

hoisted on the tent where the visit of the owl is mostly feared, to prevent her coming. They have the liveliest children that can be imagined. In the big camps in the plain of Philistia, round Ramleh and Lydda, I have often seen groups of boys and girls of four to ten years run, jump, and dance, stripped naked, and as soon as strangers passed by, swift as lightning wrap themselves in a rag or old cloak, run after the passers by, and ask for alms. No sooner were the strangers gone than they would fling off their rags and continue their interrupted play.

There are other settlers and inhabitants of Palestine and Syria, but in describing these five very different populations and distinct classes a fair view of manners and customs has been given, and in many cases these very much resemble those of Bible-times.

On the market place inside the walls of Jerusalem can be seen the daily life of that town: the Fellaha women selling their cauliflowers and other vegetables; men with camels loaded with roots for fuel; townspeople, Bedawin, Jews with their long gowns and slippers, Europeans, and at the gate of the citadel the Turkish soldiers—a gathering of many nations.

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## THE SITE OF GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By the Rev. Canon MacColl.

I HAVE said elsewhere that the case of the traditional site of Golgotha as against the new claimant "is not a case of strong evidence against weak, but a case of overwhelming evidence against none." In the following pages I shall endeavour to make good that assertion; and I begin with a few preliminary observations.

The advocates of the new site disdain the superfluous task, as they deem it, of disproving the authenticity of the traditional site. They assume, and some of them have declared publicly, that no person of common sense and competent knowledge can for a moment believe in the authenticity of the traditional site. The number and class of persons who are thus proved destitute of common sense and adequate knowledge are somewhat remarkable. The "Speaker's Commentary" was edited and written by eminent scholars, and it declares: "The evidence in support of the traditional site is strong, and appears conclusive." The most recent authoritative American pronouncement on the subject was

published in 1896. Its title is "The People's Bible History, prepared in the Light of Recent Investigations, by some of the foremost thinkers in Europe and America. Edited by Rev. Geo. C. Lorimer, LL.D., with an Introduction by the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P." There are 18 contributors, belonging to various religious denominations, including from England, besides Mr. Gladstone, such names as Professor Sayce, Rev. Dr. Moore, editor of "The Christian Commonwealth," the Dean of Canterbury, Professor Agar Beet, D.D., of the Wesleyan College, Richmond. According to this authority, "the evidence available points to the acceptance of the ordinary tradition, and to the belief that this church does mark the place where the Lord's body was laid" (p. 683). To pass from collective authorities to individual writers, it is necessary to take samples out of a multitude. The late Rev. George Williams's "Holy City" (two vols., published in 1845) disposed entirely of the elaborate guess-work and slipshod reasoning of Dr. Robinson as well as of the fantastic paradox of Mr. Fergusson. Mr. Williams's masterly monograph is the result of some years' careful researches on the spot. The publication of the first edition of his book made a sensation. Those who had accepted without inquiry Dr. Robinson's confident dogmatism, especially in Germany, acknowledged themselves converted by Mr. Williams's book. Dr. Schultz, who devoted the leisure of three years as Prussian Consul in Jerusalem to the study of its topography and archæology, came to the same conclusion as Mr. Williams, to whom he owed some obligations in a volume on the subject. German scholars then took the matter up with the thoroughness which is characteristic of them, and decided by a preponderance which amounts to moral unanimity in favour of the traditional site. Let one example suffice. In a learned work published five years after Williams's "Holy City" (Berggren, Leipzig, 1854) I read:—

"Overlooking the fact that tradition is often worthy of attention, there is every possible positive reason why we should seek Golgotha at once, and only there, where the tradition places it. Neither the Old World nor the New has any good ground for doubting the common opinion regarding the Holy Sepulchre."

He goes on to argue (what subsequent explorations have demonstrated) that the city extended considerably from the south to the north and north-west, while the third wall, built some ten years after the Crucifixion, enclosed in this quarter a considerable piece of ground, very sparsely peopled westward, which bore henceforward, or at least after Hadrian's change of Jerusalem into an Italic colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, the name of the "New Jerusalem."

Dr. Alford, a man of keen and practised critical faculty, says (Greek Test., vol. i, 270), after examining the arguments on both sides:—"As regards the *situation*, Williams has made a very strong case for the *commonly-received site* of Calvary and the Sepulchre." The italics are Dean Alford's.

Finlay, the illustrious historian of the Greek Revolution and the Byzantine Empire, arrived at the authenticity of the traditional site by a new process of reasoning, to which I shall refer presently, and which he considers so conclusive as to dispense altogether with archæological arguments. His conclusion is :—

“If history can prove any facts by collateral evidence, it must be admitted that it has proved that Constantine could not possibly have been mistaken in identifying the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and that the Christians cannot have transferred the site [as Fergusson imagined] from the spot fixed on by him in his time. We may consequently rest perfectly satisfied that, when we view the marble tomb now standing in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, we really look on the site of the Sepulchre that was hewn in the rock in the place where Jesus was crucified.”<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Stapfer, professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, writes :—

“We accept as authentic the traditional site assigned to Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. This opinion is general to-day among the learned.” (“Palestine in the Time of Christ,” p. 50, Engl. Transl., London, 1886.)

The bibliography appended to Dr. Stapfer's volume shows that he has mastered the modern literature on this subject, including the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Another Protestant, a Swiss *savant*, who went to Jerusalem in 1875 on purpose to investigate the question on the spot, having previously compared the arguments for the old site and the new respectively, says that, while sentiment and prejudice inclined his mind to the latter, historical and topographical evidence forced him to accept the traditional site. (“Voyage en Terre Sainte,” par Felix Bovet, pp. 127–230, Paris, 1876.)

My next appeal is to the distinguished archæologists of the Palestine Exploration Fund. My first witness is General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E. There is no one to whom we are more indebted for the light thrown on the topography of ancient Jerusalem. He was formerly in charge of the exploration at Jerusalem, and exhibited, as the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund show abundantly, extraordinary diligence, perseverance, and intuitive insight, which resulted in some valuable discoveries. He has at different times published his reasons for believing on archæological and historical grounds in the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finlay's argument, in brief, is that the Roman Ordnance Survey, especially about the time of Constantine, was so perfect that, if there had been the smallest doubt about the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, a reference to the map would settle the matter. Fields, trees, prominent objects were clearly marked on these maps, copies of which were kept in the Imperial archives in Rome, in the provincial capitals, and for local use. Joseph's villa and garden would have been on the map, and certainly so famous a place as Golgotha. (Finlay's “Hist. of Greece,” i, App. III.)

authenticity of the traditional site. It will suffice to refer here to his convincing refutation of Mr. Fergusson in his masterly volume, "The Temple or the Tomb, giving further Evidence in favour of the Authenticity of the Present Site of the Holy Sepulchre," &c. (London: Bentley, 1880).

My next witness is Dr. Schