁴ It may be added that the cutting away of the rock round the traditional Tomb, if it did not arise from the architect's wish to produce a certain effect, may have been due to a desire to obliterate all traces of the original features of the ground.

The only possible conclusion, from a discussion of the literary evidence, seems to be that there is no decisive reason for placing Golgotha and the Tomb at the places which were accepted as genuine in the fourth century, and that there is no distinct proof that they were not so situated. Fortunately the question is purely archæological, and its solution, one way or the other, does not affect any Christian dogma or article of faith.

On the supposition that there was no definite tradition with regard to the position of Golgotha, can any reason be suggested for the selection of the present site by Macarius?

as Robinson contends (*Biblical Researches*, i, 414), that the site was forgotten.

¹ The Bordeaux Pilgrim.

² *Ibid.*

³ St. Silvia, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places*.

⁴ Robinson lays much stress (*Biblical Researches*, i, 415, 416) upon the identification by Eusebius of the summit of the Mount of Olives as the scene of the Ascension, which he places at Bethany. But Eusebius connects the Ascension with the spot where Christ taught his disciples (Appendix IV., 8, xii), and the words "he led them out until they were *over against* Bethany" (Luke xxiv, 50), compared with Acts i, 12, "then returned they . . . from the mount called Olivet," are not opposed to the view that Christ ascended from some spot on the Mount of Olives.

Allusion has already been made (see p. 17) to the possibility of some connection between Golgotha and the name *Ælia Capitolina*. According to a fanciful etymology, the word *Capitolium* is derived from the head or skull of a certain Olus, or Tulus, *caput Oli regis*, which was discovered when the rock of the summit of the Capitoline Hill at Rome¹ was excavated for the foundations of the temple of Jupiter; and there is an ancient legend that Golgotha was so called from the skull of Adam, which was buried in a tomb beneath the "rock of the Cross." The two words *Capitolium* and *Golgotha* have the same meaning, and the *Capitolium* was regarded at Rome, as *Golgotha* was at Jerusalem, as the chief place or centre of the world.

On the Capitoline Hill at Rome, near the temple of Mars, stood a temple of Venus Capitolina; and above the assumed rock of Golgotha rose a temple of Venus, or Aphrodite, the Syrian Astarte. At Rome the goddess was known as Venus Victrix, the giver of victory to lovers and Roman armies, and she was called *Calva*, "the bald," a word from which *Calvaria*, "Calvary," is derived. One of the chief seats of the worship of the Oriental Aphrodite, or Astarte, was Golgi²—the same word as *Golgotha*—in Cyprus. In building the great temple of Venus and Rome at the capital, Hadrian identified the goddess with the well-being of the State. The crowned goddess of the imperial coins of *Ælia Capitolina*³ has been called Astarte by De Saulcy, Madden, and

¹ The connection of a head, or skull, with a city is not uncommon, e.g., that of the head of St. John the Baptist with Samaria, Damascus, and Emesa. Compare also the legends connected with the heads of Bel, Dionysos, Orpheus, and Osiris, and the oracle-giving head of Harrân.

² Γολγοί, Γόλγος, from Γόλγος (Golgoa), the son of Aphrodite and Adonis, and the reputed founder of the town; or, according to Sepp (*Das heilige Land*, i, 419), from the rock-cones (Heb., *Galgol*, *Golgoth*) which played an important part in the rites connected with the worship of the goddess who was called γολγῶν ἄνασσα. The ruins of the large temple of Aphrodite, or Astarte, in Cyprus, was excavated in 1871.

³ On the coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and their successors (see Pl. VI), the goddess is represented standing, sometimes alone, sometimes in a temple, with a sceptre or spear in her left hand, a human head in her outstretched right hand, and with her right foot on a human figure. The head is supposed by some writers to be that of Adonis, and the human figure to be a river-god or a vanquished Jew.

others, but this identification is by no means certain. The type occurs at cities where Astarte is impossible, and the figure is apparently the local Tyche, or city-goddess, holding in her hand the head or bust of the reigning Emperor,¹ and resting on a sceptre.

It may be inferred from the expressions "a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols," and "profane and accursed altars," used by Eusebius,² that the temple of Aphrodite at Jerusalem contained several statues, and it has been suggested (see p. 63) that one of them may have been a representation of Jupiter.³ Is it possible that we have here the Capitolium of Ælia Capitolina containing, like the Capitolia of other large towns of the Empire (*e.g.*, Carthage), a temple of Jupiter and Venus; and, if so, could the legend of the skull of Adam, and even the name Golgotha, have had their origin in the Jerusalem Capitol?

The manner in which Jerome connects Jupiter and Venus with the Tomb and Golgotha (see p. 64), suggests the idea that the Capitolium of Ælia was at Golgotha. But the statement of Dion Cassius (see p. 62), that Hadrian built a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of God, supported as it is by the reference of Jerome to a statue of Jupiter in the Temple precincts, is strong, but not conclusive evidence that the

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Barclay V. Head, Keeper of Coins, &c., at the British Museum, who has referred me to "a coin of Cremna in Pisidia" (*British Museum Catalogue*, p. 218 and oii): reverse, FORTUN. COL. CREMN., with this type of Fortuna crowned, with sceptre in left and human head in outstretched right hand, and with right foot on upper part of human figure. Also a coin of Ed Dera'ah (Edrei), in (the Province) Arabia (De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 374), where a coin of the same type bears the inscription, ΑΔΡΑΗΝΩΝ ΤΥΧΗ.

² Appendix V., 1, ii.

³ Sepp suggests (*Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, i, 421) that the statue of Jupiter mentioned by Jerome and Paulinus of Nola was really one of the Egyptian Serapis, whose head appears on coins of Antoninus and his successors. It would appear from a dedicatory inscription at the Sion Gate that Serapis was worshipped at Jerusalem in the reign of Trajan, while the city was still only a Roman camp. The temple of Serapis was probably outside the south wall of the camp, and not far from the Sion Gate, (*Quarterly Statement*, 1895, pp. 25, 130; 1896, pp. 133-152).

Capitolium was on Mount Moriah. The view that the Capitolium gave rise to the name Golgotha and to the Adam legend involves the theory that the spot where Christ suffered was situated in the Capitolium of Ælia; that the place was first called Golgotha in the second century; and, as a consequence, that the references in the Gospels to the "place of the skull," and "the skull," were inserted in the text at a later date than the reign of Hadrian. But the general tendency of recent criticism has been to strengthen the opinion that the Gospels assumed their present form long before Hadrian came to the throne, and, apart from this, it is not easy to believe that the place of the Crucifixion only received its distinctive Aramaic name a century after the death of Christ, and that Golgotha was then, for the first time, mentioned in the Gospels.¹ The Adam legend is, in all probability, of much earlier date than the second century (see p. 6). There would then appear to be no direct etymological relation between Golgotha and the Capitolium of Ælia, and no reason to believe that the name Golgotha was derived from, or caused by, the Capitolium.

The view that Golgotha was well known in the time of Hadrian, and that, apart from any hostile feeling towards the Christians, the name itself would have led to the selection of the spot for the erection of a temple of Venus, has been advanced by Sepp.² But the evidence of a continuous tradition is so uncertain that the alternative theory, that the presence of the temple influenced, to a certain degree, the identification of Golgotha with the present site, seems preferable.

The Church historians later than Eusebius evidently believed that some inquiry preceded the identification (see p. 89). There may, perhaps, have been some vague idea amongst the Jews of Palestine³ that Golgotha lay to the north of the citadel, and the

¹ The slight variations of wording in Matt. xxvii, 33, Mark xv, 22, and John xix, 17, and the omission of the word Golgotha in Luke xxiii, 33, seems opposed to the theory of an authorised interpolation at such a late period.

² *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, i, 420.

³ See the statement by Sozomen (Appendix V., 2, i, and the quaint Syrian legend given by Abu el-Faraj in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

castle of Antonia, which protected the Temple, having been destroyed, Macarius may have taken it for granted that the citadel referred to was on the western hill. On this hill the three towers left standing by Titus marked the position of Herod's fortified palace; and to the north of the towers lay an ancient Jewish cemetery, which possibly included amongst the rock-hewn tombs the sepulchre of John the High Priest. In the midst of the cemetery, and partly covering it, stood a temple of Venus. May not Macarius, in his selection of the present site, have been influenced, in the absence of any definite tradition, partly by an uncertain legend of Jewish origin (see p. 6), partly by the existence of an ancient cemetery north of the three towers, and partly by a fancied connection between Golgotha and Golgi, suggested by the temple? The solution proposed above is put forward with some hesitation as an alternative to the probable view that the Bishop simply made a guess at the site, and that his identification was accepted at once, and without question, by Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syrian Christians.

The history of the official identification of Golgotha and the Tomb is not fully known, and an attempt to reconstruct it is perhaps hazardous. But the importance attached by the Church historians of the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century to the action of the Empress Helena, and to the discovery of the Cross, seems to need some explanation. The statements in the early ecclesiastical histories must have had some foundation in fact, and the theory which seems best to meet the difficulties of the case may be stated as follows :—

1. After the Council of Nicæa, Constantine, for motives to which allusion has already been made (see p. 86), commanded Macarius, who was then returning to Jerusalem, to search for the Cross of Christ.

2. The first step was to find the place of the Crucifixion, near which, under ordinary circumstances, the Cross would have been buried or cast aside. Macarius, after consultation with his suffragans, and after making inquiry amongst the native

Christians and Jews, came to the conclusion that Golgotha lay beneath the temple of Aphrodite.

3. Constantine, having been informed by Macarius of the result of this investigation, sent his mother, the Empress Helena, to Jerusalem with full power to demolish buildings and make the necessary search.

4. The Empress, on her arrival at Jerusalem, employed labourers and soldiers to clear away the temple of Aphrodite and its substructures. By this means a portion of the ancient Jewish cemetery, hitherto concealed from view, was uncovered, and a rock-hewn tomb,¹ prepared for the reception of a single body, was identified as that in which the body of Christ had rested. A spot on the terrace above (see p. 36) was at the same time assumed to be Golgotha.

5. Constantine, on being informed of the discovery, ordered the erection of a church which should enclose the Tomb. Meantime the excavations were continued with unabated vigour, and at last the three crosses, the nails, and the title, which had become separated from Christ's Cross, were found. The true Cross was then identified by its "life-giving" properties.

6. The Emperor, on hearing of the recovery of the Cross, wrote the letter preserved by Eusebius,² in which Macarius was directed to build two churches with lavish magnificence.

7. The rock was cut away so as to isolate the Tomb and Golgotha, and the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, and the Martyrion, or Great Church of the Cross, were built.³

The Second Wall.—The question whether the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was inside or outside the *second*

¹ It has been suggested by Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 72) that the Tomb was an ancient Mithraeum, which was reconsecrated by Macarius as the Sepulchre of Christ. But there seems no reason for the selection of a Mithraic or Adonisiac cave by Macarius when there were so many tombs close at hand. Nor does it seem likely that the builders of the temple of Aphrodite would have turned a Jewish tomb into a cave of Adonis.

² Appendix V., 1, vi, vii.

³ The theory stated above is that of Clos (*Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, p. 7), slightly modified.

wall of Josephus is one that cannot be answered, at present, with any degree of certainty. Some of the views which have been advanced with regard to the wall are discussed in Chap. XI. It will be sufficient to state here that so far as the topographical features are concerned, it may have excluded or included the ground upon which the church stands.¹ The archæological evidence is equally unsatisfactory. There is no sufficient proof that the masses of masonry which are supposed to have formed part of the *second* wall ever belonged to it. In some instances the masonry is almost certainly of later date.

A strong argument in favour of the opinion that the site of the church was outside the wall is its selection by Macarius. The search for Golgotha and the Cross was ordered by the Emperor, and it may be regarded as a public work carried out by the State. Supposing that the remains of the wall were then visible,² is it at all likely that the Bishop and his advisers would have deliberately placed Golgotha inside the wall, when every educated Christian knew that Christ had suffered "without the gate"? Would the higher clergy throughout the Empire, who were at variance upon many points, have accepted without protest a site that was obviously impossible?

On the other hand, it may fairly be urged that Josephus, who, in his description of the *first* and *third* walls, mentions places near to, or through which they passed, would almost certainly have referred to Golgotha in connection with the *second* wall if it

¹ The view that any wall excluding the church must have had a faulty trace is hardly correct. There are Greek towns in Asia Minor where the city walls or parts of them are quite as badly traced according to modern ideas. For some of the general principles upon which ancient fortifications were constructed, see p. 121.

² The curious and rather obscure reference of Cyril to the Tomb seems to place it near the "outer wall"; but whether the wall referred to was the *second* or *third* wall of Josephus, or the wall of Hadrian, is uncertain. "But where is the rock which has in it this cleft (or cave)? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts; and is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer walls which were built afterwards? He says then in the Canticles (ii, 14), *In the cleft of the rock near the outer wall*" (Appendix V., 16, iii).

had been a well-known spot, and close to a marked change of direction in the wall.

Several writers have assumed that because the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is built in a Jewish cemetery, the site must have been outside the *second* wall. This assumption would be true only if the tombs were of later date than the Captivity. Intramural burial was not uncommon in the time of the Jewish monarchy, and there is no trace of any aversion to it in the historical books of the Bible.¹ In post-Exilic times no one was buried within the city walls. In the ground occupied by Constantine's buildings, there are still to be seen the remains of two rock-hewn tombs. One, the so-called "Tomb of Nicodemus," contains several *kokim*, or "oven-shaped" graves; the other, in the Coptic Convent close to the "Prison of Christ," has "bench" graves. There is not, at present, sufficient evidence to enable anyone to date, accurately, the various descriptions of Jewish rock-hewn tombs in and around Jerusalem. But Mr. Macalister's scientific examination of the cemeteries at Gezer,² supplies data which if confirmed by excavations at other sites, may throw a flood of light upon this obscure subject. At Gezer it was found that no tomb earlier in date than the Captivity contained *kokim*; but that in all post-Exilic tombs the receptacles provided for the dead were *kokim*. It is hardly safe to infer that what is true of the tombs of a provincial town is equally true of those of the capital. But it is very significant to find such a complete change in the character of Jewish rock-hewn tombs immediately after the return from Captivity. It is evident that if all *kokim* graves are post-Exilic, the "tomb of Nicodemus" must belong to that period, and the traditional sites must have been outside the *second* wall, and beyond the limits of the city at the time of the Crucifixion.

¹ The post-Exilic Jews were well aware that there were hidden tombs within the city. It is stated in the Mishna that "the buildings of Jerusalem were founded on the rock, with caves under them, because of the sepulchre of the abyss"—that is, hidden tombs of unknown depth (Maimonides, *Nezir*, ix, 2; quoted by Hanauer in *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 306).

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 324-354.

Natural Features of the Ground covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—Is there anything in the nature of the ground upon which the church stands which renders it an impossible site for Golgotha and the Tomb? The rock was so cut away for the construction of Constantine's churches, and it is so covered with rubbish and buildings in the vicinity of the present church, that the original form of the ground cannot be accurately ascertained. Originally the hillside must have risen up in a series of terraces of greater or less height according to the thickness of the strata (see p. 26); and there appear to be traces of two such terraces in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its immediate vicinity. The level of the upper terrace is marked by the top of the rock of Golgotha, and its vertical face, now cut away, evidently contained the entrances to several tombs.¹ Amongst these tombs, that known as the "Tomb of Nicodemus,"² and that in the Coptic Convent,³ north of the "Prison of Christ," are genuine Jewish tombs of not later date than the time of Christ. The first was entered on the level of the lower terrace, and a few steps led down to the second. Other tombs, of which the form can no longer be traced, were the present Holy Sepulchre, and possibly the "Tomb of Adam" and the "Prison of Christ."⁴ In the same terrace, or in the one above, it was probably the tomb of John the High Priest, which is mentioned by Josephus in connection with the siege by Titus. In front of these tombs was the level surface of the lower terrace, utilised as a garden,⁵ and probably planted with shrubs or trees. The vertical face of this terrace can be seen in the houses built against it on the west side of the street Khân ez-Zeit. So far then as the form and nature

¹ Terraces with tombs in their vertical faces may be seen in the Valley of Hinnom, and elsewhere near Jerusalem (Pl. III.).

² For a description of this tomb and its tomb chambers, see *Palestine Fund Memoirs*, Jerusalem Vol., pp. 319-329, and *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 76-84, 128-132; Clermont-Ganneau, *l'Authenticité du St. Sépulchre*, 1877.

³ *Quarterly Statement*, 1887, pp. 154, 155.

⁴ These places and the two tombs mentioned are all on the same level.

⁵ The existence of the garden is attested by Cyril (Appendix V., 16, ii).

of the ground are concerned, there is nothing impossible in the view that Christ was crucified on the surface of the upper terrace (Golgotha) and buried in a tomb in its vertical face. A tomb in this position would be in the "place" Golgotha, and its entrance in "the garden" of the lower terrace.¹

The form of the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea is unknown, and various attempts have been made to reconstruct it. A discussion of the whole subject is unnecessary in this place. My own view is that Joseph's tomb was an ordinary rock-hewn sepulchre in the vertical face of a rock terrace, with an entrance, *θύρα*, of the usual form and size. The sepulchre probably consisted of an ante-chamber,² round which ran a low bench of the usual type, and of a tomb-chamber in which there was at the time only one grave.³ The ante-chamber was entered on the level from the terrace or garden outside, and an opening in one of its sides led to the tomb-chamber. There is nothing in the Bible to show whether the entrance to the Tomb had a vestibule, or whether the grave was a "bench" grave, an "oven-shaped" grave (*kok*), or a "trough" grave. The present "Holy Sepulchre" may have been either.⁴ The body of Christ was probably laid on the bench of the ante-chamber until the Sabbath was over. There is no evidence that the entrance to the Tomb was secured by a concealed rolling stone⁵ like that at the "Tombs

¹ The suggested relationship between the place of crucifixion and the tomb may be seen in the photographs of tombs with terrace-gardens on Pl. III. A man crucified on the upper terrace could easily be buried in one of the tombs beneath.

² It is not quite clear whether Cyril refers (Appendix V., 16, iii) to an ante-chamber or to a vestibule, when he writes that "the outer cave" had been cut away to allow of the decorations of the Holy Sepulchre.

³ It may perhaps be inferred from the description of the Holy Sepulchre by Eusebius in the *Theophania* (Appendix V., 1, xxiii), that there was only one grave in the traditional tomb.

⁴ See note on the Tomb of Nicodemus (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 128-132).

⁵ According to Keim, the great stone of the Gospels was simply the Jewish Gölal, which is often mentioned by the Talmudists, *antiquam claudatur gölal super eo*. The words *προσ-κυλίω*, *ἀπο-κυλίω*, *ἀνα-κυλίω*, used by Matthew, Mark, and Luke do not necessarily imply that the stone was

of the Kings" near Jerusalem, or by any other mechanical contrivance. It was probably closed, like most of the rock-hewn tombs, by a large stone, either carefully dressed and fitting into a reveal, or roughly hewn and rolled or pushed against the door.

shaped like a large cheese, and was rolled backwards and forwards in a groove; and St. John's expression, "and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb" (John xx, 1), is quite applicable to a roughly-hewn stone. It is difficult to believe that the Greek word translated *kêphâ*, "rock," in the Syriac edition of the *Theophania* (Appendix V., 1, xxiii) could have been used by Eusebius to describe a cheese-shaped, rolling-stone, or that Cyril would have had such a stone in view when he referred (*Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 39) to the "stone which was laid on the door," ὁ ἐπιτεθεὶ τῇ θύρᾳ λίθος). Conder observes (*Quarterly Statement*, 1883, pp. 70, 78) that it is doubtful whether the expressions in the Gospel refer to a rolling stone, or to the temporary closing of a new tomb by a large rough mass of stone.

CHAPTER X.

THEORIES WITH REGARD TO THE POSITIONS OF GOLGOTHA
AND THE TOMB.

IN this chapter some of the views of those earnest Christians of all denominations who, for various reasons, find themselves unable to accept the traditional sites as genuine are considered.

The situation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within the modern city is, in itself, almost suggestive of doubt. Educated pilgrims to the Holy City are often sorely perplexed when they visit the "holy places" for the first time. They know that Christ suffered without the gate. They find Golgotha within the walls of a small Oriental city and in close proximity to its thronged bazârs. They may realise that Jerusalem of Herod was not a large city, and may believe that the ground upon which the church stands was outside the walls at the time of the Crucifixion; but at the same time there lingers in their minds an uneasy feeling with regard to the accuracy of the received tradition. They see little in the church that seems to be in complete harmony with the familiar Gospel narrative. The features of the ground have been so altered, there has been so much building, and the "holy places" are so obscured by decorative and votive offerings, that a strong effort of the imagination is required to restore the form of ground as it existed before the churches of Constantine were built. Many pilgrims, either from indolence or from want of knowledge, never attempt to make that effort. They form a hasty and unfavourable opinion upon a difficult and obscure question, and seek some spot which appeals more directly to the eye and to their preconceived ideas of the character and appearance of Golgotha.

The date at which doubts with regard to the authenticity of the "holy places" first arose is unknown. But some explanation of their position within the walls seems to have been considered necessary as early as the eighth century. The quaint statement of Willibald¹ (*circa* A.D. 754), that Calvary was formerly outside Jerusalem, "but Helena, when she found the Cross, arranged that place so as to be within the city," reads like a reply to the remarks of some doubting spirits of his age. A somewhat clearer appreciation of the situation is noticeable in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Thus Saewulf² (A.D. 1102-3), Wilbrand von Oldenberg³ (A.D. 1212), Jacobus de Vitriaco⁴ (Jacques de Vitry, *circa* A.D. 1226), Burchardus de Monte Sion⁵ (A.D. 1283), Odoricus de Foro Julii (Fréjus)⁶ (A.D. 1320), and Guilielmus de Boldensele⁷ (A.D. 1332), maintained that Hadrian, when he rebuilt Jerusalem, greatly enlarged the city and enclosed Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, which were previously outside the walls.

There would appear to have been for several centuries two conflicting views: one that the city had been moved from its original position to the vicinity of the sepulchre,⁸ the other held by those who impiously asserted that the tomb had been moved and not the city (Gretser, A.D. 1598).⁹

According to Jacques Le Saige of Douai (A.D. 1518), the representative of the Holy Sepulchre who went with pilgrims to

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iii.

² *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iv.

³ *Itinerary to the Holy Land*, ii, 6.

⁴ *The History of Jerusalem*, lx; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. xi.

⁵ *Description of the Holy Land*, ch. viii, "Jerusalem"; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. xii.

⁶ *Liber. de Terra Sancta*, xv.

⁷ *Hodopæricon ad Terram Sanctum*. Boldensele adds that the sepulchre was not the rock-hewn tomb in which the body of Christ had been laid, but was constructed of stones cemented together.

⁸ Burchardus, *l.c.*; see also Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, xxxviii; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. xii, 98; and Gretser, who quotes Pope Nicholas I.

⁹ *Opera Omnia*, vol. i; *De Sancta Cruce*, lib. i, cap. 17, "De loco in quo Dominus crucifixus est."

Palestine insisted "que nous falloit avoir foy des Lieux-Saincts qu'on nous monstreroit, ou, se ne volliesme estre tels que ne prissiesme de palme."¹

Quaresmius (A.D. 1639)² alludes to and refutes those "befogged (or scoundrelly) western heretics" (*nebulones Occidentales hæreticos*) who argued that the traditional Tomb could not be the true one because (1) it was inside the walls and almost in the middle of the city; (2) Joseph of Arimathea would not have hewn his tomb near a place where criminals were executed and buried; (3) a tomb west of the Holy Sepulchre was shown as that of Joseph, and should, therefore, according to the Bible, be the place in which the body of Jesus was laid, and (4) the bodies of criminals were thrown into a common tomb, and for this the traditional sepulchre was not suitable. Monconys³ (A.D. 1647) writes that Calvary, according to tradition, was outside Jerusalem, but that it was difficult to realise this, since the place was then in the centre of the city, which was much smaller than at the time of the Crucifixion.

In the eighteenth century the authenticity of the "holy places" was vigorously attacked and denied by Jonas Korte,⁴ a bookseller of Altona, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1738. Korte's view is succinctly described in the title of one of the chapters of his book, "On Mount Calvary, which now lies in the middle of the town and cannot therefore be the true Calvary." He argues that the traditional Golgotha is too near the site of the Temple, and, since the Jerusalem of Herod covered a much larger area than the modern town, that it must have been inside and not outside the ancient city. The rejection of the traditional sites led, naturally, to speculation with regard to the true position of Golgotha. Korte, on his plan, drew the *first wall* of Josephus a

¹ *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, ed. Duthillœul, p. 98.

² *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, lib. 5, cap. 14.

³ *Journal des Voyages*, vol. i, p. 307; see also J. Nicolai (A.D. 1706), *De Sepulchris Hebræorum*, p. 221.

⁴ Jonas Korte's *Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten . . . Lande*, 2nd ed., A.D. 1743. Korte was the first to publish openly a declaration that the sites were not authentic.

little north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed Golgotha on the right bank of the "Valley of Gihon" (Valley of Hinnom), on rising ground to the south-east of the "hohe Brunn" (Birket Mamilla), but gives no reason for his selection of that position. Since Korte's day Golgotha has been located north, south, east, and west of the city, and theorists who have considered the selection of the traditional site to have been a "pious fraud" on the part of Constantine's advisers, have convinced themselves that the true scene of the Passion is some locality which accords with their own preconceived ideas of the spot.

The view of Korte was supported with much fulness of argument by Plessing¹ (A.D. 1789), a Protestant clergyman of Wernigerode. Plessing maintained that, the west being regarded by the Jews as holy and worthy of honour, Christ suffered on the west side of the city,² and his plan shows Golgotha on the east side of the Birket Mamilla, with the Holy Sepulchre a few yards to the south of it. Renan considered that Golgotha was north-west of the city, and that it might have been near the north-west angle of the present wall, or on the heights (*buttes*) which command the Valley of Hinnom above the Birket Mamilla.³

Clarke (A.D. 1812) was able to find nothing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that could be "reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial." He could not believe that "in the construction of a church to commemorate the existence of the Tomb she (Helena) would have levelled and cut away not only the Sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary,"⁴

¹ *Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab*, Halle, A.D. 1789.

² Conder, on the other hand, holds that the north side is the natural side for the Crucifixion, since the Jews regarded this as the unblessed and ill-omened quarter.

³ *Vie de Jésus*; in the 16th edition he adds: "Il sera loisible aussi de penser au monticule qui domine la 'Grotte de Jérémie.'"

⁴ E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, &c., vol. ii, pp. 552-565. Felix Fabri (*circa* A.D. 1483) mentions that in his day Saracens and Eastern Christians practised superstitious observances beneath a fig tree near the ancient Church of Sion, where there is a great heap of stones. To this spot Saracen

and rejected the whole tradition. On his plan three crosses are shown outside the Sion Gate, and referenced, "Now called Mount Sion," perhaps the place of our Saviour's Crucifixion." The tomb of Joseph is assumed to be one of the sepulchres in the Valley of Hinnom on which the inscription "Of the holy Sion" appears.

In 1841 the publication of Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, which at once took its place as the standard work on the topography of the Holy Land, drew serious attention to the questions connected with the traditional tomb, especially in Great Britain and the United States. Dr. Robinson rejected the accepted tradition, and his great reputation for accuracy of observation and extensive reading gave peculiar importance to his opinion. After a careful consideration of the whole question with the material then available, he came to the conclusion that from every point of view, topographical, historical, and traditional, the decision must be that "Golgotha and the Tomb shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are not upon the real places of the Crucifixion and Resurrection."¹ Robinson very wisely did not attempt to locate the "holy places." "If it be asked," he writes, "where then are the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre to be sought?—I must reply that probably all search can only be in vain."² He does, however, suggest that it may have been on the road to Jaffa, or on that to Damascus.

Robinson's opinion that the traditional site of the Tomb was not authentic was accepted by many writers, who, less cautious than the learned American, asserted with confidence that they

women came every day, and burned incense on a stone, and buried loaves of bread, for they declared that the Sepulchre of Jesus was there, and not where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands. (*The Wandering of Felix Fabri*, vol. ii, p. 332; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. viii.)

¹ *Biblical Researches*, 2nd ed., 1856, vol. i, pp. 407-418. Robinson was answered, not very conclusively, by Newman, "Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History," in Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*. Oxon., 1842, and by Williams, *Holy City*, 1845. Much of Robinson's topographical argument is now out of date from the discoveries made since he wrote.

² *Biblical Researches*, i, p. 418.

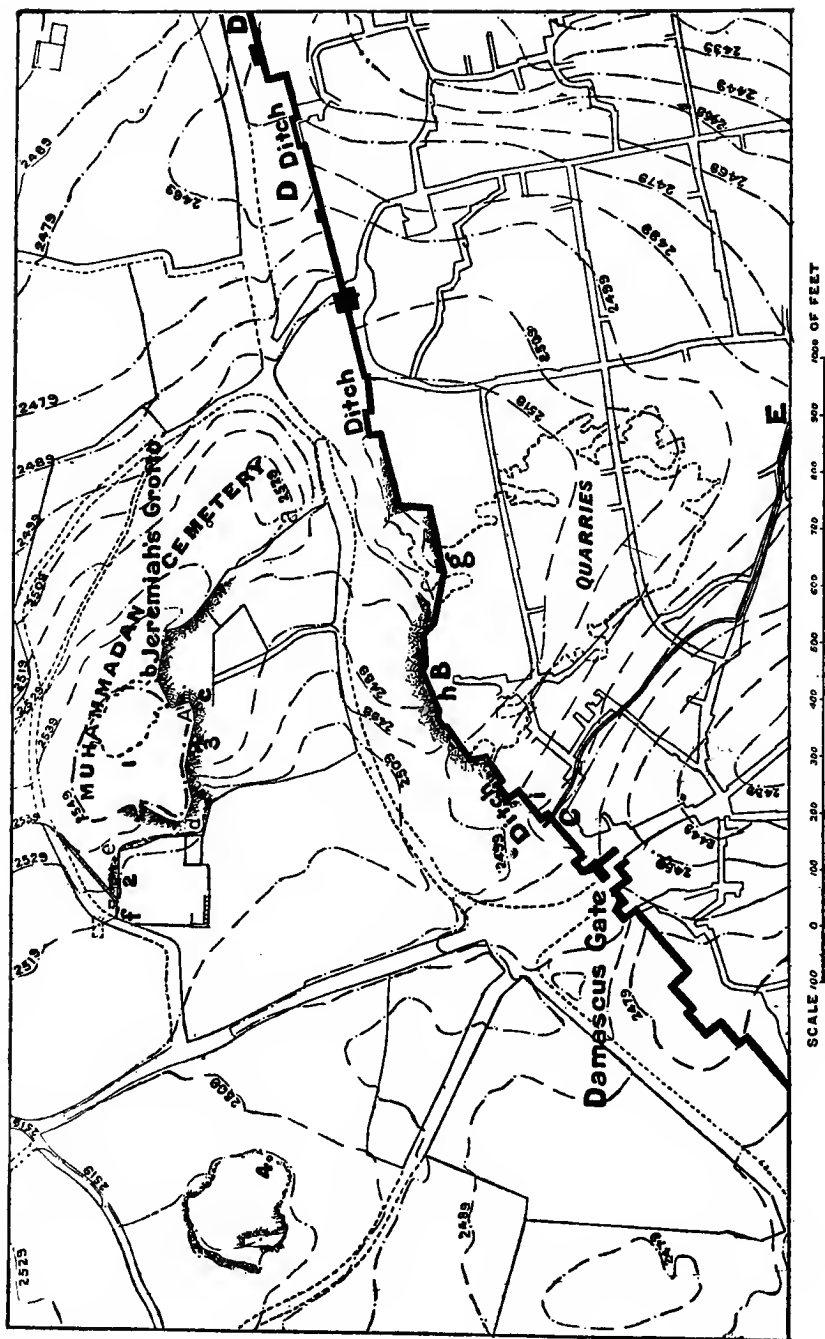


FIG. 6.—PLAN OF GROUND NEAR "JEREMIAH'S GROTTO."

had found the true sites of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. One of the first to publish his views was Otto Thenius¹ (A.D. 1842), who identified "Jeremiah's Grotto," and the hill above it, sometimes called "Skull Hill," with the Tomb of Christ and Golgotha. The hill is described as being rounded on the north, west, and east, but abrupt on the south, and as having the form of a skull—whence it might be called Golgotha. "The hill is outside and near the town; near a road which must have existed in the time of Christ; and it has in the very place (John xix, 41) a rock-hewn cavern which has an entrance such as the Holy Sepulchre must have had." Thenius believed that the tomb was inside "Jeremiah's Grotto," but had been quarried away, with the exception of the actual place upon which the body was laid, and that this was preserved in the "couch" of Jeremiah. The view of Thenius was adopted by Tristram² in 1858, and by Furrer in 1865; but he afterwards changed his mind and advocated the claims of the traditional site.³ The knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was also identified with Golgotha by Fisher Howe⁴ (A.D. 1871), whose description of the place may be quoted as representing the imaginative view of the present day:—

"The hill is left steeply rounded on its west, north, and east sides, forming the back and sides of the *kranion* or skull.⁵ The skull-like front, or face, on the south side is formed by the deep perpendicular cutting and removal of the ledge. To the observer, at a distance, the eyeless socket of the skull would be suggested at once by the yawning cavern, hewn within its face, beneath the hill."

Fisher Howe maintains that the present city wall marks the course of the *second* wall of Josephus; that previous to the con-

¹ "Golgotham et sanctum Sepulchrum," &c., in *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie*, vol. xii, pt. 4, pp. 1-34 (A.D. 1842).

² "Letter to the Times," in *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 84.

³ *Wanderungen durch Palästina* (A.D. 1865); Art. "Golgotha" in Shenkel's *Bibel Lexikon*.

⁴ *The True Site of Calvary*, New York (A.D. 1871).

⁵ Conder remarks (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 202), "It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base an argument on so slight a resemblance." He also calls (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 71) the view that the hill with its caves resembles a skull with eye-sockets, "perhaps rather a fanciful idea."

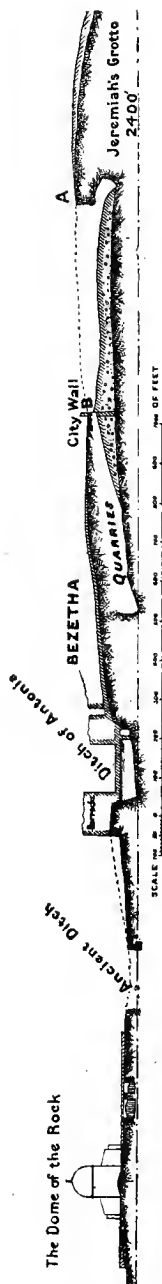


FIG. 7.—SECTION THROUGH "JEREMIAH'S GROTTO" AND THE QUARRIES.

struction of the *second* wall the eastern spur (Bezetha) was a continuous ridge; and that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B on plan, Fig. 6) was part of the general plan of fortification connected with that wall.¹

The same spot, considered permissible by Renan (see p. 106, note 3), was selected by Conder² (A.D. 1878) on account of the suitability of its position, and, mainly, on the ground that it was pointed out by Jews at Jerusalem "by the name Beth ha-Sekelah, 'the Place of Stoning,'" and, "according to Jewish tradition," was "the ancient place of public execution." Conder identifies the tomb of Joseph with a rock-hewn sepulchre (No. 4 on plan, Fig. 6), about 200 yards west of "Jeremiah's Grotto."³ The view that Christ suffered on the hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was widely accepted in this country and in America when it became known that it had received the support of the late General Gordon⁴

¹ The great width of the cutting and its irregular face on the north side (*a b c d e f* on plan, Fig. 6) show that it can only have been connected very remotely, if at all, with the ancient defences of the city. See Chap. XI.

² *Tent Work in Palestine*, i, 372-374 (1878); *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 200 sqq.; *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, Jerusalem vol., pp. 429 sqq. (1884); *Handbook to the Bible*, pp. 355, 356 (1887).

³ *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 203-206.

⁴ General Gordon's identification is part of his theory that the eastern spur or ridge of Moriah resembled a human figure. His views are fully stated in Appendix VII.

(A.D. 1883-4). Since that date the identification has been adopted by Dr. Selah Merrill, U.S. Consul at Jerusalem¹ (A.D. 1885), Sir J. W. Dawson, late Director of the Canadian Geological Survey² (A.D. 1887), and many others; and it received wide currency from its publication in the Palestine volume of Mr. John Murray's well-known series of handbooks. The hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" is now frequently referred to as "the Protestant," "the English," or "Gordon's" Calvary, and the tomb, supposed to be that in which the Lord lay, is called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ," or "the Garden Tomb."

Everyone who leaves Jerusalem by the Damascus Gate, and follows the road eastward to the Kidron valley, must pass between the low limestone cliffs, or scarps, and afterwards follow the line of the rock-hewn ditch which is in front of the north wall of the city (see Fig. 6). The distance between the two scarps at A and B is about 400 feet, and the altitude of the former is about 2,549 feet, and of the latter 2,529 feet above sea level.

The width of the rock-hewn ditch D—D is from 50 to 75 feet. In the face of the northern scarp is the mouth of the old quarry known as Jeremiah's Grotto, and above it is a Moham-medan cemetery. In the face of the southern scarp is the present entrance to the extensive underground quarries called by Josephus the "Royal Caverns." Along the east of the scarp runs the north wall of Jerusalem, which is continued on the south side of the ditch D—D to the north-eastern angle of the city. The surface of the rock between the two scarps is concealed by rubbish, and, except at one or two points, its character is unknown.

It will be noticed, on reference to the plan (Fig. 6), that whilst the southern scarp *g, h, i* is in direct continuation of the south side

¹ "The Site of Calvary," in *Andover Review*, 1885. Dr. Merrill remarks that, in 1845, Dr. Rufus Anderson pointed out the hill as the site of the true Calvary.

² *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 107 *sqq.*, 1887. The views of the knoll and the caves (pp. 105, 106) are rough, inaccurate, and misleading. Sir J. W. Dawson visited Palestine in 1883-4. See also Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage* in 1900; and Sir W. Charley, *The Holy City, Athens, and Egypt*, 1902.

of the ditch D—D, and marks, in fact the original prolongation of that ditch, the northern scarp *a, b, c, d, e, f* runs in an irregular line, and can only have been connected very remotely, if at all, with the ancient defences of the city. The remarkable excavation between the two scarps has made the knoll above Jeremiah's Grotto (sometimes called "Skull Hill ") a prominent feature in the landscape from some points of view, and has given it an appearance of isolation and altitude that it did not originally possess. It is therefore important to determine the date and nature of the great rock-cutting, and the period at which the knoll assumed its present aspect. The data for the solution of this question are unfortunately few, but they are not without a certain significance. In the short topographical description of Jerusalem (Chap. III.) allusion was made to the Eastern hill upon which the Temple was built, and to its flanking valleys, the Tyropœon valley on the west, and the St. Anne's ravine and Kidron valley on the east (see Plan of Jerusalem). It is across this spur between the Tyropœon and St. Anne's ravines that the rock has been excavated. South of the Temple precincts the Eastern hill was thickly covered with houses, but north of the Temple there was, during the reign of Herod the Great, nothing except perhaps some few suburban villas beyond the Castle of Antonia. This latter was separated from that portion of the spur called Bezetha by a deep ditch. Under the Roman governors who ruled Jerusalem after the deposition of Archilaus, houses were built on and around Bezetha, and the suburb had become so large and populous by A.D. 41, when Agrippa became king, that it was deemed necessary to protect it by a wall, called the "third wall" by Josephus.¹

The ditch between the fortress of Antonia and Bezetha is represented, in part at least, by the rock scarps north and south of the street which passes beneath the Ecce Homo arch.² The

¹ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

² The scarps are visible in the Church of the Sisters of Sion, and in the Souterrains of the Convent of the same order (*Quarterly Statement*, 1872, pp. 47-51; *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, Jerusalem volume, pp. 202-212, 304-5; Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, vol. i, pp. 50-60.

wall of Agrippa is described by Josephus¹ as running through, or across the Royal Caves, and is generally supposed to have crossed the spur at the point B (see Fig. 6), and to have been, here at least, identical in trace with the modern wall.²

Between the ditch of the Antonia and the north wall of Jerusalem there are the remains of a rock-hewn conduit C E (see Fig. 6), which, at an early period, probably that of the Jewish monarchy, carried water from an unknown source north of the city along the west side of the eastern hill. This conduit, which was capable of supplying water to the Temple area and the lower portions of Mount Moriah, was cut in two when the ditch of the Antonia was excavated, and its continuity was again broken by the great wall of the enclosure of Herod's Temple, which seems to have been built across it. There is some reason to suppose that the conduit carried water as far south as the ditch of the Antonia after the completion of that fortress.³ But its utility in this respect apparently ceased when the ditch of Agrippa's wall was excavated.⁴ This would seem to indicate that, at C at least, there was no open cutting some ten or eleven years after the crucifixion, when Agrippa built his wall (A.D. 41-44). Near C the ditch of this wall appears to have been cut down almost to the level of the Damascus Gate, but in front of the underground quarry which stretches southward beneath the city from B it is unfortunately concealed by rubbish. The ditch was probably

¹ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

² The history of Jerusalem during the period B.C. 4 to A.D. 42 does not seem to me to support the view that the extension of the town beyond the second wall had been so great as to require the enclosure of the large additional area between the second and third walls shown on the plans of Robinson and Fergusson, or even as suggested as possible by Warren and Conder.

³ This seems to follow from the character of the excavations in the ditch, the twin pools, and the deepening of the southern part of the conduit. The unknown source was perhaps a pool near the head of the Tyropæon ravine. For a description of the conduit and its relation to the ditches, see *Quarterly Statement*, 1872, pp. 46-51.

⁴ The conduit is distinctly seen in the south scarp of the ditch at C, but the rock of the north scarp having been cut away below the level of the conduit, its further course in that direction cannot be traced.

excavated before there was any open cutting between A and B, but there is no direct evidence on this point. Originally the crest was undoubtedly continuous from A to B (see Fig. 6). Sir C. Warren shows a steady fall of 20 feet from north to south,¹ while Dr. Schick believed that A and B were two knolls with a dip between them. Both forms are possible, but that adopted by Warren appears more probable. The sections exposed at A and B show clearly the manner in which the thin beds of extremely hard limestone, *misse* overlie the thick stratum of *melike*.² The latter, an easily worked stone, which hardens on exposure to the air, has always been much used for building purposes. If we may judge from the underground quarry below B, which was almost certainly in use in the time of the Jewish monarchy,³ the *melike* was worked like a seam of coal, and the stones were dressed under cover in the quarry.

The information at present available with regard to the quarries and excavations is not sufficient to justify a positive statement, but the following view is suggested as probable.

Until the reign of Herod building material was obtained from the lower *melike* bed without disturbing the harder strata above, which thus formed a natural roof to the quarries. Herod continued the system of quarrying and dressing the stone under cover, but may have cut away some of the upper strata on the east and west sides of the spur to obtain easier access to the *melike*. Agrippa (A.D. 41-44) in excavating the ditch of his wall broke through the roof of the quarries, and then, as the ground rose in front of the wall, he cut away the *misse* beds to the north to prevent the close approach of an enemy. The material thus obtained was used in the construction of his wall, and at the same time the front of the southern portion of the quarry, now known as the Royal Quarries, was closed up. The open cutting thus formed was probably widened when Hadrian rebuilt the walls, and further increased during the Byzantine period. The

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, Jerusalem volume, Plate XII.

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 284.

³ Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, vol. 1, pp. 241-46.



EL EDBENIYEH ; "JEREMIAH'S GROTTO" AND "SKULL HILL."

quarries were used later by the Crusaders, and the floor was certainly deepened on the west side when the Asnerie was built.

If this view is correct, the crest of the spur was continuous at the time of the crucifixion, and the knoll above Jeremiah's Grotto could not then have had its present isolated appearance. It is improbable that the open cutting, as we now see it, was earlier than the time of the Crusaders, and it may possibly be later.

No tradition of any kind connects "Skull Hill" or the tomb near it with the Crucifixion or the Resurrection. But the site is one that appeals directly to the eyes of those who from infancy have heard Calvary called a "mount," and to the minds of those to whom tradition is distasteful, especially when it relates to a scriptural site. The arguments urged in favour of the spot may be stated thus:—(1) Its elevation and conspicuous position; (2) its resemblance to a human skull; (3) its proximity to the city and to the great road to the north; (4) the Jewish tradition which identifies it with the "Place of Stoning"; (5) the tradition relating to the martyrdom of Stephen; and (6) the existence of tombs in the vicinity—one of which is described "as recalling very nearly the probable appearance of the new tomb of Joseph."¹

(1) It has already been pointed out (see p. 12) that there is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a hill; that, near Jerusalem, elevation is not necessary for visibility; that no Greek writer uses the expression "mount" in connection with the spot; and that the skull-like appearance and elevation of Golgotha are apparently fancies introduced from the West.

(2) Resemblance to a skull can hardly be regarded as a serious argument, for it involves the assumption that the appearance of the hill, and of "an artificial cliff produced by

¹ Dr. Sanday writes that he cannot "regard the arguments adduced in favour of the new site as having really any great weight. They are mere possibilities of coincidence of a vague and shadowy kind; and they are unsupported by even a particle of direct evidence." (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 71.)

ancient quarrying,"¹ has not altered during the last 1,870 years. "In any case," as Dr. Sanday justly observes,² "it must be extremely doubtful whether an appearance of this kind at the present day would have been equally marked some nineteen centuries ago." I have given reasons for believing that, at the time of the Crucifixion, the eastern spur was a continuous ridge; that the quarries were then worked underground; that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B, see Fig. 6) had its origin in the ditch of Agrippa's wall, and did not assume its present form and dimensions until the fifth century, when the great church of St. Stephen was built; that after the erection of the church portions of the quarry were used as a cemetery; and that some of the excavation is as late as the time of the Crusades. In the first century the eastern spur was at this point a rocky ridge of some width (see Pl. VIII.,³) covered with stony detritus which is still visible, and its essential features appear to have remained unchanged until the period of the Crusades. Daniel⁴ (A.D. 1106-7) calls it "a flat, rocky mountain." The knoll, which is supposed to give a skull-like form to the hill, is due to the ruined tombs and accumulations⁵ of a Moslem cemetery which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The view that any portion of the very hard limestone beds above "Jeremiah's Grotto" could have been worn into a rounded or skull-like form by the action of wind and weather is untenable.

(3) In considering proximity to the city and the road, it must be remembered that the *second* wall of Josephus was probably some distance south of the present wall, and that it is by no means certain that the road from the Damascus Gate marks the line of the road to the north in the time of Christ. It is possible that the road then followed the easier slope up the

¹ Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, p. 107.

² *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 70.

³ Reduced from the Ordnance Survey photograph taken in 1865.

⁴ Abbot Daniel, ch. ix, *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iv.

⁵ Macalister gives the depth of soil as 10 feet (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 129).

Tyropœon Valley,¹ and ran north-west until it met the road from the Upper City. The existing road between the "Tombs of the Kings" and the Damascus Gate, possibly following an earlier footpath, may only date from the reign of Hadrian. In any case the distance from "Skull Hill" to that road is greater than would be customary in the case of a Roman crucifixion.

(4) There is no evidence that there was a special Jewish place of execution at Jerusalem in the first century, and the existing local tradition which connects "Jeremiah's Grotto" with the "Place of Stoning" is unreliable (see p. 20).

(5) The tradition that St. Stephen suffered martyrdom outside the Damascus Gate may have been based on an earlier one that he was stoned outside the north gate of the city, which would be that of the *second* wall. There is no evidence that he was put to death at a place of public execution.

(6) The rock-hewn tomb supposed to be that of Joseph of Arimathea, and called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ" or "the Garden Tomb," is one of the most insignificant in the great necropolis which surrounds Jerusalem, and does not resemble the class of sepulchre which a man of Joseph's rank and position is likely to have had hewn out for himself. Unlike the Jewish tombs near the city, it is cut in the cliff of a disused quarry, and not in the scarped face of one of the beds of limestone.² Some of the details in the tomb³ are certainly Christian, and there seems every reason to suppose that it belongs to the great cemetery north of the city, of which a portion north of the tomb is owned by the Dominicans, and south of it by the Germans.⁴ The extensive cemetery, partly in the quarry and partly beyond it, dates from the erection of the church over the

¹ See plan of Jerusalem.

² See view, *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 85.

³ The only accurate plan and description of this tomb are those by Dr. Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1892, pp. 121 *sqq.*). A Christian origin is ascribed to the tomb by Selah Merrill, and by Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 205).

⁴ The coins found in the graves in the German property range from A.D. 518 onwards (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 403, *sqq.*).

reputed tomb of the first martyr. During the Byzantine period the rock level was probably that of the sill of the door of the tomb, but it was cut down to make room for the *Asnerie* of the Crusaders. The tomb which Conder suggests may have been that of Joseph (No. 4 on plan, Fig. 6) is certainly Jewish; but its distance from the assumed site of Calvary on the knoll, 600 feet, is greater than the narrative of John xix, 17, seems to indicate.

Fergusson¹ (A.D. 1847), maintained, chiefly upon architectural grounds, that the "Dome of the Rock," in the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif, was the Church of the Resurrection erected by Constantine over the reputed Tomb of Christ. The Tomb he identified with the cave beneath the *Sakhra*, and Golgotha was placed near the Golden Gate. Fergusson urged that the Crucifixion must have taken place near the Temple, which he located in the south-west angle of the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif, since the priests could not otherwise have looked on without incurring risk of ceremonial defilement. The theory, which attracted much attention at the time, was adopted by Langlois² (A.D. 1861), Unger³ (A.D. 1863), and a few other writers; but the discovery of the Madeba mosaic, which represents the Church of Constantine on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, has shown that Mr. Fergusson was entirely mistaken in his views.

Munk⁴ (A.D. 1856) considered that it was difficult to draw the *second* wall so as to exclude the traditional sites, and that the tradition relating to the discovery of the Tomb was not beyond criticism. He was of opinion that Golgotha might very well have been on Bezetha, which was, in the time of Christ, outside the walls.

Dr. Barclay⁵ (A.D. 1857) believed that the accepted tradition

¹ *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem* (A.D. 1847): 'Art. "Jerusalem," Part III., in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (A.D. 1863); *The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple* (A.D. 1865); *The Temples of the Jews* (A.D. 1878).

² *Un chapitre inédit de la question des Lieux-Saints*, A.D. 1861.

³ *Die Bauten Konstantin's der Grossen am heiligen Grabe*, A.D. 1863.

⁴ "Palestine," in *l'Univers Pittoresque*, A.D. 1856.

⁵ *The City of the Great King* (A.D. 1857).



PART OF THE MOSAIC OF MADEBA, SHOWING THE WALLS, GATES, AND MAIN STREETS OF JERUSALEM.

was unsound ; that no engineer could have located the *second* wall of Josephus so as to exclude the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that Golgotha must have been near the Temple, since the priests who derided Christ would not have left the precincts on that "high day." He places Calvary on the spur between St. Anne's Ravine and the Kidron Valley, outside the present walls, and east of the Church of St. Anne. He supposes that there was, originally, a monticule, or rock, at this place, which was destroyed afterwards by Jews or Pagans.

The late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem (A.D. 1864–5) held that Christ, the Antitype, must have suffered north of the altar, and placed Golgotha and the Tomb on the same spur as Barclay, but north of the present wall, and due north of the altar, near the contour 2504 (see plan of Jerusalem). I at one time¹ adopted Dr. Gobat's view, under the impression that the hill of Bezetha was covered with houses at the time of the Crucifixion ; but a reconsideration of the history of Jerusalem during the first forty years of the first century has led me to modify my opinion with reference to the occupation of Bezetha, and possibility of its having been the scene of the Passion. Canon Gill² suggests the "Tombs of the Kings" as possibly the sepulchre in which the body of Christ was laid, but the distance from the city and the character of the Tomb seem opposed to this theory.

The Rev. S. Manning³ and Dr. Hutchinson⁴ place Golgotha and the Tomb on the slope of Olivet—the latter in the traditional Garden of Gethsemane.

Keim⁵ (A.D. 1883) considers that a spot near the castle garrison would have been selected for safety's sake, and places Golgotha near the Jaffa Gate. Clos⁶ (A.D. 1898) adopts the traditional Golgotha, but places the Tomb some 200 yards to the south of it.

¹ Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* ; Art. "Jerusalem," i.

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 299 *sqq.*

³ *Those Holy Fields*, p. 107.

⁴ *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, 1873, 1893.

⁵ *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, v, p. 134.

⁶ *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, 1898.

The general opinion which I have formed with regard to the traditional sites may be thus stated:—There is no decisive reason, historical, traditional, or topographical, for placing Golgotha and the Tomb where they are now shown. At the same time, there is no direct evidence that they were not so situated. No objection urged against the sites is of such a convincing nature that it need disturb the minds of those who accept, in all good faith, the authenticity of places which are hallowed by the prayers of countless pilgrims since the days of Constantine.

As regards the true sites, I agree with Robinson that “probably all search for them will be in vain.” If there be anything in the idea of type and antitype, and there possibly may be, then Christ must have suffered north of the altar, possibly on the eastern slope of that portion of Mount Moriah known as Bezetha, and perhaps close to the road which led northwards from the Antonia and the Temple precincts. If, on the other hand, there is nothing in the idea of type and antitype, then, always supposing that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is eventually proved to have been outside the *second* wall, I should be inclined to give more weight to the identification of Macarius and his coadjutors in A.D. 326 than to the guesses or arguments of writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ANCIENT WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

1. *General Remarks*; 2. *The City Walls in A.D. 70*; 3. *The Walls of the Roman Camp, A.D. 70-132*; 4. *The Walls of Ælia Capitolina*.

1. *General Remarks*.—Before attempting to investigate the questions connected with the ancient walls of Jerusalem, some consideration of the general principles that governed the construction of fortifications in early times is not only desirable, but necessary. Jerusalem was strongly fortified at all periods of its history, but there is no reason to suppose that there was anything unusual in the trace and construction of its walls. The defences of Jebus could not have differed greatly from those of other Canaanite cities; the walls of David and his successors, which Nehemiah restored, were constructed probably in accordance with Phœnician systems of fortification; and the citadels and walls built by Herod the Great and Herod Agrippa were almost certainly Greek or Greco-Roman in character.

Philo of Byzantium,¹ who embodies the experience of his day, lays down that the trace of a wall, and the form, size and position of its towers, must depend upon the natural features of the ground. The salient angles should not be too advanced, for such salients are more useful to the besiegers than to the besieged; and the towers should be so situated as to give each other mutual support. In the construction of fortifications every effort was made to guard against the blows of the battering ram

¹ Circa B.C. 150. *Traité de Fortification*, par Philon de Byzance, traduit par M. A. de Rochas d'Aiglun (in Société d'Emulation du Doubs, "Mém. Sér.," vol. vi, Besançon). See also Vitruvius (circa B.C. 28), i, 5; and Vegetius (end of fourth century A.D.), *Les Institutions Militaires*.

and the insidious attacks of the miner, for these were considered far more dangerous than the projectiles of an enemy. Thus on steep rocky slopes the foot of the wall was rendered inaccessible or difficult of approach by scarping the rock beneath it; whilst on level or undulating ground it was protected by a deep ditch. The range of ancient projectiles was small, and a wall of sufficient height and medium thickness,¹ even when the ground rose upwards at a moderate slope from its foot, was ample protection against them. On the other hand, the blows of the ram and the pick of the miner could only be resisted by solid well-built masonry. The walls exposed to their attack were consequently of great strength and thickness. Their lower portions and those of their flanking towers were frequently solid masses of masonry,² and their bases were sometimes protected by masonry revetments built at the angle of slope best calculated to resist the ram and projectiles, and to render escalade difficult.³ Where the walls and towers were exposed to the attack of an enemy, the masonry was faced wholly or partially with large stones having projecting bosses, to counteract as far as possible the shattering effects of concussion; where they were not exposed to attack, as on the side facing the town, the masonry was of plain-dressed stones having no bosses. In places difficult of access the walls and towers were weaker, but of similar construction. It may be inferred then, that the towers of an ancient wall were at irregular intervals, and differed in form and size; and that when a wall did not stand above a scarp, it was of great thickness, and was protected by a ditch. On weak fronts, especially in advance of gateways, there were frequently entrenchments composed of ditches and palisades, and there is some evidence in Josephus that there were such entrenchments at Jerusalem.

The description which Josephus gives of the siege in A.D. 70, and existing remains, show that the fortifications of Jerusalem

¹ Tacitus, *History* v, 11, gives the height of the towers at Jerusalem as 60 feet when built above a scarp, and 120 feet when standing on the lower ground.

² Josephus, *Wars*, v, 4, §§ 2, 3.

³ *Wars*, v, 4, § 4; 5, § 8.

were at that time of exceptional strength, and that they had been planned and constructed with great skill.¹ The Jebusite walls had no doubt disappeared, but the *first* and *second* walls, though frequently damaged and repaired, must have retained much of their original character. The ancient scarps above which the *first* wall stood and fragments of the masonry are still visible on the west and south fronts; but on the north it is uncertain whether the wall ran above a scarp or behind a ditch. The *second* wall, built on undulating ground to the north of the *first* wall, must have been of great thickness, and must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch. The *third* wall was, probably, not unlike the walls of some of the Greek towns in Asia Minor, and its northern front at least must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch. In those portions of the modern defences that undoubtedly belong to the Herodian period, Greek influence is very apparent. The "Tower of David" is in all its features a tower such as Philo describes, and the beautifully-dressed and jointed stones of its sloping revetment are essentially Greek in character.

It was believed at one time that any fragment of masonry at Jerusalem could be dated, approximately, by the manner in which the stones were dressed.² But Mr. Dickie, a trained architect, who was associated with Dr. Bliss in the excavations at Jerusalem in 1894-97, came, after a study of all the masonry exposed, to a different conclusion. After pointing out that the modern stone dresser uses the same tools that his predecessor did when the ancient walls were built, he remarks that his investigation "tends to encourage scepticism as to the possibility of fixing periods by any hard and fast rules of masonry alone.

¹ Cf. Tacitus, *History*, v, 11. Two hills of considerable height were enclosed by walls scientifically constructed with re-entering angles and curves to take an assailant in flank.

² There was a general impression that most of the stones with a marginal draft were Jewish. This view has long been recognised as an error, due to insufficient archaeological knowledge, and it appears to have owed its wide dissemination to Porter, who wrote, in Murray's *Handbook to Syria and Palestine*, of the "Jewish bevelling."

Each succeeding style has mingled with its predecessor from the time of its production. Boss and margin work may have been used in early Jewish times, but was undoubtedly used in later Jewish-Roman times, and afterwards. Comb-pick margin with pick-centered dressing was certainly used contemporarily with the boss and margin, and may have been used before. Quarry-pick dressing is universal. The delicate pick-centre and comb-pick margined dressing of the Haram Area is certainly characteristic of one great building period such as the reign of Herod the Great might signify.”¹

Boss and margin work is simply a natural development in stone dressing.² It is found in the Hittite walls at *Boghaz Keui*, in the walls of Phoenician cities in Syria and Palestine, of the eighth century city at Lachish, and of Greek cities, in Asia Minor; it is seen also in Roman and Byzantine buildings, and in castles erected during the period of the Crusades. The highly-finished masonry of the Wailing Place, and of the sloping revetment of “David’s Tower,” might be a copy of that of the *podium* of the temple of Diana at Ephesus,³ or of that of the temple of Jupiter at Athens, so close is the resemblance.

2. *The City Walls* A.D. 70.—At the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, the city was protected on the north side by three walls, and for the trace of these fortifications the only authority is Josephus. In his general description of the defences⁴ the Jewish historian follows the historical order of the walls: The *first* is the old, or inner wall, the *second*, the intermediate one, and the *third*, the new or outer wall by Agrippa. But, in recording the incidents of the siege, he refers to the walls occasionally in terms that would naturally be used by a Roman officer outside the city. From this point of view the outer line

¹ *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-97, p. 282.

² As soon as walls were built with closely bedded and jointed stones, some dressing of the margins became necessary. The faces of the stones were left rough or finely dressed, according to taste and the character of the wall.

³ In the British Museum there is the face of a stone from the Temple burned B.C. 356, which is almost identical with the best work in the Wailing Place.

⁴ *Wars*, v, 4, §§ 2-4.

of defence becomes the *first wall*,¹ the intermediate line the *second*, and the earliest or inner line of defence becomes the *third wall*.²

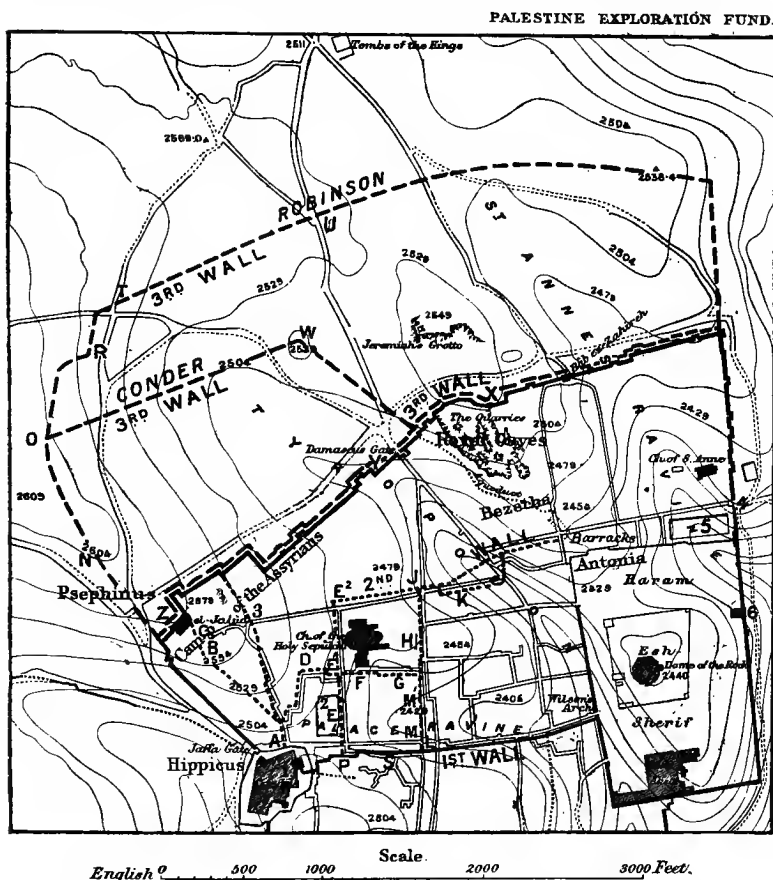


FIG. 8.—PLAN OF THE ANCIENT WALLS ON THE NORTHERN SIDE OF JERUSALEM.

In the following remarks the walls are referred to in their historical order :—

According to Josephus,³ the total circuit of the walls was

¹ Wars, v, 6, § 2; 7, § 2; 8, § 1.

² Wars, v, 6, § 2; 8, § 2.

³ Wars, v, 4, § 3.

33 stadia, or 19,800 feet. The *third* wall had 90 towers, the *second* 14, and the *first* 60. The towers were 30 feet square, and the curtain walls between them were 300 feet long. How far these numbers are correct it is impossible to say. In the case of the curtain walls they are certainly wrong, and in that of the circuit of the walls they are apparently incorrect.

In another passage¹ the length of the wall of circumvallation thrown up by the Romans, which would be well known at the time from the measurements of the Roman engineers, is stated by Josephus to have been 39 stadia, *i.e.*, 23,400 feet. If this is correct, the circuit of the walls must have been less than 33 stadia, even when the fact that the wall of circumvallation ran between the *second* and *third* wall is taken into consideration.

The length given to the curtain walls between the towers, 300 feet, is greater than is known in any ancient fortifications, and would make the *third* wall more than the total circuit. It has been suggested that the original reading was 70 cubits or 105 feet;² but, even with curtain walls of that length, the *third* wall would be as much as $20\frac{1}{4}$ stadia, or 12,150 feet. A comparison with the curtain walls of other ancient fortifications would seem to indicate that the average length of those of the Jerusalem defences could not have been more than 150 feet, and that it was probably much less in the old walls. There are other difficulties connected with the statements of Josephus which need not be discussed, such as the fact that on the east wall of the Haram enclosure there were, as far as is known, only three towers in a distance of 1,500 feet, and the question whether the gate towers and the great towers of Herod's palace are included in the numbers.

FIRST WALL.

The *first* or old wall was difficult to capture on account of the ravines beneath it and the height upon which it was built.

¹ *Wars*, v, 12, § 2.

² The error is supposed to be due to some copyist having used the Greek sign σ' for 200, instead of σ' for 70 cubits.

"Commencing on the north side at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to the Xystus, and then joining the Council House, it ended at the western portion of the Temple."¹ Southward from Hippicus it followed approximately the line of the present west wall of the city until it reached the site now occupied by the British cemetery, whence it was traced by Dr. Bliss to Siloam.² (See General Plan of Jerusalem.) The wall was defended by 60 towers, amongst which, or perhaps additional to them, were the three great towers Hippicus, Phasælus and Mariamne, built by Herod the Great, and forming, with his walled palace, the citadel of the "Upper City."

The site of Herod's palace is now occupied by the citadel south of the Jaffa Gate, and the tower Phasælus may safely be identified with the existing "Tower of David." The position of Hippicus is unknown, but it is probably represented by the tower adjoining the Jaffa Gate. From the citadel eastward the wall followed the right bank of the "Palace Ravine" (see Plan of Jerusalem) to some point at or near Wilson's Arch. The exact trace is unknown, but there is reason to believe that it stood above a rock-scarp and was, in part at least, protected by a ditch. A massive wall of large stones with two towers standing sixty feet apart (S. on plan p. 131), which may have formed part of the *first* wall, was discovered in 1861, but there is no accurate description of it available.³

SECOND WALL.

"The *second* wall started from a gate called Genath (or 'Gennath'), which belonged to the *first* wall, and, enclosing only the northern quarter,⁴ went up to the Antonia."⁵ The wall was

¹ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

² Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem*. As this section of the wall has no bearing on the question of the site of Golgotha, all details regarding it are omitted, and the line of wall is not shown in Fig. 8.

³ See *Quarterly Statement*, 1886, p. 207.

⁴ *Lit.*, "encompassing the quarter to the north alone." This quarter appears to be the suburb (*προάστειον*) of *Wars*, i, 13, § 3, where some texts read *προάστειον*, and of *Ant.*, xiv, 13, § 4; xv, 11, § 5.

⁵ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

defended by 14 towers, and was not connected, at any point, with the *third* wall.¹ It was intended to protect the quarter to the north of the citadel. Immediately north of Herod's fortified palace few houses had been built, and here the space between the *second* and *third* walls was occupied, for the most part, by terraced gardens, in which probably there were rock-hewn tombs.

It is now generally agreed that the Antonia, the acropolis of the Eastern Hill, was situated at the north-west corner of the *Harâm esh-Sherîf*, and portions of the ditch running, approximately, east and west, that separated it from Bezetha² have been discovered. The expression "went up to the Antonia" shows that the wall ran straight up from the Tyropœon Valley along the south side of the ditch, and that it did not, as some writers have supposed,³ either take a wide sweep to the north, or follow, in part, the course of the present wall, and then come down over the ridge of Bezetha to the acropolis.

The position of the Gate Genath, which may have derived its name from the gardens that were enclosed between the *second* and *third* walls, is unknown. The interval between the Tower Hippicus and the gate must have been considerable. Before commencing the siege Titus made a reconnaissance, and decided to take the Temple by way of Antonia, and to make his attack upon the "Upper City" by the monument or tomb of the high priest John.⁴ The latter point was selected because, in that quarter, the *third* wall was lower than elsewhere, and the absence of any line of defence between the *second* and *third* walls exposed the *first* wall to direct attack as soon as the outer wall had fallen.⁵ An additional reason was that the space between the *second* and *third* walls was unencumbered by houses, and the approach to the *first* wall through the gardens was easy.

¹ Cf. *Wars*, ii, 19, § 4.

² *Wars*, v, 4, § 2; 5, § 8.

³ Robinson, Tobler, &c.

⁴ *Wars*, v, 6, § 2.

⁵ Josephus seems to hint that it was originally intended to build a wall which would connect the *second* and *third* walls, and protect this weak point, but the intention was never carried out.

It would appear from the above that the monument of John was situated between the *second* and *third* walls. And, since the citadel is not mentioned, there must have been an appreciable distance between the monument and the almost impregnable towers Phasælus, Hippicus, and Mariamne. Titus would not have attacked these towers and the fortified palace. Evidently his intention was to isolate them¹ by breaking into the "Upper City" through the weaker wall to the east. The tomb of John was certainly post-Exilic, and consequently must have been outside the *second* wall. It was in close proximity to the *first* wall,² and 45 feet from the mound thrown up by the 10th Legion at the Pool Amygdalon, which is usually identified with "Hezekiah's Pool." This pool, like the monument of John,³ was outside the *second* wall.⁴ It is certainly an ancient pool, and there must have been some reason, such as the prior existence of a massive wall, for its construction on the side of a hill. In two instances—the *Birket Israël* and the Lower Pool of Siloam—the dams of the pools formed part of the defences of the city at certain periods of its history; and it is natural to suppose that the eastern wall of Hezekiah's Pool was similarly connected with the fortifications of Jerusalem. It is true that the pool would have been, in this case, outside the wall, but, as the water could easily be run off to reservoirs at a lower level, this was of no importance. The surface of Christian Street is here many feet above the rock, and the houses on the west side of the street are built on solid masonry,⁵ which originally may have formed part of a city wall. Taking into consideration the space required for the mounds thrown up against the *first* wall, and the distance necessary to secure the besiegers from missiles and hostile attacks

¹ This he eventually did, but at another spot (*Wars*, vi, 8, §§ 1-4).

² *Wars*, v, 9, § 2; 11, § 4.

³ The monument was either the sculptured face of the rock-hewn tomb, or a pyramid or stele above it.

⁴ The south portion of the wall was standing and its towers occupied by the Romans when the two mounds were thrown up (*Wars*, v, 8, § 2), and these mounds would not have been erected on opposite sides of the wall.

⁵ *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, pp. 277, 278; 1899, p. 44 and plate.

from the citadel, it is hardly possible to place the *second* wall nearer the "Tower of David" than the east side of "Hezekiah's Pool,"¹ a distance of about 250 feet. On the other hand, if it were placed still farther east it would be in too close proximity to the main thoroughfare of the ancient city.

The quarters of Titus, on ground known as "the Camp of the Assyrians," was beyond the range of missiles from the *second* wall.² The exact position of "the Camp of the Assyrians" is not known, but the tent of Titus would naturally be pitched on the back of the western spur of the plateau in close proximity to the tower Psephinus which had fallen into his hands, and whence the whole field of operations could be overlooked. The first camp of Titus was 400 yards from Psephinus, and the camp of one of the legions was the same distance from Hippicus.³ These camps would be well out of range of any engines likely to be available inside Jerusalem, and it may reasonably be supposed that the second camp of Titus, on the high ground, would be out of effective range of missiles from the *second* wall at about 250 or 300 yards.

The *second* wall must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch, and its lower half must have been a solid mass of masonry from 15 to 20 feet thick. The stones were probably of great size, and those on the outer face of the wall would have marginal drafts and rough projecting bosses.

All the principal authorities are now agreed that at its eastern extremity the wall ran along the south side of the ditch of the Antonia; but there is no such agreement with regard to the position of the Gate Genath at its western end. On this point three different views have been put forward, and each of these has been supported by arguments drawn from the existence of isolated masses of masonry. The *first* theory is based upon a fragment of an old city wall (A, see Fig. 9), which extends for a distance of 120 feet from the front of the Grand New Hotel, north

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 44; see section of wall and pool.

² *Wars*, v, 7, § 3.

³ *Wars*, v, 3, § 5.

of the citadel, to the corner of the street *Haret el-Muwāzin*. Several writers consider this fragment to be a portion of the

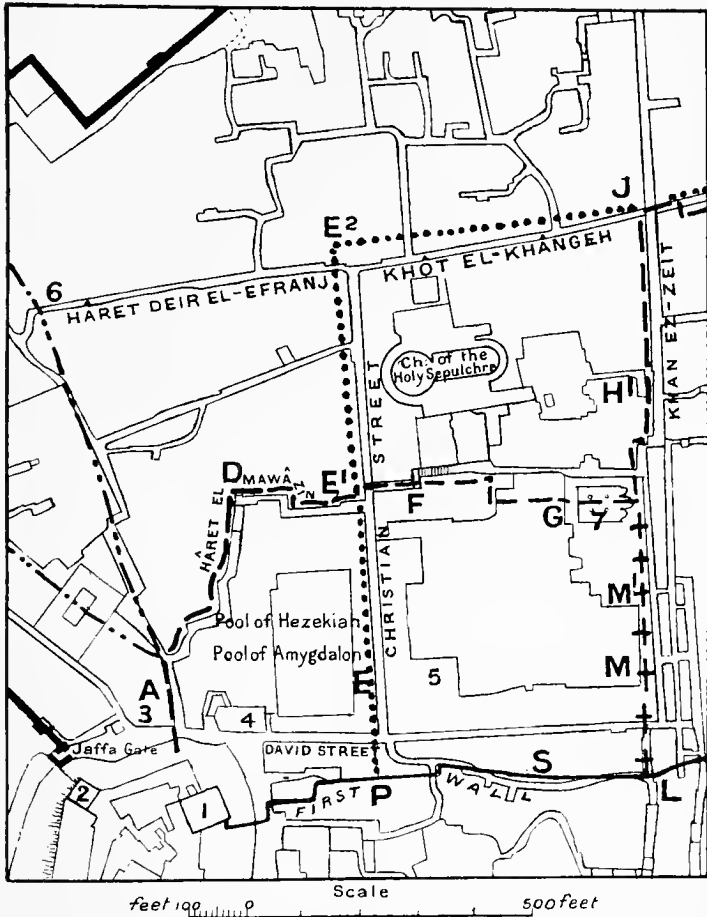


FIG. 9.—PLAN SHOWING ALTERNATIVE LINES OF SECOND WALL.

Reference :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Tower of David (Phaselus). | 6. Franciscan Convent. |
| 2. Hippicus. | 7. Church of the Redeemer. |
| 3. Grand New Hotel. | H. Russian Convent. |
| 4. Mediterranean Hotel. | J. Porta Judiciaria. |
| 5. Church of St. John. | |

second wall; and place the Gate Genath either in the "Tower of David," or in the curtain wall connecting it with the tower by the Jaffa Gate. The wall is well situated for defence, but the descriptions given by Josephus of the project of attack framed by Titus, and of the operations of the siege, render its identification with the *second* wall of the city impossible. The position assigned to the Gate Genath is also an improbable one. The fragment, which has no ditch in front of it, and apparently no towers, is probably a portion of the wall which Hadrian built round the civil town or colony of *Ælia*. The number of relics of the 10th Legion, *Fretensis*, found near the rock during the excavations,¹ combined with the absence of pre-Roman objects, seems to indicate that the ground was not occupied prior to the siege by Titus. It may also be observed that the Roman engineers, when constructing the legionary fortress after the siege would, almost certainly, have demolished completely all walls within 300 feet of their fortifications. The fragment, apparently, is referred to Hadrian by Saewulf, who saw Jerusalem before its reconstruction during the period of the Latin Kingdom.

Writers who reject the authenticity of Golgotha maintain that from the north end of fragment A, the *second* wall either ran in a north-westerly direction to the ruins of walls in the garden of the Latin Patriarch (B), and at *Kasr el-Jalûd* (C);² (see Fig. 8) or that it continued northward towards the Franciscan Convent (see Fig. 9); and that then, in either case, it followed the present city wall to the Damascus Gate. This line seems to take too wide a sweep, and it is open to the objection that, unless the wall ran south-ward along the west side of the Tyropœon Valley, there would have been a descent and not an ascent to the Antonia. On the other hand, if the wall continued eastward beyond the Damascus Gate, it would have enclosed parts of Bezetha which were outside the *second* wall.

¹ These included stamped pottery and an inscribed column (*Quarterly Statement*, 1886, pp. 21-24, 72, 73).

² The masonry of the fragments A, B, C, so far as it is known, differs so much in character that it is not easy to maintain the view that A, B, and C are parts of a continuous wall.

It may be added that no remains of important walls have been found to the north of a line drawn west from the *Porta Judiciaria* (J on Fig. 9); that the accumulation of rubbish is far greater and more general to the south of that line than it is to the north of it, where the rock is often visible; and that whilst rock-hewn chambers, cisterns, and caves are common to the south of the same line, they are almost unknown to the north of it.¹

Advocates of the authenticity of Golgotha accept the theory of the late Dr. Schick,² that the wall turned abruptly to the east at the end of fragment A, and then followed the zigzag course of the *Haret el-Mawâzin*³ to some massive masonry (E¹) at the corner of Christian Street. The ruins at a sharp bend in the former street (D), now known to be mediæval, were supposed by Dr. Schick to be the remains of an old corner tower. From E¹ the wall is carried across Christian Street to a block of masonry (F), and thence eastward to a fragment of a wall (G) which runs east and west under the centre of the German Church of the Redeemer, and stands upon *débris* of some depth. A little further east the wall is assumed to turn at a right angle and join the ruins in the Russian Convent (H). These remains are supposed to extend northward to the traditional *Porta Judiciaria* (J), and to have formed part of the eastern side of a large castle at right angles to the wall. They have not, however, the characteristics of ancient fortifications, and neither the historical records nor the natural features of the ground lend support to the view that the re-entering angle⁴ at this point was occupied by an important fort. The masonry faced with large stones is

¹ Schick, in *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, pp. 192, 193; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Expedition*, i, 33.

² *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. viii, and Plates, especially Pl. 8; *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, pp. 191-93, and Plan. The best paper in support of this theory is by R. P. Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 1902, pp. 31-57).

³ The zigzag course is supposed to indicate the existence beneath the surface of a wall with towers.

⁴ A large castle in a re-entering angle, as suggested by Dr. Schick, would be contrary to the rules of fortification, and is unknown in the defences of any ancient city.

probably part of the eastern wall in front of the entrance to Constantine's Basilica. It undoubtedly contains stones taken from earlier buildings, possibly from the *second* wall, but it could not have belonged to the defences of the city. Dr. Schick places a gate tower at J, and then carries the wall eastward along a high rock-scarp¹ to a block of masonry at the "House of Veronica" (K, see Fig. 8). From this point the wall, after crossing the Tyropœon, is carried up along the south side of the ditch to the Antonia. According to Dr. Schick² the assumed wall was protected by a wide ditch, which extended from the Jaffa Gate to the St. Stephen's Gate.³ This ditch is entirely imaginary. No certain evidence of its existence has been found anywhere excepting at the place where it separated the Antonia from Bezetha. At several points, even where the ditch is said to have been traceable—on the west side of the supposed castle—there is now known to be solid rock, as on the north and south sides of the Chapel of St. Helena. Unfortunately, Dr. Schick, whose accuracy as regards measurement is well known, rarely made any distinction either in his writings or in his drawings between existing and assumed remains.⁴ He considered it necessary to identify everything that he found, and his enthusiasm frequently led him astray in his efforts to complete or support preconceived theories.⁵ This tendency is most marked in his attempt to define the course of the *second* wall and its ditch; and it is to be regretted that his views have been so widely adopted. There is no evidence that

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 20. It is doubtful whether this scarp is continuous; but if the wall ran this way it may mark the position of a strong tower at the salient.

² *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. viii, Pl. 8.

³ Guthe holds the same view (*ibid.*, viii, p. 278).

⁴ Schick writes, "merely to say that this and this was found, would have been to show that I did not understand things of antiquity" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 122). This explains his wish to identify every isolated fragment of masonry.

⁵ Schick's mind was always open, and he never neglected to publish new facts even when they disproved his theories. Thus, in his paper on "The Site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1898, p. 145 ff.), he acknowledges that the view of the lie of the rock upon which he based his theory of the ditch of the *second* wall was wrong.

the isolated fragments of masonry, some of which differ widely in character and construction, ever formed part of a continuous wall; and there is no certainty that either of them belonged to the *second* wall.

The *second* theory is that the fragments of an old wall (E, E¹) (see Fig. 9) on the west side of Christian Street are portions both of the "broad wall" and of the *second* wall;¹ and that the Gate Genath was near the point P, where a southerly prolongation of the east side of Hezekiah's Pool would strike the *first* wall. From the Gate Genath, which may have been in the west side of a tower like that in one of the towers at S, the wall is supposed to run northward to E¹; and then, either to turn eastward to F and G and follow the line proposed by Schick to the Antonia or to continue northward to the fragment of a wall at E². From this last point the wall would follow the north side of the street *Khôf el-Khängeh*² to the *Porta Judiciaria* (J), and thence an undetermined line to the Antonia. It would appear, from what Saewulf says, that, at the commencement of the twelfth century there was a conspicuous wall in the position indicated by the fragments E and E¹.

"The church is situated on the declivity of Mount Sion, as was the city itself," after that the Roman princes, Titus and Vespasian, had, by the vengeance of the Lord, destroyed from the foundations the whole city of Jerusalem We know that our Lord suffered without the gate. But the Emperor Hadrian, who was called Helias, rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, and the Temple of the Lord, and extended the city as far as the Tower of David,⁴ which formerly had been some distance from the city; as anyone can see from the Mount of Olives, where the extreme west walls of the city formerly were,⁵ and how much the city was afterwards extended."⁶

¹ The view is that Nehemiah rebuilt a wall of the time of the monarchy, and that the *second* wall of Josephus was, in all essential particulars, the wall of Nehemiah.

² Excavations have shown that there could have been no ditch or city wall between the north side of the street and the church.

³ This would be the region of the *bazârs*, which was occupied by squatters after the siege.

⁴ The wall A occupies the position referred to.

⁵ The wall E, E¹ on the east side of the pool.

⁶ Saewulf, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 9, 10; *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iv.

The position of this wall, and its distance from the citadel, satisfies the requirements of the narrative of Josephus. But there is no evidence that the wall extended north of E¹, or south of the pool; and none of the existence of a ditch, unless, as is probable, the "Pool of Hezekiah" formed part of one.¹ The character of the masonry at E² is also different from that at E and E¹. The *Porta Judiciaria* occupies the right position for the north gate in the wall, but here again there is no evidence, and the tradition may be nothing more than a reminiscence of the fact that at the point where the *second* wall crossed the main street there was an important gateway.

Assuming that the tower Psephinus was at the north-west angle of the modern city (see Fig. 8), where it is placed by most commentators, the tent of Titus would have been quite 300 yards from any point of the suggested wall, E, E¹, E², but not so far from that represented by A, D, E.

Conder maintains² that "the nature of the ground admits of no other line" but one which "started near the Tower of David." But at the period when the wall was first built command was a secondary consideration, and the occupation of the higher ground was not necessary for defence.

The *third* view is that the *second* wall commenced at the traditional Gate Genath (L), and ran northwards, past some fragments of masonry (M, M¹) mentioned by Pierotti,³ to the remains in the Russian Convent (H) and the *Porta Judiciaria* (J). Thence it followed the line proposed by Schick to the Antonia.⁴ The traditional Gate Genath stands on an accumulation of rubbish no less than 25½ feet deep,⁵ and it is probably not earlier than the fifth or sixth century. So little is known of the

¹ This view is held by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 298).

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 73.

³ *Jerusalem Explored*, i, 33.

⁴ This view is maintained by Pierotti (*loc.*); Furrer, *Art.* "Golgotha," in Schenkel's *Bibel Lexicon*; and R. P. Germer-Durand (*Echos d'Orient*, vol. vi, pp. 160-174).

⁵ *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 276.

masonry seen by Pierotti that no opinion can be formed as to its date. It may have belonged to a wall separating the bazârs from the quarter of the town to the west. The principal objections to the third view are the small area the wall would enclose; the close proximity, for a considerable distance, of the wall to the principal street of the city; the apparent absence of any important ruins between the points L and H; and the existence of no visible trace of a ditch.

The only safe conclusion seems to be that no certain trace of the *second* wall has yet been found. Possibly one or other of the isolated masses of masonry noticed above may be a fragment of that wall, or mark its position at a particular point; but none of them, singly or collectively, supply definite evidence with regard to the course of the wall, or throw light upon the question whether it included or excluded the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The massive masonry at E west of Christian Street appears to me to have formed part of the *second* wall, but extensive excavation alone can show whether this is the case, and, if so, where the wall turned east, and where it crossed the street *Khân ez-Zeit* and the Tyropœon Valley.

THIRD WALL.

The *third* wall “commenced at the tower Hippicus, whence it extended as far as the north quarter to the tower Psephinus, after which it advanced until it came opposite the tombs of Helena,¹ Queen of Adiabene, and, prolonged through the royal caves,² bent round at a tower at the corner by what is called the Fuller’s Tomb, and joining the old encircling wall, ended at the ravine called Kidron.”³ The wall was 15 feet thick and 30 feet high. It was built with large stones so that it could not be easily mined, or shaken by battering rams. The tower Psephinus was octagonal, and 105 in height.

In the northern part of the wall, opposite the Tomb of Helena, there was a gateway protected by the “Women’s

¹ ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων.

² διὰ σπηλαίων Βασιλικῶν.

³ Josephus, *Wars*, v, 4, § 2, 3.

Towers"; from this the main road to Shechem (Nablus) ran northward across the plateau in a straight line. On the west side of the road certainly, and probably on the east side also, the ground was occupied by enclosed gardens, and their walls, fences and ditches rendered the free movement of troops impossible.¹ The wall was commenced by King Agrippa, *circa* A.D. 41, but attention having been drawn to its exceptional strength, its completion was forbidden by Claudius Cæsar. The state of the wall when work upon it was suspended is unknown; on this point Josephus is not clear,² but it would appear from his account of a reconnaissance by Titus,³ that more progress had been made on the east and north fronts than on the west. The wall was restored after the retreat of Cestius,⁴ and completed by the insurgent Jews before the siege by Titus commenced.

The *third* wall was built to protect the suburbs to the north of the Temple, which, having grown up since the completion of the Castle of Antonia by Herod, were not sufficiently protected against the attack of an enemy. The city had "gradually crept beyond its encircling walls, and the inhabitants, forming into one city the parts to the north of the Temple in addition to the hill, advanced to a considerable distance, and thus a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was surrounded with dwelling houses."⁵ The hill known as Bezetha was opposite to the Castle of Antonia, and was separated from it by a rock-hewn ditch which is still, in part, visible. It was the highest of the hills upon which Jerusalem was then built, and may safely be identified at the ridge stretching northward from the Turkish barracks. There would seem to have been two suburbs, called Bezetha or Kainopolis, "New City," *i.e.*, the upper and the lower, and, from the distinction which Josephus, apparently, makes between the

¹ *Wars*, iv, 2, § 2.

² Work was stopped after the foundations had been laid (*Wars*, v, 4, § 2). Agrippa died before he had built the wall as high as he intended (*Wars*, ii, 11, § 6). Agrippa fortified the walls that included the "New City," partly widening and partly making them higher (*Ant.* xix, 7, § 2).

³ *Wars*, v, 6, § 2.

⁴ *Wars*, ii, 22, § 1.

⁵ *Wars*, v, 4, § 2.

hill and the suburbs,¹ it may be inferred, perhaps, that one of the latter lay in the Tyropœon valley to the west of the hill, and the other in "St. Anne's Ravine" to the east of it.² West of the Tyropœon valley the ground between the *second* and *third* walls was sparsely occupied by houses.³

The "Royal Caves" is the only place named in the description of the wall by Josephus with regard to which there is almost complete certainty. They are the great underground caverns east of the Damascus Gate, of which the Cotton Grotto, and Jeremiah's Grotto, formed part. There is evidence that these quarries were worked in pre-Exilic times, and no other important caverns are known on the north side of Jerusalem.

The tower Psephinus was at the west end, and the corner tower by the Fuller's tomb at the east end of the north front. The position of the tombs of Helena is uncertain. They were not rock-hewn tombs, but three pyramids in which the bones of the Adiabene family were buried.⁴ They are said to have been six hundred yards from the city, but the point from which the distance was reckoned is unknown. The allusions to the tombs in Josephus indicate a closer proximity to the *third* wall than 600 yards, and it may be that the distance was calculated from the north gate of the *second* wall, and not from that of the later *third* wall. After the foundation of Ælia, the point of origin appears to have been at or near the centre of the Colony,⁵ and this would be the point from which distances were measured in the time of Eusebius. The pyramids of Helena are usually

¹ Bezetha is about 40 feet lower than the ground at the north-west corner of the city, but this part was not built over at the time of the siege.

² *Wars*, v, 12, § 2.

³ *Wars*, v, 6, § 2.

"Monobazus gave instructions that they (the bones) should be buried in the three pyramids which their mother had built at a distance of three stadia (600 yards) from the city" (Josephus, *Ant.* xx, 4, § 3).

⁵ Measuring back from the third milestone on the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis (Nablus), which is on or near its original position, the point of origin would be south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Revue Biblique*, x, p. 96). This seems to indicate that the point of origin was either the centre of the colony, the north gate of the *second* wall, or the north gate of the Legionsry Fortress.

placed at the "Tombs of the Kings," but this well known sepulchre is too far from the city—2,630 feet—or nearly four and a half stadia from the Damascus Gate. It would appear from the distances given below,¹ that if the Porta Judiciaria (J on plan, Fig. 8), which possibly marks the position of the north gate of the *second* wall, was the point of origin, the knoll (W on plan), on which Conder locates the tomb of Christ, is the most probable site for the pyramids.² If, on the other hand, distances were measured from a point at or near the Damascus Gate, the cistern (U on plan) to the east of the road to the "Tombs of the Kings" could, perhaps, satisfy the conditions as regards distance.

The wall of Agrippa appears to have been planned on a scale of Herodian grandeur. That portion of it which closed, and still closes, the "St. Anne's Ravine," is a magnificent specimen of mural masonry, and there is no reason to suppose that the remaining sections, so far as they had progressed during the King's reign, were constructed with less skill. Like similar defences of the period, the wall was probably protected by a ditch, except in those places where it crossed a ravine or stood above scarped rock. The insurgent Jews had sufficient time before the siege to complete the wall in accordance with the original designs, but they failed apparently to take full advantage of their opportunity. In places the wall was finished hurriedly, and the ditch probably was not excavated everywhere to its full depth. When however every allowance is

¹ Distance from the Tombs of the Kings to the Damascus Gate ..	2630 ft.
" " " " Porta Judiciaria ..	3470 "
" " " " Legionary Fortress ..	4480 "
" " Cistern U to the Damascus Gate ..	1500 "
" " " " Porta Judiciaria ..	2370 "
" " " " Legionary Fortress ..	3380 "
" " Knoll W to the Damascus Gate ..	850 "
" " " " Porta Judiciaria ..	1720 "
" " " " Legionary Fortress ..	2730 "
Josephus gives the distance from the Pyramids to the City ..	1800 "

² This identification was first proposed by Pierotti (*Jerusalem Explored*, i, 37). At the knoll there is a rock platform roughly scarped on all sides (*Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 75).

made for hasty completion and frequent demolitions, the fact remains that a work of such magnitude could not have disappeared without leaving definite traces of its existence. Such traces are visible in that portion of the present north wall which, commencing at the Jaffa Gate and ending a short distance east of the "St. Anne's Ravine," encloses the northern quarter of the city. North of that wall no continuous ditch, no fragment of a tower, and no masonry that could have formed part of a city wall has yet been found.¹ The present city wall is protected by a continuous rock-hewn scarp, the bases of many of the towers are rock hewn, and here and there the masonry is excellent.² It includes the hill Bezetha, and the ground north of the Temple upon which the "suburbs" must have stood. It crosses the eastern spur of the plateau at the most convenient point, where the underground quarries facilitated the excavation of a broad, deep ditch, and it runs through these quarries as the *third* wall ran through the Royal Caves, and agrees generally with all that Josephus says with regard to the outer line of defence.

The objections to a wall north of the present one, apart from the absence of distinct traces of a ditch and mural masonry, are : that such a wall was not necessary for the defence of Bezetha, that it would have enclosed much unoccupied ground, that its wide front would have been a serious source of weakness, and that a very much larger garrison would have been required for its defence than there is any reason to suppose was ever quartered at Jerusalem. It may be remarked also that there is nothing in the history of the city during the period from the death of Herod the Great to the accession of Agrippa to justify the believer that the growth of the population had been so great

¹ During the last thirty years a considerable part of the plateau north of the existing wall has been covered with houses and gardens; but the excavations carried out during the building operations have disclosed nothing which supports the view that the city, at any time, exceeded its present limits. For the opinion of Dr. Robinson on the line of the third wall, see Appendix VIII.

² At several points Schick found the remains of an ancient wall a few feet outside the present one.

as to justify such a wide extension of its limits either on the eastern or the western hill.

On the whole, therefore, it appears probable that the *third* wall in the time of the siege followed approximately the same lines as the existing north wall of Jerusalem.

3. *The Walls of the Roman Camp*, A.D. 70–132.—Jerusalem, after its capture by the Romans, became a Legionary fortress, or permanent “Camp”; and it so remained until the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 132). No record of the size of the “Camp” has been preserved; no tradition exists with regard to its position; and no trace of its limits has yet been found.

Titus, when ordering the demolition of the fortifications of the city, decided to spare the west wall of the “Upper City,” that it might serve as a barrack for his troops; and the three towers Phasælus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, that they might show future generations how strong the defences of Jerusalem had been. The troops left by Titus as a garrison consisted of the Tenth Legion, Fretensis, with certain auxiliaries—troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen.¹ From the above it may be inferred that the north-west angle of the “Camp” was near the Jaffa Gate, where the fortified palace of Herod and the three towers stood. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the steps which the Roman engineers took to convert Jerusalem into a Legionary fortress. The circumstances were so exceptional that they may have abandoned their normal arrangements. On the other hand, it seems probable that they carried out their work in accordance with the general principles governing the construction of fortified camps, and that, wherever it was practicable, they utilised the existing fortifications.

The “Upper City” was defended on its north, west, and south sides by the *first* wall, and on its east side by a wall that ran along the low cliff on the right of the Tyropœon

¹ Josephus, *Wars*, vii. 1, §§ 1, 2. The legion, or the bulk of it, was doubtless quartered at Jerusalem; the auxiliaries may have garrisoned forts at important points in Judæa.

Valley. This wall is not mentioned by Josephus,¹ but its existence may be inferred from the fact that the "Upper City" was able to hold out after the Temple and the "Lower City" were in the hands of the Romans. Titus was obliged to undertake regular siege operations before he could force an entrance.² When at last the "Upper City" fell, its fortifications, with the exception of a breach in the west wall, were intact.³

It may be regarded as almost certain that for the north and west walls of the "Camp" the engineers utilised portions of the *first* or old wall, but the trace adopted for the east and south walls is not so clearly indicated. A Legionary fortress was, as a rule, a square or oblong, with rounded angles, and about 50 acres in extent. Thus Caerleon is 51 acres, York probably 48, Chester probably 53, Lambæsis 52, and Bonn 61; the proportion of length to breadth varies in each case.⁴ The "Camp" at Jerusalem may not have been of the usual form, but if the bulk of the Legion was quartered there, its area would be normal, and, in attempting to locate it, a space of about 50 acres must be allowed. The ground enclosed by the walls of the "Upper City"—about $74\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent—is now unequally divided by the south wall of the modern town. That portion lying north of the city wall has an area of about $48\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and, very possibly, its limits may be those of the Roman "Camp." It is quite conceivable that the engineers utilised the north, east, and west walls of the "Upper City," and, to complete the defences, connected the two last by a new wall which followed a line still preserved by the

¹ This is not remarkable, for Josephus, in his description of the walls, never alludes to the great peribolos wall of the Temple precincts which still attract the wonder and admiration of travellers. The fragments of masonry referred to by Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 81, 82) may have belonged to the wall.

² *Wars*, vi, 8, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, vi, 8, 4.

⁴ For information with regard to existing Legionary fortresses, and for many valuable suggestions as to the manner in which the Romans would probably set about the formation of their "Camp" at Jerusalem, I am much indebted to Mr. F. Haverfield.

wall of the modern city.¹ An approximate rectangle, well

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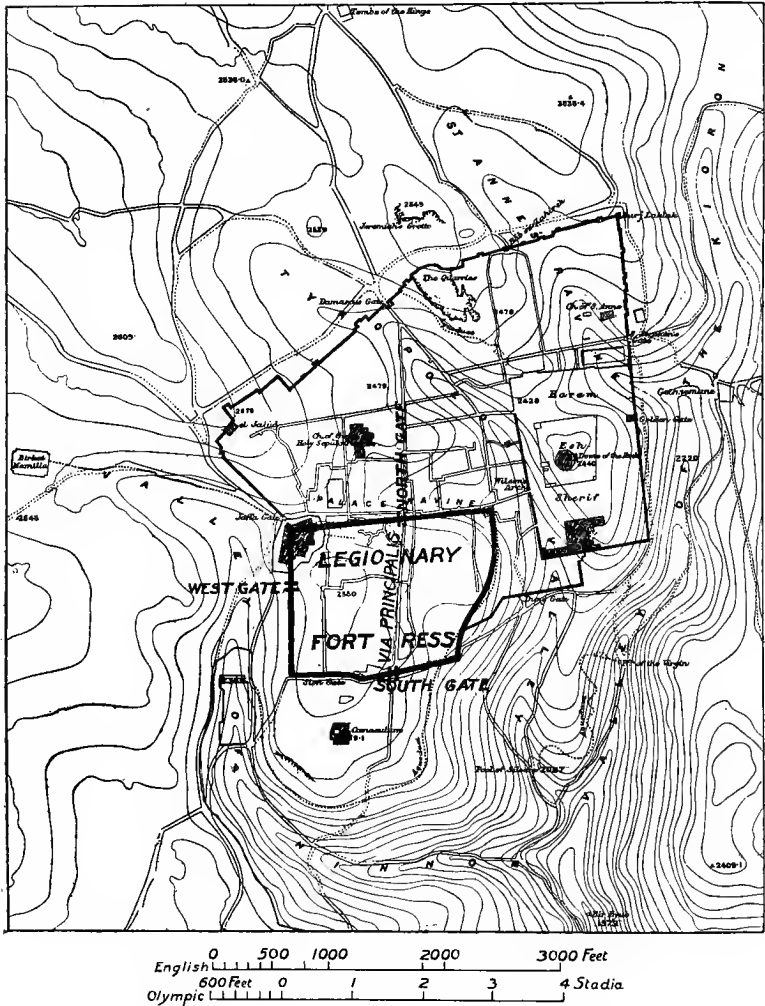


FIG. 10.—CAMP OF THE TENTH LEGION AT JERUSALEM.

defended on all sides, and of the regulation size, would thus be

¹ There has never been any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the south wall of Jerusalem which, for no ostensible reason, excludes a quarter

formed on the highest part of the hill.¹ According to this view "the Camp" extended, approximately, from David Street to the south wall, and from the west wall to the conduit from "Solomon's Pools."

The fortifications not utilised in the construction of "the Camp" were demolished, and on the south the demolition appears to have been complete.² How far this was the case on the north is unknown, but it is reasonable to suppose that those portions of the *second* and *third* walls in the immediate vicinity of "the Camp" were overthrown, and that the ground was levelled over their ruins. The Roman engineers would not have neglected such an obvious military precaution, and have left cover for a possible enemy in close proximity to their defences. Inside "the Camp," the principal street of the ancient city, the line of which is still preserved, no doubt became the *Via principalis*, with its Northern Gate near the south-east corner of the Muristan, and its Southern Gate at the spot where the Sion Gate stood before the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Suleiman. The West Gate was, probably, at or near the gate in the west wall mentioned by Mukaddasi, A.D. 985,³ but no trace remains of this gate or of the street which must have led eastward from it. Possibly the Armenian gardens on the west, and the waste ground on the south⁴ represent on those sides the clear spaces that were always left between the walls and the quarters of the soldiers.

that must have been one of the pleasantest in the ancient city. The true solution of the problem seems to be that the "Camp" existed as a military station long after the reign of Hadrian; and that eventually, when the garrison of Jerusalem was nominal, and the "Camp" was no longer required, its south wall became the southern limit of the city.

¹ I was formerly of opinion that the limits of the "Upper City" were those of the "Camp," but I have abandoned this view in consequence of the strong evidence that the normal area of a Legionary fortress did not vary greatly from 50 acres, and the fact that the area of the "Upper City" was as much as 74½ acres.

² See the description of the state of the old walls by Dr. Bliss (Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-97).

³ Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 214-17. The gate was called *Báb et-Tih*.

⁴ During the last 50 years most of this ground has been taken up for building.

Outside "the Camp" Roman and foreign merchants, and those Jews who had taken no part in war, would settle down amidst the ruins of the ancient city for the purposes of trade. These squatters probably rebuilt the old bazârs that lay between the *first* and *second* walls;¹ and those of them who were not Jews may have erected a small temple or shrine of Astarte on a site so convenient to the bazârs as that now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Whether any *canabæ* grew up to the south of "the Camp" is uncertain, but it is pleasant to think that Christian families may have settled down in this locality after their return from Pella, and that they may have founded "the mother church of Sion" on the ruins of the house in which Christ had partaken of the Last Supper, with His disciples. Within the walls of the Legionary fortress there could have been no church, synagogue, or temple.

4. *The Walls of Ælia Capitolina*.—During the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian "the Camp" and the suburbs in its vicinity were taken by the insurgents and recaptured by the Romans. How far they suffered in the prolonged struggle it is impossible to say; but it is reasonable to suppose that, whilst the *canabæ* may have been destroyed, the strong walls of the Legionary fortress were not seriously injured.

When Hadrian was able to carry out his project of rebuilding Jerusalem as a heathen city, one of the first steps that he would take would be to reoccupy "the Camp" with Legionary troops, and restore its walls where they had been breached. The presence of a large Roman garrison in the "Upper City" of Josephus is indicated by several centurial inscriptions on the tubes of the stone syphon of the "High Level Aqueduct."² This

¹ This appears to have been the belief at the commencement of the twelfth century, for Sæwulf writes that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was "situated on the declivity of Mount Sion, as was the city itself; after that the Roman princes, Titus and Vespasian, had by the vengeance of the Lord destroyed from the foundations the whole city of Jerusalem." *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iv).

² The aqueduct may have been constructed by Herod the Great when he built his fortified palace in the "Upper City" (*Wars*, v, 4, § 4), or it

aqueduct is the only one capable of delivering a steady stream of water at the level of "the Camp," and its preservation in a thorough state of repair would be a matter of special importance to the garrison. The Legionary fortress, as elsewhere, would be quite distinct from the civil town which Hadrian made a *Colonia*. Its walls would long remain, and, on the north and south sides, they appear to have lasted to the reign of Constantine.¹ The interval which separated the fortress from the "Colony" would coincide very nearly with "David Street." A passage in the *Annals* of Eutychius, to which M. Clermont-Ganneau has called attention,² appears to contain an allusion to the northern face of the Legionary fortress as restored by Hadrian :—"The Greeks established themselves there (in *Ælia*) and constructed a fortress at the gate of the Temple called *el-Behâ*.³ . . . This fortress exists to-day at the gate of Jerusalem, and is called the *Mihrab* of David."⁴

No early writer describes the walls built by Hadrian to protect the civil city, *Ælia Capitolina*, and there is no record of any reconstruction or extension earlier than the fifth century.⁵ It may be inferred from this absence of information that the walls of Constantine's city were the walls of *Ælia*, and that on the north, at least, these walls are represented, conventionally, on the plan of Jerusalem in the Madeba mosaic. It is conceiv-

may have been a Roman military work carried out by the garrison after the capture of the city by Titus. The inscriptions give no certain date. For a discussion on these points, see *Quarterly Statement*, 1905, pp. 75-77.

¹ The Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333, found the house of Caiaphas outside, and David's Palace, *i.e.*, "David's Tower," inside "the wall of Sion"; and, going northwards to the gate of Neapolis, *i.e.*, the Damascus Gate, he went "out of the wall of Sion." These walls correspond to the north and south walls of the fortress.

² *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* vi, pp. 279 *sqq.*

³ The gate *el-Behâ*, "the Gate of Beauty," is apparently the present *Bâb es-Silsileh*, the "Golden Gate" of the Middle Ages.

⁴ This seems to indicate the citadel at the Jaffa Gate.

⁵ "The site of the city is almost circular, enclosed within a circuit of walls of no small extent, whereby it now receives within itself Mount Sion, which was once outside" (Eucherius, *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii). This enclosure of Mount Sion took place before Eudocia (A.D. 449-460) built the wall that included the Pool of Siloam.

able that Hadrian built his wall nearly on the line of the *third* wall of the ancient city; and this view derives some support from the Madeba mosaic and from the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. In the former, city gates are clearly shown in positions that are approximately those of the present Jaffa, Damascus, and St. Stephen Gates. From the Itinerary it would appear that the *Birket Israil*, the pool near the Church of St. Anne, and the twin pools near the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, were within the walls in A.D. 333.¹ The wall of *Ælia* appears, in fact, to have followed the course of the present wall, except, perhaps, near the Jaffa Gate, where it seems to have been drawn in so as to give "David's Tower" and the citadel a clear front.

Some interesting suggestions with regard to the public buildings of *Ælia* mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle have recently been made by Father Germer-Durand.² The learned Augustinian identifies the *Trikameron*³ with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and its three *cellæ*, and considers the *Kodra*, that is "Quadra," to be the great quadrangular enclosure, *Harâm esh-Sherif*, in which the *Trikameron* stood. He sees in the two *demasia* municipal buildings connected with the administration of the city, and in the *Tetranymphon*, a bath with four porticos—possibly the Pool of Siloam, which, according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim, was *quadriporticus*.⁴ The *Dodekapylon* he regards as the double colonnade of the principal thoroughfare divided by three *tetrapylons*, and its name, "the steps," he explains by the steps in the street. But in this last case an identification with some part of the fortifications, or with some great work connected with the approach from the civil city to the temple of Jupiter⁵ would seem preferable.

¹ *The Bordeaux Pilgrim. Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.

² *Echos d'Orient*, 1904, pp. 65-71; see also *Revue Biblique*, 1, pp. 369-87.

³ The *Trikameron* would more naturally be a building with three vaulted rooms like the Basilica of Maxentius at Rome; but the identification proposed above is quite possible.

⁴ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.

⁵ The approach appears to have been by a viaduct, perhaps reached by steps, at "Wilson's Arch." The *Dodekapylon* may refer to the columns in front of the temple of Jupiter and the steps that led up to the platform upon which they stood.

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APPENDIX II.

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES.

I.—HISTORICAL DATES.

	A.D.
Tiberius, Emperor of Rome	14
Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judæa	25 or 26
The Crucifixion	29 or 33
Marcellus, Procurator of Judæa	35 or 36
Caligula, Emperor of Rome	37
Martyrdom of Stephen	<i>Circa</i> 37 or 38
Claudius, Emperor of Rome	41
Herod Agrippa, King of Judæa	41
The third wall of Jerusalem built	41-43
Martyrdom of James, the son of Zebedee	<i>Circa</i> 44
Death of Herod Agrippa ; Cuspius Fadus, Procurator of Judæa	44
Tiberius Alexander, Procurator of Judæa	46
Ventidius Cumanus, Procurator of Judæa	48
Claudius Felix, Procurator of Judæa	52
Nero, Emperor of Rome	54
Portius Festus, Procurator of Judæa	60
Death of Festus	61
Albinus, Procurator of Judæa	62
Martyrdom of James, the brother of the Lord	<i>Circa</i> 62
Gessius Florus, Procurator of Judæa	64
Commencement of the Jewish War	66
Flight of the Christians to Pella	67 or 68
The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus	70
Possible date of the return of the Christians from Pella. (See p. 54)	72
Jerusalem occupied as a Roman legionary camp	70-132
Domitian, Emperor of Rome	81
Nerva, Emperor of Rome... ..	96
Trajan, Emperor of Rome	98
Hadrian, Emperor of Rome	117

	A.D.
Tineius Rufus, Governor of Jerusalem	132
Rebellion of the Jews under Bar Kokba	132
Suppression of the rebellion	135
Hadrian founds the city <i>Ælia</i> on the site of Jerusalem ...	136
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome	161
Diocletian, Emperor of Rome	284
Constantine, Emperor of Rome	306
The Conversion of Constantine	312
The Council of Nicæa	325
The Empress Helena visits Jerusalem	326
The Church of the Holy Sepulchre completed ... <i>Circa</i>	335
The Jews revolt and are expelled from Jerusalem	339
The Council of Jerusalem	349
Julian, Emperor of Rome	360
Julian attempts to rebuild the temple	363

II.—DATES OF EARLY AUTHORS, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

	A D.
Josephus Lived <i>circa</i>	37-97
Justin Martyr Died	163
Tertullian Lived	155-230
Dion Cassius „	155-240
Origen „	185-253
Cyprian „	200-258
Eusebius „	260-339
Athanasius „	296-373
Didymus Alexandrinus „	309-394
Hilarius Died	367
Epiphanius Lived	312-403
Cyril of Jerusalem... .. „	315-386
Gregory Nazianzen „	315-389
Basil of Cesarea „	329-379
The Bordeaux Pilgrim's visit to Jerusalem <i>Circa</i>	333
Ambrose Lived	340-397
Rufinus „	345-410
Jerome „	346-420
Chrysostom „	347-407
Augustine „	354-430
Sulpicius Severus „	363-420
Sozomen „	375-450

	A. D.
Socrates	<i>Circa</i> 379
St. Sylvia's visit to Jerusalem	" 385
Nonnus Panopolitanus	Lived 385-440
Theodoret	" 393-458
Eucherius	<i>Circa</i> 440
Basil of Seleucia	" 448
The Breviary of Jerusalem	" 530
Theodosius	" 530
Procopius	" 560
Antoninus Martyr... ..	" 560
Sophronius	Lived 564-637
Gregory	Bishop of Tours 577
Anastasius Sinaita... ..	Died 599
The Pascal Chronicle	<i>Circa</i> 630
Arculfus	" 670
Andreas of Crete	" 675
The Venerable Bede	" 730
Willibald	" 754
Bernard the Wise	" 870
Eutychius	Lived 876-939
Theophylact	<i>Circa</i> 1070
Sæwulf	" 1102
The Abbot Daniel... ..	" 1106
Maimonides	Lived 1131-1204
Wilbrand von Oldenburg	<i>Circa</i> 1212
Jacques de Vitry	" 1226
Burchard of Mount Sion	" 1283
Fréjus (Odoricus de Foro Julii)	" 1320
Guilielmus de Boldenseale	" 1332
Ludolph von Suchem	" 1350

APPENDIX III.

EVIDENCE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS WITH REGARD TO
THE ORIGIN OF THE PLACE-NAME GOLGOTHA.¹

1. ORIGEN, *Commentary on St. Matthew*.—The Place of a Skull is said to have no slight claim to have been the place where he who died for men should have died. I have received a tradition to the effect that the body of Adam, the first man, was buried upon the spot where Christ was crucified, that, as in Adam all die, so in Christ all should be made alive : that in the place which is called the Place of a Skull, that is, the *place of a head*, the head of the human race rose again in the resurrection of Our Lord and Saviour, who suffered there. (Preserved in the Latin translation only.)

In the *Catena* there are the following Greek words in MS. :—With regard to the Place of a Skull, a Hebrew tradition has come down to us that Adam's body is buried there, to the end that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive again.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xiii, col. 1,777.)

2. ATHANASIUS, *De Passione et Cruce Domini*.—Wherefore he did not suffer, he did not hang on the cross in any other place but in the Place of a Skull, which the Hebrew teachers declare was Adam's sepulchre (ἡ εἰς τὸν Κρανίου τόπον, ὃ Ἑβραίων οἱ διδάσκαλοι φασὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἶναι τάφον) : for there they say he was buried after the curse. Now, if this be so, I admire the appropriateness of the place, for it was needful that Christ, when he was renewing the old Adam, should suffer in that place, that by taking away his sin he might set all mankind free from it. And whereas God said to Adam, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. iii, 19), He came hither to the end that he might find Adam there and free him from that curse ; that instead of that "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return," He might say unto him "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" ; and, again, "Rise, come

¹ The translations, except where otherwise stated, are by Mr. Aubrey Stewart, M.A.

and follow Me," that thou mayest no longer lie in the earth, but mayest ascend to the heavens. Indeed, it was necessary that when the Saviour rose, Adam, and all the seed of Adam, should rise with him.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxviii, col. 208.)

3. EPIPHANIUS, *Adversus Hæreses* (lib. 1, tom. iii, xlv, 5).—Wherefore a man of understanding may wonder that, as we have been taught by the Scriptures, Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified at Golgotha, in no other place than that in which Adam lay buried. For Adam, when he was cast out of Paradise, dwelt for a long time over against it. Then a long time afterwards he removed to the place Jerusalem, of which I have spoken, and there, when he died, he was buried in Golgotha. From this the place itself has rightly received its name, so that when interpreted it may be called the Place of a Skull. There is nothing to be seen in the place resembling this name; for it is not situated upon a height that it should be called [the Place] of a Skull, answering to the place of the head in the human body; neither has it the shape of a lofty watch-tower, for it does not even rise above the places round about it (ὄθεν, εἰκότως τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνον ὁ τόπος ἔσχε, κρανίου ἐρμηνευόμενος τόπος, ἧς ὀνομασίας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ τόπου ἐμφέρειαν τινα οὐχ ὑποδείκνυσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τινὶ κεῖται, ἵνα κρανίου τοῦτο ἐρμηνεύηται, ὥς ἐπὶ σώματος κεφαλῇ τόπος λέγεται, οὔτε σκοπιᾶς· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἐν ὕψει κεῖται παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους). Indeed, over against it stands the Mount of Olives, which is a higher hill than it: but the highest is the mountain of Gibeon, which stands eight miles away from it. Lastly, even that hill which once stood on Mount Sion, but at the present day has been cut down, was higher than Golgotha on that spot. Whence, then, did it obtain the name of the Place of a Skull? No doubt because there the bare skull of the first man was discovered and his remains dug up; for this cause it was called the Place of a Skull. In this place our Lord Jesus Christ was lifted up on the Cross, and by the water and blood which flowed from his pierced side typified the whole scheme of our salvation . . .—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xli, col. 844.)

4. BASIL (of Cesarea), *Commentary on Isaiah* v, § 141.—There was a prevalent belief, preserved in the Church by an unwritten tradition, to the effect that Adam was the first inhabitant of Palestine, who fixed his abode there after he had been driven out of Paradise (Gen. iii, 23), that he might compensate himself for the good things which he had lost. This land therefore received the first man who died, for it was there that Adam paid his debt. Wherefore the bone of his skull, when bared of flesh, appeared as a new and strange sight to the men of that age. Now, as they placed his skull in this

place, they called the place itself the Place of a Skull (καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ κρανίον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, κρανίου τόπον ἀνόμασαν). It is probable that this sepulchre (τὸν τάφον) of the first of all men was well known, so that after the flood this tradition about it was prevalent. For this cause the Lord, perceiving there the first fruits of human death, Himself suffered death in the place called the Place of a Skull, to the end that at the place where men's death first began there also life should begin its reign, so that as death had dominion over Adam, so by the death of Christ he should lose his power (1 Cor. xv, 22).—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxx, col. 348.)

5. CHRYSOSTOM, *Commentary on St. John*, xix, 16-18 ; *Hom.*, 85.—
“And he came to the place of a skull. Some say that Adam died there, and there lieth ; and that Jesus in this place where death had reigned, there also set up the trophy” (i.e., the Cross).—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lix, col. 459 ; Pusey, Chrysostom, ii, 756.)

6. NONNUS PANOPOLITANUS, *Paraphrase of St. John*, xix.—

and Jesus bearing his cross,
Willingly went on his way, undaunted in mind, to his doom,
Till he arrived at the place which is called the Place of a Skull,
Bearing the name on its brow of Adam the first of men,
Golgotha called in the Syrian tongue.

—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xliii, col. 901.)

7. BASIL (of Seleucia), *Oration xxxviii*, 3.—According to the traditions of the Jews, it is said that the skull of Adam was found here, and that this was known to Solomon through his great wisdom. This, they say, is the reason why this place was called “the Place of a Skull.”—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxv, col. 409.)

8. TERTULLIAN, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. ii, cap. 4.—

There is a place, now Golgotha, once Calvary,
Place of a Skull named in the earlier tongue ;
Here is earth's centre, here was victory won ;
Here, ancients say, was found a mighty head,
Here, we have heard, the first man lay entombed ;
Christ suffered here, his blood bedewed the earth,
So that old Adam's dust, with blood of Christ
Commingle, by that saving flood might rise.

(Appendix I. to the genuine works of Tertullian.)—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ii, col. 1,067.)

9. i. CYPRIAN, *Ad Cornelium Papam de Cardinalibus Operibus Christi*. “De Resurrectione Christi.”—Nor is it right that in these

days we should speak of sad things, but as it was appointed to the children of love (1 Chron. vi, 31-33) that they should ever sing and prophesy merrily, and all the Psalms which bear their names tell of joy, and threaten no evil, so we who belong to Christ, with whose blood we believe that Adam's skull was sprinkled, as ancient tradition tells us that he was buried beneath the place whereon the Lord's cross was set up, being sanctified by the flowing of his blood, let us make merry and rejoice in the Lord.—(S. Caecilii Cypriani Ep. Carthaginiensis et Mart. *Opera*, ed. Baluzius, p. 133.)

9. ii. *Hymnus Victorini Pictaviensis, De Cruce Domini*.—(Wrongly ascribed to Cyprian.) There is a place which we believe to be the middle of the whole earth. The Jews call it in their own language Golgotha (*op. cit.*, ed. Baluzius, p. 159).

N.B.—These two passages are in the editions of Baluze, and of Oxford, but not in Migne, who does not accept them as genuine.

10. i. AMBROSE, *Epist.* 71, § 10. *To Horontianus*.—There (at Golgotha) was the sepulchre of Adam; that Christ by his Cross might raise him from death. Thus, where in Adam was the death of all, there in Christ was the resurrection of all.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 1,243; Pusey, *Library of the Fathers*, Epistles of St. Ambrose.)

10. ii. *Exposition of St. Luke's Gospel*, lib. x.—The place of the cross was either in the midst, that it might be easily seen of all; or above the burial place of Adam, according to the Hebrews. Indeed it was fitting that our spiritual life should have its beginning in the place wherein death first came into the world.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1,832, § 114.)

11. i. JEROME, *Epistola Paulæ et Eustochii ad Marcellam* (Ep. 46 (17), written about A.D. 386).—§ 3. Finally, to refer to an entirely different subject, let us go back to more ancient times. In this city, nay, in this very place, Adam is said to have dwelt there, and to have died there. Whence the place wherein Our Lord was crucified was called *Calvary*, because it was there that the ancient man's skull was buried, to the end that the second Adam, that is to say, the blood of Christ flowing from the Cross, might wash away the sins of Adam the first and first-formed man who lay there; and that then the words of the apostle might be fulfilled, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Ephes. v, 14).—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxii, col. 485.)

11. ii. *Commentary on the Ephesians*, v, 14.—I remember to have

heard someone discoursing in church upon this passage, and he tried to please the people by telling them of a stage miracle, a matter never heard of before, saying, "This testimony applies to Adam who was buried in the place Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. This place was called Calvary, because the head of the ancient man was buried there; when, therefore, at the time when the Lord was crucified, he hung over his sepulchre [*lit.* at that time, therefore, when the Lord on his Cross was hanging over his (Adam's) sepulchre], this prophecy was fulfilled which saith, 'Arise, Adam, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead.'"—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxvi, col. 526.)

11. iii. *Commentary on St. Matthew*, xxvii, 33.—I have heard someone explain that the place Calvary, in which Adam was buried, was so named because there the head of the ancient man was placed, and that this was what was meant by the apostle when he said, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." This is a popular interpretation and pleasing to the ears of the people, but nevertheless it is not a true one, for outside the city and without the gate there are places wherein the heads of condemned criminals are cut off, and which have obtained the name of Calvary, that is, of the beheaded. For this reason the Lord was crucified there, in order that the banner of his martyrdom might be set up in the place which had before been the field of the condemned. And as for us he bore the reproach of the cross, was scourged and crucified, even so for the salvation of all men he was crucified as a criminal among criminals. But if anyone should argue that the Lord was crucified on that spot to the end that his blood might run down on to the tomb of Adam, let us ask him why the two thieves were crucified in the same place? From this it is evident that Calvary does not mean the sepulchre of the first man, but the place of the beheaded, and that where sin abounded, grace might much more abound (Romans v, 20). Now we read in the Book of Joshua (xiv, 15),¹ the son of Nun, that Adam was buried at Hebron, which is Arba.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 209.)

11. iv. *Onomasticon*, Art. "Arboc."—Arboc . . . that is four, because three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are buried there, and great Adam, as is written in the Book of Joshua (xiv, 15), though some think that he was buried in the Place of a Skull.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiii, col. 862).—[Translated by C. W. W.]

¹ This well-known error of Jerome's, which also occurs in the *Onomasticon*, Art. "Arboc," is due to a misreading of the Hebrew text of Josh. xiv, 15. Jerome has "Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est" (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxviii, col. 488), where the Revised Version reads, "which Arba was the greatest man among the Anakim."

12. AUGUSTINE, tom. v, *Sermones Supposititii*, Sermo vi (lxxi).—§ 5. Hear also another mystery. St. Jerome, the Elder of the Church, has recorded (*on Mark*, xv) that he learned for a truth from the ancients and the older Jews, that Isaac was offered at the place where the Lord Christ was afterwards crucified. . . . It has also been handed down by ancient tradition that the first man Adam was buried on the very spot where the cross was set up, and that place was therefore called Calvary, because the head of the human race is said to have been buried there. And this belief, my brethren, is not unreasonable, for the physician is raised up on the place where the sick man lay down. It was right also that the divine pity should bow itself down on the spot where human pride had fallen, and that we should believe that while that precious blood actually deigned to fall upon the dust of the ancient and sinful man, it should have wrought his redemption.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxxix, col. 1,751.)

13. MOSES BAR CEPHA, *De Paradiso*, i, cap. 14.—Adam, after the loss of Paradise, first lived in Judæa, and, after he had travelled in many countries and dwelt in many places, came towards the end of his days to Mount Jebus, and was buried there. Now, Jebus is certainly Jerusalem. . . . [When Noah at the approach of the Deluge entered the ark with his sons], he took the bones of Adam with him, and when he left the ark after the Flood he distributed the bones amongst his sons. He also parted the world amongst them, giving to each his portion to dwell in. Thus he gave Adam's skull to his eldest son, Shem, and allotted to him the land of Judæa; and so it happened that Shem, when he came to Judæa (his inheritance), reburied the skull of Adam, which he had received at the distribution of the bones by his father, at the sepulchre of Adam, which was then in existence. . . . If that be the case, then it is true that the skull of Adam was buried at Jebus, *i.e.*, Jerusalem, and that the cross of Christ was set up above it. It is also certain that Noah brought with him the bones of Adam from that other land, and that when he came into this our country, he gave the head to his firstborn, Shem, who, when he came to Jebus, his inheritance, buried it.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cxi, cols. 497, 498).—[Translated by C. W. W.]

14. EUTYCHIUS, *Annales*, p. 19.—Adam, when he felt that he was about to die, called together his son Seth, and Enosh, the son of Seth, and Kenan, the son of Enosh, and Mahalalel the son of Kenan, and taught them what they should do, saying to them:—Let this be a law for all your children. When I am dead, embalm my body with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and lay it in the cave *el-Kandz*: and whosoever of your sons shall be living at the time when you determine to leave the

confines of Paradise, let him bear my body with him and bury it in the middle of the earth, for from thence shall come my salvation and the salvation of all my children. . . . So when Adam died, his son Seth embalmed his body, according to his command, bore it to the top of the Mount, and buried it in the cave *el-Kandz*. . . .

P. 44.—[Noah, when at the point of death, thus instructed Shem.] See that thou take Adam's body out of the ark, unknown to everyone, and then take store of bread and wine for a journey and set forth, and take with you Melchizedek, the son of Peleg, and lay the body in the place which the angel of the Lord shall show you. . . . The angel of the Lord shall go before you until you come to the place where you are to bury Adam, and you may know that spot to be the middle of the earth. . . .

P. 48. So Shem did as his father Noah commanded him ; he went into the ark by night and bore thence the body of Adam, telling no man what he was doing. . . . Now when Shem and Melchizedek, bearing with them Adam's body, set forth on their way, the angel of the Lord met them, and never departed from them until he had brought them to the midst of the earth and shown them the place. When Adam's body was laid upon it, it opened of its own accord, and then, when the body was within it, it closed up again. Now the name of this place is *el-Jaljalah*.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cxi, cols. 911, 917, 918.)

15. MAIMONIDES, in *Beit Abachria*, cap. 2.—The site of the altar was conveniently situated, and its position was never changed, as it is written, "this is the burnt offering of Israel" (1 Chron. xxii, 1). In the place of the sanctuary our father Isaac was bound, according to the command, "get thee into the land of Moriah" (Gen. xxii, 2). It is also said that Solomon built the house [of the Lord] there, on the mount (1 Kings vi, 14). Now, it is a common tradition (*traditio in omnium manu*) that the place in which David and Solomon built a resting place for the Ark was the same spot as that upon which Abraham built an altar and bound Isaac upon it. It was also the place upon which Noah built an altar after he left the ark ; and this was the same altar upon which Cain, Abel, and Adam, after his creation, offered a first sacrifice, and from the dust of that spot Adam was formed. Hence the wise ones say, Adam was created from the place of his atonement (*e loco expiationis suae*). (From Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, 2nd ed., vol. i, cap. 29, p. 73.)—[Translated by C. W. W.]

16. CYRIL (of Jerusalem), *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 23.—Now, Golgotha is interpreted "the Place of a Skull." Who were they, then,

who prophetically named this Golgotha, in which Christ the true Head endured the cross? As the apostle says, "who is the image of the invisible God" (Col. i, 15); and, after a little, "and He is the Head of the body, the Church" (Col. i, 18); and again, "the Head of every man is Christ" (1 Cor. xi, 3); and again, "who is the Head of all principality and power" (Col. ii, 10). The Head suffered in the "Place of the Skull." O wondrous prophetic adaptation! The very name almost reminds thee, saying: Think not of the Crucified as of a mere man; He is *the Head of all principality and power*. That Head which was crucified is the Head of all power, and has for His Head the Father; for the *Head of the man is Christ*, and the *Head of Christ is God* (1 Cor. xi, 3).—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxiii, cols. 800, 801; Pusey, *Library of the Fathers*, Cyril's Catechetical Lectures.)

17. VEN. BEDE, on *St. Matthew* xxvii.—*And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha*.—Now Golgotha is a Syrian word, and is, being interpreted, a place of a skull (*Calvaria*). This place is in *Ælia* (Jerusalem), and was at that time without the city, on the northern side of Mount Sion, and was called the place of Calvary, not because of the baldness (*calvitium*) of the first man, whom some in error do vainly suppose to have been buried there, but because of the beheading of criminals and men condemned to die. For this reason the Lord was crucified there, in order that the standard of his martyrdom might be set up on the spot which heretofore had been the place of execution of the condemned. — (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xcii, col. 123.)

18. According to QUARESMIUS (*Elucidatio Terra Sanctæ*, ii, 446a, ch. 38), who interpolates words to help out his iambic lines, Gregory Nazianzen writes in his *Christus Patiens*:—

"When the impious crowd, dragging with it my King, had left the city of the Solymi, and had come to a lofty spot strewn with many rocks. . . ."

"And further on:—

"So when, standing on a spot raised on a mound of rocks, they had nailed the Lord of all upon the tall cross, &c."

The original of Gregory (*Christus Patiens*, lines 657–666), reads:—

"When the impious crowd, leaving the city of the Solymi and dragging along my Lord with it, came to the Pavement (*ἐς Στρατὸν Διθους*). . . . And when they had thus hung up the Lord, some of them struck him on the head with a reed, mounting upon a tower-like (*ἀντιπύργον*) rock."—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxxviii, col. 189.)

APPENDIX IV.

EXTRACTS FROM GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS RELATING TO
THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 33-326.1. *Roman Procurators from A.D. 6 to A.D. 66.*

PROCURATORS.	REIGNING EMPERORS
Coponius. From A.D. 6 to A.D. 9 or 10.	Augustus, d. 19th Aug., 14.
Marcus Ambivivius. From A.D. 9 or 10 to A.D. 12 or 13.	
Annius Rufus. From A.D. 12 or 13 to A.D. 14 or 15.	Tiberius, d. 16th March, 37.
Valerius Gratus. From A.D. 14 or 15 to A.D. 25 or 26.	
Pontius Pilatus. From A.D. 25 or 26 to A.D. 35 or 36.	
Marcellus. From A.D. 35 or 36 to A.D. 37.	Caligula, d. 24th Jan., 41.
Murullus. From A.D. 37 to A.D. 41.	
Herod Agrippa I, King. From A.D. 41 to A.D. 44.	Claudius, d. 13th Oct., 54.
Cuspius Fadus. From A.D. 44 to A.D. 46.	
Tiberius Alexander. From A.D. 46 to A.D. 48.	
Ventidius Cumanus. From A.D. 48 to A.D. 52.	
Claudius, or Antoninus, Felix. From A.D. 52 to A.D. 60.	Nero, A.D. 54 to 68.
Porcius Festus. From A.D. 60 to A.D. 61.	
Albinus. From A.D. 62 to A.D. 64.	
Gessius Florus. From A.D. 64 to A.D. 66.	

2. The known governors are : Sextus Vettulenus Cerealis, who was given the command when Titus left ; Lucilius Bassus, who took the Herodium and Machaerus, and died in office ; L. Flavius Silvia Nonius Bassus, who took Masada ; M. Salvidenus, *circa* A.D. 80 ; Cn. Pompeius Longinus, A.D. 86 ; Atticus, *circa* A.D. 107, under whose rule Simeon, son of Clopas, was martyred ; Pompeius Falco, *circa* A.D. 107-110, with whom Pliny the Younger corresponded ; Tiberianus, *circa* A.D. 114 ; Lusius Quietus, who suppressed an incipient rising in

the first year of Hadrian ; Tineius Rufus, A.D. 132, who was governor when the revolt under Bar Kokba broke out ; and Julius Severus, A.D. 135, who was sent from Britain and suppressed the rebellion. (See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. I., vol. ii, p. 258, ff., English Edition, where fuller information is given.)

3. APPIAN, *History of Rome*, "Syria," chap. l.—Pompey forcibly overthrew the revolted nation of the Jews, sent their King Aristobulus to Rome, and devastated their greatest and holiest city, Jerusalem. This city had already been taken by Ptolemy I., King of Egypt, and, after it had been rebuilt, was again destroyed by Vespasian, and finally in our own time by Hadrian. For this reason the taxes which the Jews pay per head are heavier in proportion than those of the neighbouring nations. For the Syrians and Cilicians also pay an annual tribute per head, a hundredth of their rateable property.—(Ed. *L. Mendelssohn*. vol. i, p. 420.)

4. i. DION CASSIUS (*History of Rome*, lxvi, 7).—From that time (the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) every Jew who adhered to the laws of his forefathers was obliged to pay two drachmæ each year to the Capitoline Jupiter (τῷ Κοπιτωλίῳ Διῷ).

4. ii. *Ibid.*, lxix, 12.—The foundation of a colony at Jerusalem, to which he (Hadrian) gave the name Ælia Capitolina, in place of the city that had been overthrown ; and the erection of a new temple to Jupiter on the site of the Temple of God gave rise to a long and terrible war. The Jews, irritated at seeing foreigners living in their city, and establishing in it sacrifices different to their own, remained quiet as long as Hadrian was in Egypt, and after he had returned to Syria, . . . but directly the Emperor had left that country they rose in open revolt. They did not dare to face the Romans in a pitched battle, but seized favourable positions and fortified them with walls and underground passages . . .

4. iii. *Ibid.*, lxix, 13.—The Romans at first took no notice of what the Jews were doing. But when the movement spread over all Judæa . . . and several foreign communities . . . had taken up the cause of the rebels . . . Hadrian sent against them his best generals. The most eminent of these was Julius Severus, who was recalled from Britain, where he was in command, that he might be entrusted with the conduct of the war against the Jews . . .

4. iv. *Ibid.*, lxix, 14.—Fifty of their fortified places and 955 of their open towns and villages were destroyed ; 180,000 men were killed ; those who perished by famine and fire were innumerable, so that nearly the whole of Judæa was nothing but a desert, as had been foretold to them before the war. The monument of Solomon (τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ

Σολομῶντος), which the Jews had held in high esteem, fell of its own accord and broke up. Large numbers of wolves and hyænas burst into the towns with howls.—(From the French translation of MM. Gros and Boisseé.)

5. *ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS* (*On Hadrian*, xiii).—About this time the Jews revolted because they were not allowed to practise the rite of circumcision.

6. i. *TERTULLIAN*, *Apologia*, 21.—Scattered abroad and wanderers, exiled from their own climate and soil, they roam about the world without any man or God to rule them, and are not even allowed to greet their own country by treading its ground as a stranger.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, i, col. 394.)

6. ii. *Adversus Judæos*, cap. 13.—Now we know that at this time none of the seed of Israel is left in the city of Bethlehem, because it is forbidden that any Jew should dwell in the region round about that spot . . . that for your deserts after the taking of Jerusalem when you have been forbidden to enter your fatherland, and are only suffered to view it from afar with your eyes.—(Migne, *Ibid.*, ii, cols. 633, 634.)

7. i. *JUSTIN MARTYR*, *Apologia*, i, 31.—For in the late Jewish war Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish revolt, ordered the Christians alone to be put to grievous tortures if they refused to deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vi, cols. 376, 377.)

7. ii. *Ibid.* 47.—And that Jerusalem was laid waste, as it was prophesied (Isaiah i, 7) should come to pass, ye know well. And ye are well aware that with regard to its desolation, and that none of its people may return to dwell therein, Jerusalem is watched over by you in order that no one may enter into it, and death has been ordained as the penalty for any Jew that may be caught entering into it.—(*Ibid.*, col. 400.)

7. iii. *Dialog. cum Tryphon*, cap. 16.—Now this circumcision which was enjoined upon Abraham according to the flesh, was given as a sign, that ye should be set apart from us and from other nations, and that ye alone should suffer those things which ye do now deservedly suffer; and that your countries should be laid waste, and your cities burned with fire, and strangers shall devour your land in your presence, and none of you shall go up to Jerusalem.—(*Ibid.*, col. 510.)

7. iv. *Ibid.*, cap. 52.—Moreover he put an end to the rule of your own kings over you, and furthermore your land is become desolate, and is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.—(*Ibid.*, col. 592.)

8. i. EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 23.—James was so admirable a man, and so celebrated among all for his justice, that the more sensible even of the Jews were of opinion that this was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, which happened to them immediately after his martyrdom, for no other reason than their daring act against him. . . . And they buried him on the spot, by the Temple, and his monument (*στήλη*) still remains by the Temple.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xx, col. 204.)

8. ii. *Ibid.*, iii, 5.—But the people of the Church in Jerusalem had been commanded by a revelation, vouchsafed to approved men there before the war, to leave the city and to dwell in a certain town of Perea, called Pella.—(*Ibid.*, col. 221.)

8. iii. *Ibid.*, iii, 11.—After the martyrdom of James, and the conquest of Jerusalem which immediately followed. . . . They all with one consent pronounced Simeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the Gospel also makes mention, to be worthy of the Episcopal throne of that parish. He was a cousin, as they say, of the Saviour.—(*Ibid.*, col. 245.)

8. iv. *Ibid.*, iv, 22.—According to Hegesippus, "After James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as the Lord had also on the same account, Simeon, the son of the Lord's uncle, Clopas, was appointed the next bishop. All proposed him as second bishop because he was a cousin of the Lord."—(*Ibid.*, col. 380.)

8. v. *Ibid.*, iii, 12.—Hegesippus "relates that Vespasian, after the conquest of Jerusalem, gave orders that all that belonged to the lineage of David should be sought out, in order that none of the royal race might be left among the Jews."

8. vi. *Ibid.*, iii, 19.—When this same Domitian had commanded that the descendants of David should be slain, an ancient tradition says that some of the heretics brought accusation against the descendants of Jude (said to have been a brother of the Saviour according to the flesh) on the ground that they were of the lineage of David, and were related to Christ himself.

8. vii. *Ibid.*, iii, 20.—Hegesippus relates, "Of the family of the Lord there were still living the grandchildren of Jude, who is said to have been the Lord's brother according to the flesh. Information was given that they belonged to the family of David, and they were brought to the Emperor Domitian by the Evocatus. For Domitian feared the coming of Christ as Herod also had feared it." Domitian, on learning that they were poor men, living on a small property, which they tilled with their own hands, dismissed them. "But when they were released they ruled the Churches, because they were witnesses (*μάρτυρες*), and were also relatives of the Lord. And peace being established, they lived until the time of Hadrian.—(*Ibid.*, col. 281.)

8. viii. *Ibid.*, iii, 32.—Hegesippus writes: "Certain of these heretics brought accusation against Simeon, the son of Clopas, on the ground that he was the descendant of David and a Christian; and thus he suffered martyrdom at the age of one hundred and twenty years while Trajan was Emperor and Atticus Governor." And the same writer says that his accusers also, when search was made for the descendants of David, were arrested as belonging to that family. . . . The same historian says that there were also others, descended from one of the so-called brothers of the Saviour, whose name was Judas, who, after they had borne testimony before Domitian, as has already been recorded, in behalf of faith in Christ, lived until the same reign. He writes as follows:—"They came, therefore, and took the lead of every Church as witnesses (*μάρτυρες*) and as relatives of the Lord. And profound peace being established in every church, they remained until the reign of the Emperor Trajan . . . and orders were given that he (Simeon) should be crucified."—(*Ibid.*, col. 284.)

8. ix. *Ibid.*, iv, 5.—The chronology of the bishops of Jerusalem I have nowhere found preserved in writing; for tradition says that they were all short-lived. But I have learned this much from writings¹ (*τοσούτον δ' ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα*), that until the siege of the Jews, which took place under Hadrian, there were 15 bishops in succession there, all of whom are said to have been of Hebrew descent. . . . For their whole Church consisted then of believing Hebrews who continued from the days of the Apostles until the siege, which took place at this time; in which siege the Jews, having again rebelled against the Romans, were conquered after severe battles.—(*Ibid.*, col. 309.)

8. x. *Ibid.*, iv, 6.—The whole nation was prohibited from this time on (the capture of Bether), by the commands of Hadrian, from ever going up to the country about Jerusalem. For the Emperor gave orders that they should not even see from a distance the land of their fathers. . . . And thus, when the city had been emptied of the Jewish nation, and had suffered the total destruction of its ancient inhabitants, it was colonized by a different race. . . . And as the Church there was now composed of Gentiles, the first one to assume the government of it, after the bishops of the circumcision, was Marcus.—(Migne, *Ibid.*, cols. 312, 313; tr. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*.)

8. xi. *Demonstratio Evangelica*, vi, 18.—At that time (the capture of Jerusalem by Titus) it is probable that half the city perished according to the prophecy; and not long afterwards, in the days of

¹ Cf. *Demonstratio Evangelica*, iii, 5. The first bishops that presided there are said to have been Jews, and their names are preserved by the inhabitants of the country.

the Emperor Hadrian, when the Jews revolted a second time, the other half of the city was besieged and (its people) driven away, even as they had been from the other half, and to this day none of them are suffered to enter it.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxii, cols. 453, 454.)

8. xii. *Demonstratio Evangelica*, vi, 18.—This Mount of Olives is said to stand over against Jerusalem, that is, answering to it, because God established it in the place of the earthly Jerusalem, and of the services which used to be held there, after the destruction of Jerusalem. . . . This we may see, from another point of view, fulfilled to the letter even to this day, when all believers in Christ flock together from all quarters of the earth, not as of old to behold the beauty of Jerusalem, or that they may worship in the former Temple which stood in Jerusalem, but that they may abide there, and both hear the story of Jerusalem and also worship in the Mount of Olives over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city. There also, according to the published record, the feet of our Lord and Saviour, Who was Himself the Word, and, through it, took upon Himself human form, stood upon the Mount of Olives, near the cave which is now pointed out there. There He prayed, and on the top of the Mount of Olives communicated the mysteries of the Christian covenant, and from thence also He ascended into heaven, as we are taught by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles.—(*Ibid.*, xxii, col. 457, 458.)

8. xiii. *Ibid.*, viii, 3.—“Therefore shall Sion for your sake be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps” (Micah iii, 12), which prophecy was never truly fulfilled at any time except after they dared to do violence to our Saviour. From that time to this present day these places have lain utterly desolate, and the Mount Sion, which once was the most famous of them all—instead of the ancient meditations and practice of the prophetic and divine oracles which aforetime were set forth in that place with great zeal by Hebrews, men who walked with God, prophets, priests, and rulers of the whole nation—now differs in nothing from the country round about it, and is ploughed and tilled by Romans, and we ourselves have seen the labour of the oxen and the crops. . . . For Jerusalem, being inhabited by strangers, even at this day furnishes stones to those who gather them, seeing that all those who in our own time dwell therein collect stones from her ruins, both from private and from public buildings, and we may see with our eyes the saddest of all sights—stones being taken from the Temple itself, and from what once was the Holy of Holies itself (τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἁδύτων καὶ ἁγίων λίθους), to build shrines for idols and places for shows, where all the people may assemble. These things being beheld by all men, clearly prove that the New Law and the New Testament instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ has departed from thence.—(*Ibid.*, col. 636.)

8. xiv. *Theophania*, iv, 20. — We can easily see with our own eyes how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem, but is now named Ælia by Ælius Hadrian, are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. . . . It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on) that they cannot enter! Now, however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers, the things foretold of it are fulfilled.—(Lee's translation, p. 252.)

8. xv. *Chronicle*.—From whence they are shut out, and may not enter any part of the city, by the ordinance of God, and the might of the Romans.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xix, cols. 557, 558.)

9. i. EPIPHANIUS, *De Mensuris et Pondibus*, xiv.—He (Hadrian) came to the city of Antioch, crossed Cælo Syria and Phœnicia, and came into the country of Palestine, which is also called Judæa, in the forty-seventh year since the ruin of Jerusalem. He arrived at the most famous and noble city of Jerusalem, which was laid waste by Titus, the son of Vespasian, in the second year of his reign. He found the whole city razed to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, a small building, on the place where the disciples on their return from the Mount of Olives, after the Saviour's Ascension, assembled in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like cottages, one of which remained standing down to the time of Bishop Maximus and the Emperor Constantine, "like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," in the words of Scripture. Now, Hadrian meditated the restoration of the city, but not of the Temple. He appointed the aforesaid Aquila to superintend the works connected with the building of the city. He gave the city his own name and the use of the imperial title; for as he was named Ælius Hadrianus, he named the city Ælia.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xliii, col. 259.)

9. ii. *Ibid.*, xv.—Now Aquila dwelt at Jerusalem, and beheld the disciples of those who had been taught by the apostles, full of faith and working great miracles both in healing and otherwise. By this time, indeed, they had returned to Jerusalem from Pella, and were teaching there; for, when the city was about to be taken by the Romans, all the disciples were warned by an angel to depart from the city, as it was about to be utterly destroyed. They therefore left their home and sojourned in the aforesaid city of Pella beyond Jordan,

which is reckoned one of the cities of Decapolis. After the destruction of Jerusalem, they came back, as I have already told, and wrought mighty works.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xliii, col. 262.)

10. THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM.—And in the building (*in æde*) itself, where stood the Temple which Solomon built . . . there are two statues of Hadrian, and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone to which the Jews come every year and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, rend their garments, and so depart.—(*Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, in Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.)

11. i. JEROME, *Commentary on Zachariah* xiv, 2.—These things were also told by Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote the lives of the Cæsars from the times of Augustus down to the death of Domitian. Now as to the middle part of the city being taken, and the rest of the citizens suffered to remain in the city, it has been proved that both on that and on other occasions the northern and lower part of the city has been taken, and yet that the hill of the Temple, and Sion whereon was the citadel, remained inviolate.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 1,522.)

11. ii. *Commentary on Daniel* ix.—After his death, when seven weeks, that is 49 years have passed, Ælius Hadrianus, he by whom the city of Ælia will subsequently be founded on the ruins of Jerusalem, will subdue the rebellious Jews, Timus Rufus leading the (Roman) army.—(*Ibid.*, col. 552.)

11. iii. *Commentary on Zachariah* viii, 18, 19.—The city of Bethel (Bethel), whither many thousands of Jews had fled for refuge, was taken; the Temple was levelled with the ground (*aratum Templum*, *lit.* the site of the Temple was ploughed up) as an insult to the conquered race by Titus Annius Rufus (or Turannius Rufus).—(*Ibid.*, col. 1,475.)

11. iv. *Commentary on Ezekiel* v, 1.—The city was taken and the Temple overthrown in the time of Titus and Vespasian. Fifty years afterwards, in Hadrian's time, the city was burned to the ground and blotted out, insomuch that it lost even its original name.—(*Ibid.*, col. 52.)

11. v. *Commentary on Habakkuk* ii.—They fainted through hunger and want, and Hadrian's siege brought them to utter ruin. Now when the city of blood, the town of iniquity, was overthrown, and its inhabitants burned with fire, and the nations who had come to their aid dispersed hither and thither.—(*Ibid.*, col. 1,299.)

11. vi. *Commentary on Jeremiah* xxxi, 15.—It was in the last captivity in Hadrian's time, when the city of Jerusalem was overthrown, and a countless number of people of all ages and both sexes

were sold for slaves in the market place of the Terebinth (*in mercato Terebinthi*): wherefore that famous market is an abomination to the Jews.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 877.)

11. vii. *Commentary on Zachariah* xi, 4.—Let us read the ancient histories and the traditions of the wailing of the Jews, how that at the place of Abraham's tent (where now every year a very well-frequented market is held), after their final overthrow by Hadrian, many thousands were sold as slaves, and those who could not be sold were sent to Egypt and cut off by shipwreck and famine, as well as by their slaughter by the Gentiles.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, cols. 1,500, 1,501.)

11. viii. *Commentary on Isaiah* ii, 9.—Where once was the Temple and the religion of God, there now stands the statue of Hadrian and the idol Jupiter.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 49.)

11. ix. *Commentary on St. Matthew* xxiv, 15.—This may either be taken simply to refer to Antichrist, or to the statue of Cæsar which Pilate set up in the Temple, or to the equestrian statue of Hadrian, which has stood even to the present day in the Holy of Holies itself.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxvi, col. 177.)

11. x. *Commentary on Zephaniah* i, 15.—They who once bought the blood of Christ, let them buy their tears, and let not even their wailing be free. You may see, on the day of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, a doleful crowd assemble, withered hags and aged men, their bodies broken down with years and clothed in rags, showing by their appearance that the wrath of God is upon them. A crowd of unhappy wretches collect, and while the Lord's Cross glitters and shines in the Church of His Resurrection, and the banner of the Cross also gleams from the Mount of Olives, the miserable people mourn over the ruins of their Temples . . . and the (Roman) soldier demands pay from them for permission to weep longer.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 1,354.)

11. xi. *Commentary on Isaiah* vi, 11.—(Then said I, Lord, how long?) And the Lord answered, The people shall not see, and shall not hear, and their heart shall be blinded, until Vespasian and Titus shall fight against the cities of Judæa, and they shall be utterly destroyed, so that not so much as their name shall remain, and what houses remain shall be without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Jewish people be scattered abroad throughout the whole world by flight or captivity. . . . And when the land itself is laid waste . . . a second time shall its ruins be ravaged when after about 50 years Hadrian shall come, and shall utterly despoil the land of Judæa, so that it shall be as a teil tree, and as an oak that hath lost its acorns. Finally, after this last desolation the very rights of the nation have been done away, and the Jews have been forbidden to set

foot upon the land from which they have been cast out.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, cols. 100, 101.)

11. xii. *Chronicle*.—A.D. 135. Barcochebas, the insurgent leader of the Jews, put to death with all kinds of tortures such Christians as would not help him against the Roman army.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxvii, cols. 619, 620.)

11. xiii. *Ibid.*, A.D. 136—The Jewish war, which was waged in Palestine, came to an end, the Jews being utterly overthrown. Since that time they have been forbidden even to enter Jerusalem, in the first place by God's will, and, secondly, by the decrees of the Romans.—(*Ibid.*, cols. 619, 620.)

11. xiv. *Commentary on Joel* i, 4.—We also read of the campaign of Ælius Hadrianus against the Jews; he so utterly destroyed Jerusalem and its walls that out of the ruins and ashes of the city he founded a new one called Ælia, after his own name.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 952.)

12. i. Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, ii, 30.—“Titus is said, after calling a council, to have first deliberated whether he should destroy the Temple, a structure of such extraordinary work. For it seemed good to some that a sacred edifice, distinguished above all human achievements, ought not to be destroyed, inasmuch as, if preserved, it would furnish an evidence of Roman moderation, but, if destroyed, would serve for a perpetual proof of Roman cruelty. But on the opposite side, others, and Titus himself, thought that the Temple ought specially to be overthrown, in order that the religion of the Jews and of the Christians might more thoroughly be subverted; for that these religions, although contrary to each other, had nevertheless proceeded from the same authors; that the Christians had sprung up from among the Jews; and that, if the root were extirpated, the offshoot would speedily perish.”—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xx, col. 146; translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, xi. p. 111. Supposed to have been taken from a lost book of Tacitus.)

12. ii. *Ibid.*, ii, 31.—At this time Hadrian, thinking that he would destroy the Christian faith by inflicting an injury upon the place, set up the images of demons, both in the Temple and in the place where the Lord suffered. And because the Christians were thought principally to consist of Jews (for the Church at Jerusalem did not then have a priest except of the circumcision), he ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard, in order to prevent all Jews from approaching to Jerusalem. . . . Mark from among the Gentiles was then, first of all, bishop at Jerusalem.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xx, cols. 146, 147.)

13. HILARIUS, *Treatise on Psalms* lviii, lix), No. 12.—The city was lost, the Temple was laid waste, and the Roman Emperor decreed that if they so much as came into the neighbourhood of the city, much more if they entered it, they should be starved to death.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ix, col. 381.)

14. i. CHRYSOSTOM. *Oration*, v, 10, *Adversus Judæos*.—Now let us call the facts themselves to bear witness to the truth of what has been said. If they had not attempted to build the Temple, they might have said, "If we had wished to attempt it, and to begin building, we should have been fully able to do so and should have accomplished it!" But I now prove that they attempted to do so not once or twice but three times, and were hindered. . . .

14. ii. *Ibid.*, v. 11.—For after the desolation wrought by Vespasian and Titus, the Jews assembled together in the time of Hadrian and endeavoured to restore their state to its former condition. . . . So they revolted against the Emperor, and rendered it necessary for him to lay the city waste a second time. He put them down and conquered them, and then, lest they should have any grounds for future revolt, he cleared away all the ruins and set up his own statue there—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xlviii, cols. 899, 900.)

15. GEORGIUS CEDRENU, *History*—In his time the Jews became factious and tried to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, but he (Hadrian) was very wroth with them, and made war upon them, in which he slew 58 myriads of them in one day. He also destroyed the ancient ruins of the city and of the Temple and founded a new Jerusalem.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cxxi, col. 477.)

16. NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii, 24.—It is stated that the Jews revolted a second time in the reign of this emperor (Hadrian), and that they intended to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cxlv, col. 944.)

17. P. OROSIUS, *History*, vii, 13.—By a final slaughter he (Hadrian) subdued the Jews, who, excited by remorse for their crimes, were laying waste what was once their own country of Palestine; he also avenged the Christians whom the Jews, led by Cothelba (Cocheba) had tortured because they would not join them in their revolt against the Romans. He also decreed that no Jew should be given leave to enter Jerusalem, that city being reserved for Christians alone. He also put it in an excellent posture by rebuilding the walls, and ordered it to be called *Ælia* after his own prænomen.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxxi, col. 1,093.)

17. PAULUS DIACONUS, *History*.—Hadrian . . . overthrew the Jews in a final defeat. . . . Jerusalem was laid waste for the last time, so

that not one stone was left upon another, according to Divine prophecy, and he exalted the Christians. . . .—(Quoted by Münter, *The Jewish War*.)

19. SYNCELLUS.—And the war against them came to an end, for at last Jerusalem was taken, so that not one stone was left upon another.—(Quoted by Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxvii, col. 620.)

20. SUIDAS V.—“The abomination of desolation”: Hadrian utterly destroyed the city.—(Quoted by Münter, *The Jewish War*.)

21. ABULFARGIUS.—“In this year (the fourth of Hadrian’s reign) there arose at Jerusalem a man named ben Cocab. When news of this was brought to Hadrian he sent an army thither who slew that man, stormed Jerusalem and overthrew the Jews; and utterly destroyed the city of Jerusalem.” So the *Arabic* text: the *Syriac* is not quite so precise: “The Emperor sent an army which conquered the Jews, and after Jerusalem had been utterly destroyed . . .”—(Quoted by Münter, *The Jewish War*.)

22. TALMUD OF JERUSALEM, *Taanith*, iv, 5 (6).—On the 9th Ab “Bethar was taken and the plough was passed over the ground of the capital.”—(Translation of M. Schwab, tome vi, p. 184.)

23. MAIMONIDES, in BARTOLOCCI, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iii, p. 697.—“The impious Tyrannus Rufus of the kings of Idumaea (*i.e.*, the Romans) ploughed up the place of the Temple and its neighbourhood, that the prophecy of Jeremiah xxvi, 18, might be fulfilled.”—(Quoted by Münter, *The Jewish War*.)

24. CHRONICON PASCHALE, A.D. 119.—In the time of these consuls the Jews revolted, and Hadrian went to Jerusalem. He took the Jews captive, went to the place called the Terebinth, and held an assembly [or “market.”]¹ He sold them for slaves at the price of a horse per man. Those who were left he took to Gaza, and there held an assembly and sold them. That assembly is to this day called “Hadrian’s Mart.” He pulled down the temple (*ναός*) of the Jews at Jerusalem and built the two Demosia, the theatre, the Trikameron, the Tetranympion, the Dodekapylon, formerly called Anabathmoi (the “Steps”), and the Kodra, and he divided the city into seven quarters, and appointed a head-man for each quarter, and each quarter is called by the name of its head-man to this day. He also gave his own name to the city and called it Ælia, seeing that he was named Ælius Hadrianus.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xcii, cols. 613, 616.)

¹ ἡ πανήγυρις, a general, or national assembly, a festival assembly in honour of a national god. Such festivals gave occasion for great markets or fairs (Liddell and Scott’s *Lexicon*).

APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS FROM GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS DESCRIPTIVE OF
THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE HOLY SEPULCHRE
WAS BROUGHT TO LIGHT.

1. i. EUSEBIUS, *The Life of Constantine*, iii, 25.—After these things¹ [the Emperor], beloved of God, undertook another memorable work in Palestine. . . . It seemed to him to be a duty to make conspicuous, and an object of veneration to all, the most blessed place of the Saviour's resurrection in Jerusalem. And so forthwith he gave orders for the building of a house of prayer,² not having hit upon this project without the aid of God, but having been impelled to it in his spirit by the Saviour Himself.

1. ii. *Ibid.*, iii, 26.—For ungodly men (or rather the whole race of demons³ by their means) set themselves to consign to darkness and oblivion that divine monument of immortality⁴ at which the angel who came down from heaven, radiant with light, rolled away the stone. . . . This cave of salvation⁵ did certain ungodly and impious persons determine to hide from the eyes of men, foolishly imagining that they would in some such way as this conceal the truth. Having expended much labour in bringing in earth from outside,⁶ they cover up the whole place; and then, having raised this to a certain height, and having paved it with stone, they entirely conceal the divine cave⁷ beneath a great mound. Next . . . they prepare above ground a dreadful thing, a veritable sepulchre of souls, building to the impure demon, called Aphrodite, a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols,⁸ and offering

¹ That is, after the conclusion of the Council of Nicæa.

² οἶκον εὐκέρσιον.

³ Or "evil spirits."

⁴ τῆς ἀθανασίας μνῆμα.

⁵ τὸ σωτηρίον ἄντρον, or "sacred cave."

⁶ ἔξωθεν.

⁷ τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον.

⁸ νεκρῶν εἰδώλων σκότιον Ἀφροδίτης ἀκολάστῳ δαίμονι μυχὸν οἰκοδομησά-

their foul oblations on profane and accursed altars. For in this way only . . . did they suppose that they would accomplish their purpose even by concealing the cave of salvation¹ by means of these detestable abominations But . . . the machinations of ungodly and impious men against the truth continued for a long time; no one of the governors, of the praetors, or even of the emperors, was found capable of abolishing these daring impieties, save only that one who was dear to God, the Ruler of all. He being inspired by the Divine Spirit, could not bear to see the place we have been speaking of concealed through the artifices of adversaries of all kinds of impurity and consigned to oblivion and neglect; nor did he yield to the malice of those who had brought this about, but calling upon God to help him, he gave orders that the place should be purified, counting it especially fitting that a spot which had been polluted by his enemies should enjoy the mighty working of the All-good at his hands. And as soon as his orders were given, the contrivances of deceit were cast down from on high to the ground, and the dwelling-places of error, images, and demons and all, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

1. iii. *Ibid.*, iii, 27.—Nor did his zeal stop here. The Emperor further gave directions that the material of that which was destroyed both wood and stone, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible, which was done in accordance with his command. But only to go thus far did not satisfy him. Again, being inspired with holy² zeal, he issued orders that, having dug up the soil to a considerable depth, they should transport, to a far-distant spot, the actual ground, earth and all, inasmuch as it had been polluted by the defilements of demon-worship.

1. iv. *Ibid.*, iii, 28.—This also was accomplished without delay. And as one layer after another was laid bare, the place which was beneath the earth appeared; then forthwith, contrary to all expectation, did the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection³ become visible, and the most holy cave⁴ received what was an exact emblem of his coming to life. For after its descent into darkness, it again came forth into light, and afforded to those who came to see, a clear insight into the history of the wonder which had there been wrought, testifying to the resurrection of the Saviour by deeds more eloquent than any voice could be.

1. v. *Ibid.*, iii, 29.—These things being so done, forthwith the

¹ See note 5, p. 179.

² ἐπιθεύσας, or, having called upon God.

³ τὸ . . . τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον.

⁴ τὸ τε ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἄντρον.

Emperor . . . gave orders that a house of prayer worthy of God should be erected round about the cave of salvation¹ on a scale of rich and imperial costliness. This project he had had for some time in view, and had foreseen, as if by superior intelligence, what was going to happen. To the governors of the provinces in the East [he gave instructions] that . . . they should make the work exceedingly large, great, and costly; but to the Bishop who at that time presided over the Church in Jerusalem, he sent the following letter, in which he set forth the saving doctrine of the faith in clear language, writing thus:

1. vi. *Ibid.*, iii, 30.—“So great is the grace of our Saviour, that no power of language seems worthy to describe the present wonder.² For that the token of that most holy passion,³ long ago buried under ground, should have remained unknown for so many cycles of years, until it should shine forth to His servants now set free through the removal of him⁴ who was the common enemy of all, truly transcends all marvel. For if all who were reputed wise throughout all the world were to come together to one place and try to say something worthy of this event, they would not be able to match themselves against such a work in the smallest degree, for the nature of this wonder as far transcends all capacity of man’s reason as divine things surpass in permanence those which are human. Wherefore this is always my first and only object, that as the faithfulness of the truth displays itself daily by fresh wonders, so the souls of us all may become more zealous for the holy law⁵ in all sobriety and earnestness with concord.⁶ I desire then that you should especially be convinced of this (which, indeed, I suppose is plain to everyone), that of all things it is most my care how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred

¹ ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον.

² The *present* wonder implies a *previous* wonder—the discovery of the Tomb (?).

³ τὸ γνῶρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους. The token of the Passion is the Cross upon which Christ suffered, and not the Tomb in which He was buried. In Chaps. 25 to 28 Eusebius describes the recovery of the Tomb—the “hallowed monument” of, or witness to, the resurrection (see note 1, p. 84). In Chap. 30 the Emperor first alludes to the Cross, which was certainly found in his reign (see p. 86), and probably at this time, and then explains his wish with regard to the Tomb. In Chaps. 31 and 32 he gives instructions for the construction of a basilica over the place where the Cross was found.

⁴ Licinius, who died in A.D. 326, the year in which the Tomb was uncovered.

⁵ That is, Christianity.

⁶ The passage which follows refers to the Tomb.

spot which, under divine directions, I relieved as it were from an incumbent load, even from the disgraceful adjunct of an idol—a place holy indeed from the beginning in God's judgment, but which has been made to appear still more holy since it brought to light the assurance of the Saviour's passion.¹

1. vii. *Ibid.*, iii, 31.—“It is therefore fitting that your sagacity direct so order and make provision for everything necessary, that not only shall this basilica² be the finest in the world, but that the details also shall be such that all the fairest structures in every city may be surpassed by it. . . . Concerning the columns and marbles whatever you shall judge, after the plan has been inspected,³ to be most precious and most serviceable, be careful to inform us in writing that those things . . . which we learn from your letter to be needful may be procured from every quarter. For it is just that the place which is more wonderful than the whole world,⁴ should be worthily decorated.

1. viii. *Ibid.*, iii, 32.—“As to the roof of the basilica, I wish to know from you whether you think it should have a panelled ceiling or be finished in any other fashion. If it be panelled, it may also be ornamented with gold . . . and you will also be careful to report forthwith to me, not only concerning the marbles and the columns but also concerning the panelled ceiling if you should judge this the more beautiful.”⁵

1. ix. *Ibid.*, iii, 33.—These things did the Emperor write, and his instructions were at once carried into effect. So on the monument of salvation itself⁶ was the new Jerusalem built, over against⁷ the one so famous of old. . . . Opposite this⁸ the Emperor reared

¹ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν, i.e., the Cross. The meaning appears to be that the tomb had been made more holy by the fact that its discovery had led to the finding of the Cross.

² A comparison of the details ordered by Constantine, with the description of the work actually carried out in Chap. 36, leads to the belief that the basilica referred to is that which was built over the spot where the Cross was found. It is, however, possible that the Emperor intended to include all the holy places in one large Church, and that the decision to build two churches was only arrived at after inspection of the plan.

³ See note 2.

⁴ That is, the place where the Cross was found.

⁵ The report of Macarius was evidently in favour of panelling, see *Life of Constantine*, Chap. 36.

⁶ Καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον. The reference is probably to the Tomb.

⁷ ἀντιπρόσωπος.

⁸ That is old Jerusalem, the site of the Temple.

with rich and lavish expenditure, the trophy of the Saviour's victory over death.¹ Perhaps this was that strange and new Jerusalem proclaimed in the oracles of the prophets,²³ And, first of all, he adorned the sacred cave,⁴ which was, as it were, the chief part of the whole work, that divine monument at which once an angel, radiant with light, proclaimed to all the good news of regeneration manifested through the Saviour.

1. x. *Ibid.*, iii, 34.—This⁵ first, as the chief part of the whole, the liberality of the Emperor beautified with choice columns and with much ornament, decorating it with all kinds of adornments.

1. xi. *Ibid.*, iii, 35.—Next one crossed over to a very large space of ground, to wit, the *atrium*, open to the pure air of heaven, the floor of which a stone pavement adorned, bounded by long porticos (*stœæ*) which ran round continuously on three sides.

1. xii. *Ibid.*, iii, 36.—For adjoining the side opposite the cave, which looked towards the rising sun, the basilica was erected,⁶ an extraordinary work, reared to an immense height, and of great extent both in length and breadth but the inside (of the roof) was finished with carvings of panel work, and, like a great sea, extended over the whole basilica in a series of connected compartments, and being overlaid throughout with radiant gold, it made the whole temple,⁷ as it were, to glitter with rays of light.

1. xiii. *Ibid.*, iii, 37.— . . Three gates facing the rising sun were to admit the entering crowd.

1. xiv. *Ibid.*, iii, 38.—Opposite these⁸ was the "hemisphere,"⁹ the main point of the whole building, stretching out towards the roof of the basilica, which twelve columns surrounded, equal in number to the Apostles of the Saviour, adorned on their summits with great bowls of silver, which the Emperor gave

1. xv. *Ibid.*, iii, 39.—Then as people go towards the entrances which lie in front of the temple, one comes upon an atrium. There were here on each side, first a court, then porticos (*stœæ*) on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the wide

¹ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην

² Referring to Rev. xxi, 2.

³ After alluding to the whole group of buildings, Eusebius here commences to describe them in detail.

⁴ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον.

⁵ That is, the Tomb.

⁶ ὁ βασιλεὺς συνῆπτο νέως. The basilica was built on the east side of the tomb.

⁷ τὸν πάντα νεών.

⁸ That is the three gates.

⁹ ἡμισφαίριον.

market-place,¹ the main entrance² of the whole edifice of exquisite workmanship, presented to the passers-by on the outside a striking view of the interior.

1. xvi. *Ibid.*, iii, 40.—This temple then did the Emperor raise as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection.³

1. xvii. *Ibid.*, iii, 41.—And having selected other places in the same region which were held in honour on account of two sacred caves,⁴ he adorned them also with lavish expenditure; rendering due honour to that cave which had been the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour when He submitted to be born in the flesh, and (in the case of the second) magnifying the memory of His ascension into heaven on the mountain-top.

1. xviii. *Ibid.*, iii, 42.—So she (Helena) came, though advanced in years, with the energy of youth to acquaint herself with this land worthy of all veneration.

1. xix. *Ibid.*, iii, 43.—And forthwith she dedicated two temples to the God whom she worshipped, one at the Cave of the Nativity, and the other on the Mount of the Ascension Wherefore the most pious Empress adorned the scene of the travail of the Mother of God with rare monuments, beautifying in every way this sacred cave.

Again, the imperial mother erected a stately edifice on the Mount of Olives as a monument of the progress into heaven of the Saviour of all, raising a sacred church and temple on the mountain ridge at the very summit of the hill. Here, in this cave, true history has it that the Saviour of all initiated His disciples into sacred mysteries.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xx, cols. 1,085 *sq.*; Translation in "The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem," *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i.)

1. xx. *The Praise of Constantine*, ix.—Again, in the province of Palestine, in that city which was once the seat of Hebrew sovereignty, on the very site of the Lord's Sepulchre,⁵ he (Constantine) has raised a church of noble dimensions, and adorned a temple sacred to the salutary cross⁶ with rich and lavish magnificence, honouring that everlasting monument,⁷ and the trophies of the Saviour's victory over

¹ ἀγορά.

² προπύλαια.

³ τόνδε μὲν οὖν τὸν νεὼν σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐναργὲς ἀνίστη μάρτύριον βασιλεὺς.

⁴ δυσὶν ἄντροις μυστικοῖς.

⁵ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον.

⁶ νεὼν τε ἁγίον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημεῖον.

⁷ μνημα.

the power of death, with a splendour which no language can describe. In the same country he discovered three places venerable as the localities of three sacred caves; and these also he adorned with costly structures, paying a fitting tribute of reverence to the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour's presence, while at the second cave he hallowed the remembrance of His final ascension from the mountain top, and celebrated His mighty conflict and the victory which crowned it at the third. All these places our Emperor thus adorned in the hope of proclaiming the symbol of redemption to all mankind—that Cross which has indeed repaid his pious zeal.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xx, col. 1,369; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, i, 594.)

1. xxi. *The Praise of Constantine*, xi.—The thank offerings to thy guardian and Saviour, the trophies of the victory over Death, which have been set up in the houses of prayer and in the holy shrines, those lofty and exceeding beauteous royal masterpieces built by the royal will round about the memorial of our eternal salvation, is not their meaning plain to all men's understanding?—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xx, col. 1,376.)

1. xxii. *Commentary on Psalm lxxxvii.*—Anyone who considers what wondrous things have been done in our own time at the Sepulchre and the place of the Martyrdom¹ of the Saviour, will understand how these prophecies have indeed been fulfilled.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxiii, col. 1,064.)

1. xxiii. *Theophania.*—The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock,² and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it, lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living word; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave.—(Lee's translation, p. 199.)

N.B.—The *Theophania* is only extant in the Syriac version, and

¹ ἀμφὶ τὸ μνήμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον.

² The first part of the sentence refers, apparently, to the original condition of the Tomb when newly cut out of the rock for Joseph of Arimathea, and the latter part to the Tomb after it had been isolated by hewing away the surrounding rock. The words used for "grave" and "cave" are the ordinary Syriac terms:—*kabrâ* (= Heb. *keber*, Ar. *kabr*), and *mē'ārthâ*, which is also familiar in Hebrew and Arabic, and is evidently a translation of the Greek *ἄντρον*. The word *képhâ* is used for "rock," and is also employed to denote the "stone" which closed the cave.

the meaning would be much clearer if the original Greek were in existence. The work was written after the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built, or whilst it was in building, and the passage apparently alludes to the excavations by which the tomb was isolated and to its appearance after isolation. Whether the meaning is that there was only one chamber or only one loculus or grave is uncertain—the former is most probable.

2. i. SOZOMEN, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, 1.—After the Council of Nicea, the Emperor “directed that a house of prayer should be erected to God at Jerusalem, near the place called Calvary” (*lit.* “the skull”). At the same time his mother Helena repaired to the city for the purpose of offering up prayer and visiting the sacred places.² Her zeal for Christianity made her anxious to find the wood which had formed the adorable cross. But it was no easy matter to discover either this relic or the Lord’s Sepulchre;³ for the Pagans who in former times had persecuted the Church, and who at the first promulgation of Christianity had had recourse to every artifice to exterminate it, had concealed that spot under much heaped up earth, and elevated what was before quite depressed as it looks now, and, the more effectually to conceal them, had enclosed the entire place of the resurrection and of Calvary within a wall, and had, moreover, ornamented the whole locality and paved it with stone. They also erected a temple to Aphrodite, and set up a little image, so that those who repaired thither to worship Christ, would appear to bow the knee to Aphrodite, and that thus the true cause of offering worship in that spot would, in course of time be forgotten, and that as Christians would not dare fearlessly to frequent the place, or to point it out to others, the temple and statue would come to be regarded as exclusively appertaining to the Pagans. At length, however, the place was discovered, and the fraud about it, so zealously maintained, was detected; some say that the facts were first disclosed by a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived his information from some documents which had come to him by paternal inheritance; but it seems more accordant with truth to suppose that God revealed the fact by means of signs and dreams; When, by command of the Emperor, the place was excavated deeply, the cave from whence our Lord arose from the

¹ ἀμφὶ τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίου τόπον.
ἰερὸν τόπον.

² τοῦ θεσπεσίου τάφου.

³ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χώρον καὶ τοῦ κρανίου. The last words are translated *Mount Calvary* in Wace and Schaff. I have omitted the “Mount,” for which there is no authority (see p. 13).

dead was discovered,¹ and, at no great distance, three crosses were found and another separate piece of wood, on which were inscribed in white letters in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, the following words. There was a certain lady of rank in Jerusalem who was afflicted with a most grievous and incurable disease; Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, accompanied by the mother of the Emperor and her attendants, repaired to the bedside. [After having been touched by the true cross, the lady recovers].

2. ii. *Ibid.*, ii, 2.—About this period the Emperor, having determined upon erecting a temple² in honour of God, charged the Governors to see that the work was executed in the most magnificent and costly manner possible. His mother, Helena, also erected two temples, the one at Bethlehem near the cave³ where Christ was born, the other on ridges of the mount of Olives, whence He was taken up to heaven.

2. iii. *Ibid.*, ii, 26.—The temple called the great Martyrion which was built in the place of the skull⁴ at Jerusalem, was completed about the thirtieth year of Constantine. [After the Council of Tyre] when the Bishops arrived at Jerusalem, the temple was therefore consecrated.—(Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. ii.).

3. i. SOCRATES, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. 17.—Helena, the Emperor's mother . . . being divinely directed by dreams, went to Jerusalem She sought carefully the Sepulchre of Christ,⁵ from which He arose after His burial; and, after much difficulty, by God's help recovered it Those who embraced the Christian faith, after the period of His Passion, greatly venerated this tomb;⁶ but those who hated Christianity, having covered the spot with a mound of earth, erected on it a temple of Aphrodite, and set up her image there, not caring for the memory of the place. This succeeded for a long time, and it became known to the Emperor's mother. Accordingly, she, having caused the statue to be thrown down, the earth to be removed, and the ground entirely cleared, found three crosses in the Sepulchre⁷ With these was also found the tablet of Pilate Since, however, it was doubtful which was the cross they were in search of, the Emperor's mother was not a little distressed; but from

¹ ἐν μέρει τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐφάνη ἄντρον.

² ναός.

³ τὸ σπήλαιον.

⁴ περὶ τὸν κρανίου χώρον.

⁵ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μνήμα.

⁶ τὸ μνήμα.

⁷ τρεῖς εὐρίσκει σταυροὺς ἐν τῷ μνήματι.

this trouble the Bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, shortly relieved her. And he solved the doubt by faith, for he sought a sign from God, and obtained it. . . . [Here follows the story of the curing of the woman.] . . . The Emperor's mother erected over the place of the Sepulchre a magnificent church, and named it *New Jerusalem*, having built it facing¹ that old and deserted city. . . . When the Emperor's mother had completed the New Jerusalem, she reared another church, not at all inferior, over the cave at Bethlehem,² . . . and built a third on the mount of the Ascension.³ . . . Her remains were conveyed to new Rome, the Capital.

3. ii. *Ibid.*, i, 33.—Letters . . . were brought from the Emperor directing those who composed the Synod to hasten to the *New Jerusalem*, . . . having therefore immediately left Tyre, they set forward with all despatch to Jerusalem, where, after celebrating a festival in connexion with the consecration of the place, they readmitted Arius . . .

3. iii. *Ibid.*, iii, 20.—[When Julian attempted to rebuild the Temple], Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, called to mind the prophecy of Daniel, which Christ also in the holy Gospels has confirmed, and predicted in the presence of many persons that the time had indeed come "in which one stone should not be left upon another in that temple," but that the Saviour's prophetic declaration should have its full accomplishment.—(Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ii.)

4. i. THEODORET, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i, 15.—I will, however, add his (the Emperor's) noble acts with regard to the Sepulchre of our Saviour.⁴ For having learnt that the idolaters in their frantic rage had heaped earth over the Lord's tomb, eager thus to destroy all remembrance of His salvation, and had built over it a temple to the goddess of unbridled lust, in mockery of the Virgin's birth, the Emperor ordered the foul shrine to be demolished, and the soil polluted with abominable sacrifices to be carried away and thrown out far from the city, and a new temple of great size and beauty to be erected on the site. All this is clearly set forth in the letter which he wrote to the President of the Church of Jerusalem, Macarius, . . . The following is the letter.

4. ii. *Ibid.*, i, 16.—The letter is that given by Eusebius (*Life of Constantine*, iii, 30–32, see p. 181).

¹ ἀντιπρόσωπον.

² ἐν τῷ ἄντρω τῆς Βηθλεὲμ.

³ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς ἀναλήψεως.

⁴ τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτήριον αὐτῷ τάφον καταρθωμένα.

4. iii. *Ibid.*, i, 17.—The bearer of these letters was no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the Emperor She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year.

When the Empress beheld the place where the Saviour suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple which had been there erected to be destroyed, and the very earth on which it stood to be removed. When the Tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered, three crosses were seen buried near the Lord's sepulchre.¹ [Macarius identifies the true Cross by touching and healing a noble lady with it. Helena ordered some of the nails to be placed in the royal helmet, and the remainder in the bridle of the Emperor's horse. Part of the cross was taken to the palace, and the remaining portion was committed to the care of the bishop of the city.]—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxii, cols. 955–958 ; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. iii.)

5. i. ALEXANDER MONACHUS, *De inventione Sanctæ Crucis*.—Now, after the Lord had ascended into heaven, and exceeding great miracles were wrought in His name by the holy apostles, the high priests were again filled with rage, saying : “What shall we do to these men ? for that indeed signs and wonders have been wrought by the disciples of Jesus in His name is manifest to all, and we cannot deny it. But that it spread not to future generations, come, let us hide the place of his sepulture.² For if the people see the sepulchre empty, they will all believe on him.” Then they ordered the sepulchre and the place of the skull,³ in which the Holy Cross had stood, to be covered over, endeavouring to cast these proofs of salvation into oblivion. This was the most wicked plan of the Jews. Howbeit, God suffered all this to be done by them, while in the meanwhile He wisely ordained that which should come to pass ; for seeing that the city was soon to be laid waste and burned with fire, God permitted the life giving wood (of the Cross) and the site of the glorious Resurrection to be hidden for a little while, lest during such great disorder these places should be burned by either Jew or Gentile : this glory was in due time to be revealed.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxvii, par. 3, col. 4,038.)

5. ii. *Ibid.*—Meanwhile the holy church established at Ælia, being of the Gentiles, appointed the first Gentile Bishop, one Marcus. . . .

¹ παρὰ τὸ μνῆμα τὸ Δεσποτικόν.

² τὸν τόπον τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ.

³ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κρανίου.

But the faithful, when from the tradition of the elders they had learned the place of the holy Golgotha,¹ which was then forgotten (or, "had now become uncertain") and covered over, went thither daily and religiously worshipped it. Now when the idolaters beheld this, at the instigation of the devil, they built there a temple dedicated to the statue of the most impure goddess, Aphrodite, and as the great body of the Christians were thus forbidden to approach the place, the position of the Holy Places began at last to be unknown to many.—(*Ibid.*, col. 4,046.)

5. iii. ALEXANDER MONACHUS. *De inventione Sanctæ Crucis*.—He (Constantine) likewise charged Macarius, Bishop of Ælia, who was present at the Council (of Nicæa) and defended the Apostolic dogmas, to use all diligence in searching for the life-giving Cross, the Lord's Sepulchre,² and all the holy places. . . . It was in the nineteenth year of his reign that the Council of Nicæa was held. After this the Emperor sent his mother Helena, a woman in all respects most worthy of praise, with letters and a great sum of money, to Macarius, Bishop of Ælia, in order that she might, together with him, search for the Holy Cross, and adorn the Holy Places with buildings. This he did at the express request of the Empress herself, who, it is said, had a divine vision, wherein she was ordered to go to Jerusalem and bring to light the Holy Places which had been buried by wicked men, and for so long a time removed from human sight. The Bishop, when he heard that the Empress was coming, went out to meet her, accompanied by his suffragan bishops. She straightway bade them all apply themselves entirely to the task of the discovery of the much-desired wood of the Cross. When all were at a loss what to do in this matter, and each suggested some different thing, acting on mere conjecture, Macarius bade them all be of a quiet mind, and offer heartfelt prayers to God.

When this was done, the place was miraculously revealed to the Bishop, being that wherein the figure of the most unclean goddess stood. Hereupon the Empress, making use of her imperial authority, ordered the temple of this demon to be torn up from its very foundations by a great number of workmen. As soon as this was done, there appeared the Lord's Sepulchre and the Place of the Skull, and not far from thence the three crosses buried in the earth.³—(*Ibid.*, col. 4,061.)

5. iv. *Ibid.*—He (Constantine) ordered a Church to be built in the

¹ τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθᾶ. In the Latin translation in Migne, this appears as *locum Sacri Montis Golgotha*, "the place of the holy mount Golgotha."

² τὸ θεόληπτον μνῆμα.

τὸ θεῖον μνῆμα, καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ κρανίου.

place of the life-giving sepulchre and another in the holy Golgotha,¹ and in Bethlehem . . . and on the Mount of Olives . . .—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxvii, col. 4,063.)

6. ANTIOCHUS MONACHUS, *Epistola ad Eustathium*.—By the grace of the Holy Spirit he also raised up again those venerable temples of our Saviour Jesus Christ which had been burned down, the holy Place of the Skull, and the holy Church of His Resurrection, and the worshipful House of the Holy Cross, and the Mother of the Churches, and (the Church of) His Holy Ascension, and the other holy houses : so that henceforth we have good hope for the future, and especially with regard to those who come from far countries to do reverence to the Holy Places, that all may glorify God, . . .—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lxxxix, col. 1,428.)

7. LETTER OF THE EMPEROR LEO TO OMAR, THE KING OF THE SARACENS.—. . . . And when he was returning, he guided his mother Helena with his army to Jerusalem, that he might enquire of the Jews what had become of the Cross. After many of them had been put to the torture, he ordered a man of the tribe to which the matter was first made known to be questioned. As he was unwilling to tell the whole truth about the matter, he shut him up in a pit without food or drink.

When the man felt that he was about to die, he showed him the place. While they were digging, the smoke of incense came out of the trench, showing the three crosses, after three hundred years from the coming of Christ.—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cvii, col. 315.)

8. i. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, § 18.—The Emperor ordered Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the Council (of Nicæa), that on his return he should search out the place of the holy Resurrection, and Golgotha, the Place of the Skull,² and the life-giving wood (of the Cross).—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, cviii, col. 104.)

8. ii. *Ibid.*, § 21.—At that time also she (the Empress Helena) also ordered churches to be built at the Holy Sepulchre,³ and at the Skull,⁴ and another one named after her son, on the spot where the life-giving Cross was found.—(*Ibid.*, col. 112.)

9. NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. viii, ch. 30.—

¹ ἐν τῷ ξωποικίῳ μνήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Γολγοθᾶ. The Churches were called New Jerusalem.

² τὸν τοῦ Κρανίου Γολγοθᾶ.

³ ἐν τε τῷ ἁγίῳ μνήματι.

⁴ ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ.

Now the Empress Helena, when she had built her costly church on the site of the Resurrection, and of the Skull,¹ in such a fashion as to be second to none either in size or beauty, gave the church the name of New Jerusalem, as being the antitype of the old and destroyed Tabernacle.—(Migne, *Patrologia Greca*, cxlvi, cols. 111, 112.)

10. AMBROSE, *Commentary on Psalm xlviii.*—The mountains round about her (Jerusalem): among them is the Church of God, which is the City of the Great King. Moreover, according to the map, the Lord suffered in the *Venerarium*, which was a place on the north side. There is the Mount Sion, there is Jerusalem, which is the earth.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1, 148.)

11. i. SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *Historia Sacra*, ii, 31.—At this time Hadrian, thinking that he would destroy the Christian faith by inflicting an injury upon the place, set up the images of demons, both in the temple and in the place where the Lord suffered. And because the Christians were thought principally to consist of Jews (for the churches at Jerusalem did not then have a priest except of the circumcision), he ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard in order to prevent all Jews from approaching Jerusalem. . . . Marcellus, from among the Gentiles, was then, first of all, Bishop at Jerusalem.

11. ii. *Ibid.*, ii, 33.—Jerusalem, which had presented a horrible mass of ruins, was then² adorned with most numerous and magnificent churches. And Helena . . . having a strong desire to behold the place where the Lord suffered, cast down the idols and the temples which were found there; and in course of time, through the exercise of her royal powers, she erected churches on the sites of the Lord's passion, resurrection, and ascension.³ [Severus, in explanation of the opening in the roof of the Church of the Ascension, says that the sky was imprinted with the Lord's footsteps, threw back the blocks of marble in the faces of those who tried to place them.]

11. iii. *Ibid.*, ii, 34.—Through the kind efforts of the same queen, the Cross of the Lord was then found . . . it had been covered over with the rubbish of the ruined city . . . Helena, having first got information about the place of our Lord's passion, caused a band of soldiers to be brought up to it, while the whole multitude of the inhabitants of the locality vied with each other in seeking to gratify the desires of the queen, and ordered the earth to be dug up, and all the adjacent most extensive ruins to be cleared out. Ere long, as a reward of her

¹ καὶ τοῦ Κρανίου.

² In the reign of Constantine.

³ *Basilicas in loco Dominice passionis, et resurrectionis, et ascensionis constituit.*

faith and labour, three crosses . . . were discovered. But upon this, the greater difficulty of distinguishing the gibbet on which the Lord had hung disturbed the minds and thoughts of all, lest by a mistake, likely enough to be committed by mere mortals, they might perhaps consecrate as the Cross of the Lord that which belonged to one of the robbers. They form then the plan of placing one who had recently died in contact with the crosses. Nor is there any delay in carrying out this purpose; for, just as if by the appointment of God, the funeral of a dead man was then being conducted with the usual ceremonies, and all rushing up took the body from the bier. It was applied in vain to the first two crosses; but when it touched that of Christ, wonderful to tell, while all stood trembling, the dead body was shaken off, and stood in the midst of those looking at it. The Cross was thus discovered, and was consecrated with all due ceremony.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xx, cols. 146–148; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xi.)

12. i. RUFINUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix, 6.—If still any doubt, I will bring forward the evidence of the place itself where this was done. The place itself in Jerusalem bears witness to this, and the rock of Golgotha¹ which was rent beneath the burden of the Cross. So does also that cave² which, when the gates of hell were burst, restored His body to life, that being purified it might ascend from thence into Heaven.—(*Auctores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, p. 104. Bilduis.)

12. ii. *Ibid.*, x, 7.—“Concerning Helena, Constantine’s mother.” About the same time, Helena, Constantine’s mother, a woman of surpassing faith and religious feeling, and of remarkable munificence, whose son Constantine truly was, and was acknowledged to be moved by divine visions, went to Jerusalem and there enquired of the inhabitants after the place where the sacred body of Christ had hung upon the cross. This place was hard to find, because an image of Venus had been set up there by the ancient persecutors, in order that if any Christian came to the spot, wishing to worship Christ, he might appear to be worshipping Venus. Because of this the place was unfrequented and almost forgotten: but when, as aforesaid, this pious lady hastened to the spot which had been pointed out to her by signs from heaven, she cleared away from it all profane pollution, dug deep down into its foundations, and there found three crosses lying in irregular order.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxi, cols. 475, 476.)

13. i. JEROME, *Epistola ad Paulinum* (circa A.D. 395).—Access to the courts of heaven is as easy from Britain as it is from Jerusalem, for

¹ *Golgothana rupes.*

² *Antrum.*

"the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii, 21). Antony and the hosts of monks who are in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia, have never seen Jerusalem; and the door of Paradise is open for them at a distance from it. The blessed Hilary though a native and a dweller in Palestine, only set eyes on Jerusalem for a single day, not wishing, on the one hand, when he was so near to neglect the holy places, nor yet, on the other, to appear to confound God within local limits. From the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine—a period of about one hundred and eighty years—the spot which had witnessed the resurrection was occupied by the figure of Jupiter, while on the rock where the cross had stood, a marble statue of Venus was set up by the heathen and became an object of worship. The original persecutors, indeed, supposed that by polluting our holy places they would deprive us of our faith in the passion and the resurrection. Even my own Bethlehem was overshadowed by a grove of Tammuz, that is of Adonis, and the very cave where the infant Christ had uttered His earliest lamentation was made for the paramour of Venus.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxii, col. 581; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vi, p. 120.)

13. ii. *Epistola ad Rusticum*,¹ "De Poenitentia."—Thou wanderest thy country, yet not in thy country, for thou hast lost thy country. Yet it remembers thy name in the venerable places of the Resurrection and Crucifixion, and cradle of our Lord and Saviour, when he wept a little child, and it draws thee to itself by prayers, to the end that if not by thy own deserts, at all events by its faith, thou mayest be saved.—(Migne, *ibid.*, xxii, col. 1,046.)

13. iii. *Epistola Paulæ et Eustochii ad Marcellam*.—§ 8. If, after the Passion of our Lord this place is accursed, as the wicked say that it is, what did St. Paul mean by hastening (Acts xx, 16) to Jerusalem that he might keep the day of Pentecost there? § 9. It would be a long task to mention, year by year, from the Ascension of our Lord to the present day, how many bishops, how many martyrs, how many men eloquent in ecclesiastical learning have come to Jerusalem thinking themselves to be lacking in religion and in learning, and not to have received, as the saying is, a full handful of virtues unless they had adored Christ in those very places from which the Gospel first shone forth from the Cross. § 10. What we especially assert is this, that those who are the foremost men of the world, all alike, flock hither together. § 12. When will that day come when we shall be able to enter the grotto² of our Saviour to weep with our sister and our mother in the sepulchre of the Lord

¹ Written about A.D. 408.

² *Speluncam*.

Afterwards to kiss the wood of the Cross—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxii, cols. 489, 491.)

14. i. ST. PAULINUS NOLANUS, *Epistola*, xxxi, *Ad Severum*.—§ 3. We may easily imagine with what violence those who persecuted the place where the cross stood would have cut down the cross itself if they had seen it standing. For the Emperor Hadrian, imagining that he would kill the Christian faith by defacing the place, consecrated an image of Jupiter on the site of the passion, and Bethlehem was profaned by a temple of Adonis, to the end that, as it were, the very root and foundation of the Church might be taken away, if idols were worshipped in the places wherein Christ was born, that He might suffer; suffered, that He might rise again . . . on the spot where the shepherds did homage to the new born Saviour on the glorious night when they sang for joy together with a multitude of the heavenly host, there a mixed company of harlots and eunuchs waited for Venus's darling . . . where the infant Saviour waited as a child, there they celebrated their unholy rites, mimicking the lamentations of Venus for her lover; where the Virgin bore a son, adulterers were worshipped. § 4. . . . and the Empress Helena, with all the expenditure and taste which she could command, and which religion urged her to employ, built churches and covered and adorned all the places wherein the Lord Our Redeemer fulfilled the saving mysteries of our salvation by the sacraments of His Piety, His Incarnation, His Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxi, cols. 326, 327, 328.)

15. ST. GREGORY, Bishop of Tours, *Ecclesiastical History of France*, lib. i, ch. 34.—This Constantine, in the twentieth year of his reign, put his son Crispus to death by poison and his wife Fausta by a hot bath, because they had conspired against him. At this time the venerable wood of our Lord's Cross was discovered by the researches of his mother Helena, having been pointed out to her by the Jew Juda, who after his baptism was called Quiriacus.—(Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxi, col. 179.)

16. i. CYRIL, *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 35.—But we seek to be told plainly where he was buried. Is his tomb¹ then made with hands? Is it like the tombs of kings, raised above the ground? Is the sepulchre² made of stones joined together, and what is laid upon it? Tell us, O Prophets, the exact truth concerning his tomb,³ also where it is placed and where we shall seek it? And they say, *Look unto the*

¹ ὁ τάφος.

² τὸ μνήμα.

³ ὁ τάφος.

solid rock which you have known. Look and behold (Is. li, 1; Ecclus. 11) What kind of door¹ has the sepulchre? Again, another prophet says, *They cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me* (Lam. xxiii, 53).—(Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, xxxiii, col. 815.)

16. ii. CYRIL, *Catechetical Lectures*, xiv, 5.—And wouldst thou know the place also? For though it be now adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, and the tokens and traces thereof remain.—(*Ibid.*, col. 829.)

16. iii. *Ibid.*, xiv, 9.—And whence did the Saviour arise? He says in the Song of Songs, *Rise up, my love, and come away* (Cant. ii, 10) and afterwards, *in the cleft (cave) of the rock*; ³ for the cleft (cave) of the rock he calls the cleft (cave) which was then at the door of the salutar sepulchre,⁴ and was hewn out of the rock itself, as it is customary here in front of sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment: for, before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in the face of the rock.⁵ But where is the rock which has in it this cleft⁷ (cave)? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the wall and the outskirts? and is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer wall which were built afterwards? He says then in the Canticles (ii, 14), *in the cleft (cave) of the rock near the outer wall*.⁸—(*Ibid.*, col. 833 Pusey, *Library of the Fathers*, Cyril's "Catechetical Lectures.")

¹ ἡ θύρα.

² λίθος.

³ Ἐν σκέπη τῆς πέτρας.

⁴ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ σωτηρίου μνύματος.

⁵ τὸ προσκέπασμα.

⁶ σκέπη ἣν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πέτρας.

⁷ τὴν σκέπην.

⁸ καὶ πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· τείχεσιν ἔστιν, ἢ τοῖς ὑστερον γενομένοις προτειχίσμασι; Δέγει τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς Ἀσμασιν· Ἐν σκέπη τῆς πέτρας ἐχόμενα τοῦ προτειχίσματος.

APPENDIX VI.

REFERENCES TO THE TOMB AND CROSS BY EUSEBIUS AND CYRIL.

The question whether Eusebius alludes to the Cross in his writings cannot certainly be answered. It has been argued that his words are quite as applicable to the Holy Sepulchre as, or even more so than, to the Cross. If, however, the statement of Cyril that the Cross was found in the reign of Constantine be correct, the absence of any allusion to it by Eusebius is almost inexplicable. Eusebius certainly mentions a church at Jerusalem "sacred to the salutary sign," *i.e.*, the Cross; and it may not unreasonably be inferred that when Cyril calls the Cross "the trophy of the victory over death," and "the salutary trophy of Jesus," he uses expressions which had the same meaning and application in the time of Eusebius. An attempt is made below to make a distinction between the expressions which refer to the Cross and those which are applied to the Tomb.

1. References to the Cross by EUSEBIUS and CYRIL :—

Ecclesiastical History, ix, 9.—τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους, a trophy of the Saviour's Passion.

Life of Constantine, i, 40.—μέγα τρόπαιον τουτί, this great trophy.

The Praise of Constantine, ix.—τοῦ μεγάλου Σωτήρος τὰ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαια, the trophies of the Saviour's victory over the power of death.

Ibid., xi.—τρόπαιατε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκης, the trophies of the victory over death.

Life of Constantine, iii, 30.—τὸ γνῶρισμα τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους, the token of that most holy Passion.

Ibid., iii, 33.—τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην, the trophy of the Saviour's victory over death.

Ibid., iii, 30.—τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν, the assurance of the Lord's Passion.

Ecclesiastical History, ix, 9.—τὸ σωτηρίον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον, the salutary sign of the Cross.

Ibid., ix, 9.—τὸ σωτήριον σημεῖον, the salutary sign (also in *Life of Constantine*, i, 40).

The Praise of Constantine, ix.—νεὼν τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημείῳ
a church sacred to the *salutary sign*.

Cyril, *Ad Constantius*, iii.—τὸ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκης τρόπαιον
the *trophy* of the victory over death.

Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures*, xiii, 40.—τὸ τρόπαιον Ἰησοῦ τὸ σωτήριον
ὁ σταυρός, the *salutary trophy* of Jesus—the Cross.

2. References to the Tomb :—

Life of Constantine, iii, 26.—τῆς ἀθανασίας μνῆμα, a *monument* of
immortality.

Ibid., iii, 33.—μνῆμα ἐκεῖνο θεσπέσιον, that *divine monument*, of
that everlasting *monument* in *The Praise of Constantine*, ix.

Ibid., iv, 33.—ἄμφι τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος λόγος, oration on the
monument of the Saviour.

Ibid., iii, 26.—τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον, the *salutary cave*; also in iii, 29
iv, 46—τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον, the *divine cave*.

Ibid., iii, 28.—τό τε ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἄντρον, the most holy *cave*.

Ibid., iii, 33.—τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, the *sacred cave*.

Ibid., iii, 36.—τὸ ἄντρον, the *cave*, also in *The Praise of Con-*
stantine, ix.

Ibid., iii, 28.—τὸ τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον, the
testimony (or *monument*) of the Saviour's resurrection; τὴν τοῦ
Σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν μαρτυρούμενον, a *testimony* to the resurrection
of the Saviour.

Ibid., iii, 33.—τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, the *salutary testimony*, also in
The Praise of Constantine, ix.

Ibid., iii, 25.—τὸν τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μακαριστότατον τόπον
the most blessed *place* of the Saviour's resurrection.

Ibid., iii, 30.—τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον τόπον, that *sacred place* (or *spot*).

Cyril uses the words τὸ μνῆμα, τὸ μαρτύριον, ὁ τόπος, and ὁ τάφος.

APPENDIX VII.

GENERAL GORDON'S VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE POSITION
OF GOLGOTHA.

General Gordon's views are contained in a signed article in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1885 (pp. 79 *sqq.*); in *Reflections in Palestine* (pp. vii, 2-17), and in private letters. He maintained that the Temple ought to have been built on the knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto," which he called "Skull Hill," but that the builders, the Jews, rejected that rock, or stone, and erected the building further south, on the knoll, or rock, within the Ḥarâm esh-Sherif—that is, at the spot where the Dome of the Rock now stands.¹ Nevertheless, by Divine providence, the stone which was refused or rejected by the builders became the head corner-stone (1 Peter ii, 7)² through the crucifixion of Christ upon it (Ephes. ii, 20). The cross was erected on the top, and in the centre of "Skull Hill," and its outstretched arms embraced "the whole city, and even the Mount of Olives."³ The women stood on the subsidiary knoll, south-east of the cross. From an explanatory diagram (Fig. 11), in a private letter, General Gordon appears to have believed that the churches of Constantine were near "Skull Hill." He writes: "I have still a strong opinion that we shall find the Constantine sepulchre⁴ is close to St. Stephen's Church, outside the Damascus Gate, where the cisterns are."

¹ Rabbi Schwarz quotes from *Sebbachim*, 54b: "It was at first the intention to build the Temple on the En Etam (mount) which overlooks Mount Moriah, but in the end the lower Mount Moriah was selected." The Rabbi, however, identified En Etam with a height west of the city, "which would have been a very proper place for the erection of the Temple, since it overlooks Sion, but, as the Talmud states, there were other important reasons for building it on the lower Mount Moriah."—(*Das heilige Land*, p. 228.)

² "The word is one which denotes two walls, and, meaning the union of Jews and Gentiles, it is called the Head Corner-stone."—(Private letter.)

³ *Reflections in Palestine*, p. 3, and diagram in *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 80.

⁴ Apparently that known as "Gerdon's," or the "Garden" tomb (No. 2 on Fig. 6, p. 108). General Gordon visited this tomb but makes no direct reference to it.

General Gordon also held what he calls "a more fanciful view." This was that :—

"The mention of the place of the Skull in each of the four Gospels is a call to attention. . . . If the skull is mentioned four times one naturally looks for the body, and if you take Warren's or others' contours, with the earth or rubbish removed, showing the natural state of the land, you cannot help seeing that there is a body,¹ that Schick's conduit² is the cesophagus, that the quarries³ are the chest, and if you are venturesome you will carry out the analogy further. . . . Now the Church of Christ is made up of, or came from, His pleura, the stones of the Temple came from the quarries, from chest of figure, and so on ; so that fixed the figure of body to the skull.⁴"

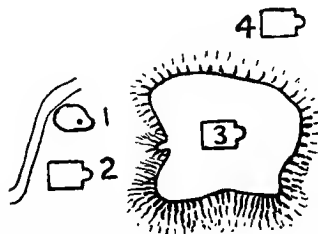


FIG. 11.—"Skull Hill" and Churches.

1. Holy Sepulchre. 2. Church Virgins. 3. Crucifixion. 4. Martyrdom.

The idea that the "sacred eastern hill" bore a "rough resemblance to the human form" appears to have been fixed in General Gordon's mind. He "illustrated" it by a curious drawing⁵ (Fig. 12), and in his *Reflections* (p. 8) he wrote : "From the Skull Hill, on the north-north-west, the body lies—as did that of the victim—aslant or askew to the altar of burnt sacrifice."

¹ "Warren's plan of Jerusalem in *The Temple and the Tomb* (p. 33) shows very clearly the human figure, and only wants the skull hill to be considered with it to complete it" (*Reflections in Palestine*, p. vii). The resemblance is not very apparent.

² C E on Fig. 6, p. 108.

³ See Fig. 6, p. 108, and Fig. 7, p. 110.

⁴ *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, pp. 79, 80. General Gordon also held that the Gihon of Gen. ii, 13, had its source in Jeremiah's Grotto. It dried up after the Deluge, but will flow again, as prophesied by Ezekiel (xlvi, 1-6) : running at first as a rill through Schick's conduit (C E on plan), and then swelling, it will fill the Kidron Valley and sweeten the Dead Sea.—(Private letters.)

⁵ Reduced from a tracing of the original drawing in the possession of the late Dr. Schick.

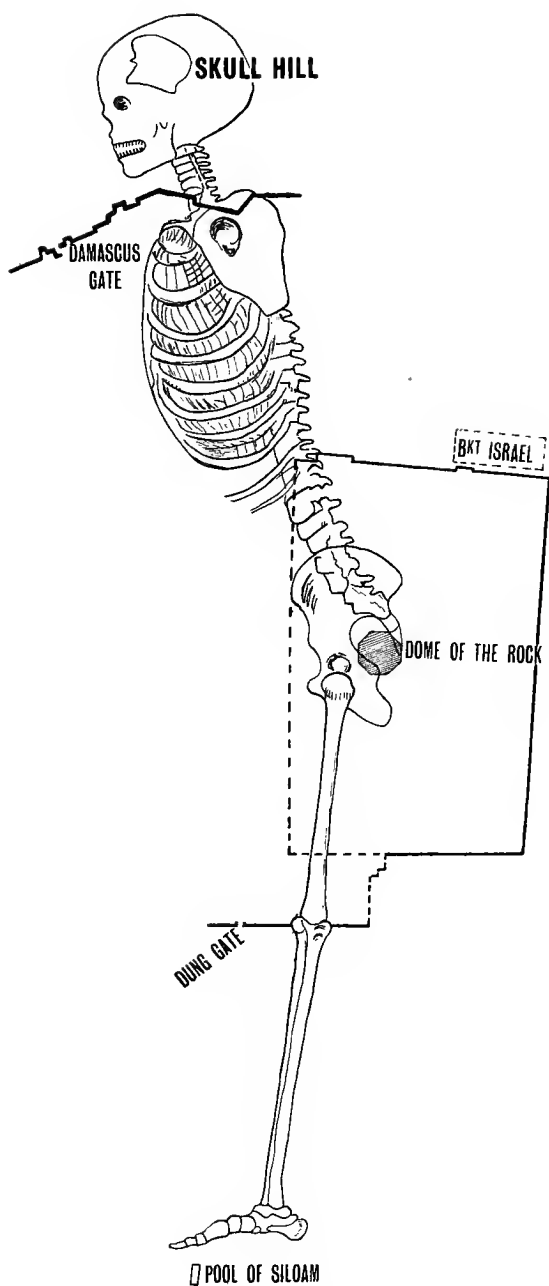


FIG. 12.

General Gordon's reasons for identifying Golgotha with "Skull Hill" are thus stated :—

"I went to the Skull Hill, and felt convinced that it must be north of the altar. Leviticus i, 11, says that the victims are to be slain on the side of the altar northwards (literally to be slain slantwise or askew on the north of the altar).¹ If a particular direction was given by God about where the types were to be slain, it is a sure deduction that the prototype would be slain in the same position as to the altar ; this the Skull Hill fulfils. . . . The Latin Holy Sepulchre is west of the altar, and, therefore, unless the types are wrong, it should never have been taken as the site." (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 79.)

The name Golgotha was not derived from any resemblance in relief, or profile, to a human skull, but from the form of the ground as represented by a contour² on the Ordnance Survey Plan of Jerusalem on the $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale. In a private letter General Gordon writes with reference to the alleged likeness to a human skull, "Skull with caves for eye sockets, that is all one would get, if one was foolish enough to write. I say it is the contour in a map of 1864." Elsewhere he refers to "Skull Hill" as "an apex of uncovered rock—a rocky knoll resembling in form the human skull"; but there is at present no apex of uncovered rock or rocky knoll.

General Gordon's theory involves the view that ground, which for several centuries has been used as a Muhammadan burial place, has not altered since the Crucifixion.

¹ See also *Reflections in Palestine*, p. 3. The interpretation of Lev. i, 11, is erroneous. The words mean that the victim was to be slain north and not north-north-west of the altar. According to Jewish tradition the sin offerings, the burnt offerings, and the trespass offerings in the Temple were slain on the north side of the great altar.

² The contour represents, rudely, the side view of a skull, or head, in plan (see Figs. 11 and 12). The form of the contour is temporary or accidental. It runs partly over rock but chiefly over made ground, and could not possibly have had the same form at the time of the Crucifixion.

APPENDIX VIII.

DR. ROBINSON'S VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE POSITION OF
THE THIRD WALL OF JERUSALEM.

Among those who have maintained that the *third* wall was to the north of the present one is Dr. Robinson, the distinguished American, who was the first to apply the methods of scientific research to the exploration of Palestine. He visited Jerusalem in 1838, before any buildings had been erected outside the city walls, and before any excavations had been made. His theory was based upon certain ruins which he saw on the surface of the ground and believed to be fragments of the *third* wall, built by King Agrippa, and his views must be tested by the additional information obtained during the last sixty years.

Dr. Robinson wrote that, at a distance of 700 feet from the north-west corner of the city (N on Fig. 8, p. 125), "on the highest point of the ridge (which indeed is higher than that of Sion), there are traces of ancient sub-structures, apparently of towers or other fortifications, extending along the high ground for 650 feet further in the same direction." At the end of these ruins, 1,300 feet from the north-west corner (O on Fig. 8), he placed the tower Psephinus; near where the east end of the Russian cathedral, since built, is located.¹

In his note on the *third* wall he says,² "the conclusion is a probable one that the wall passed from Psephinus in an easterly or north-easterly direction to the brow of the Valley of Jehosaphat (*i.e.*, Kidron), and thence along that valley until it met the ancient wall coming up from the south on the east of the Temple." North-east of Psephinus (at T on Fig. 8) he noticed some "foundations which belonged very distinctly to the *third* wall," but beyond this point and along the brow of the Valley of Jehosaphat all search for traces of the wall was in vain.

In 1864-65, during the progress of the Ordnance Survey, some steps were taken to test the accuracy of Dr. Robinson's theory. The

¹ *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I., p. 458.

² *Ibid.*, p. 465.

ground was carefully examined for traces of the assumed *third* wall, and excavations were made at the four points N, R, T, and U on its assumed course. At that time the Russian cathedral, consulate, and hospice had recently been built, and, in reply to inquiry, it was stated that no ditch, and no masonry that could have formed part of a city wall or of a large castle, had been discovered within the limits of the Russian property. The rock excavations were chiefly or wholly due to quarrying, and the ruins were such as would have been left by vineyard towers, or the walls of houses and gardens.

Since 1865 the ground has been levelled, and there has been much building, but nothing has been found which supports Dr. Robinson's view of the course of the *third* wall. Excavations made at N, T, U (see Fig. 8, p. 125) were sufficient to show that in neither case could the remains have formed part of a wall of defence.¹ East of the point U, and along the brow of the Valley of Jehosaphat, a close search disclosed no trace of a wall.

Colonel Conder adopts Dr. Robinson's view that the tower Psephinus was at or near the point O; but thence he carries the wall eastward to the knoll W, where he places the "Women's Towers" of Josephus, and then southward to a point a few yards east of the Damascus Gate. From the last point he makes the *third* wall follow the line of the existing wall.²

The objection to this theory is that the projecting salient on the western hill has no relation to the defence of Bezetha, for which the *third* wall was built; that it would have enclosed much unoccupied ground without any visible object, and that its existence cannot easily be reconciled with the description given by Josephus of the reconnaissance made by Titus before the siege commenced.³

¹ The funds allotted for the Survey did not admit of excavation, but a small sum was given by the late Mr. James Fergusson for this purpose.

² *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 352; *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, 77.

³ Josephus, *Wars*, V., 2, § 2.

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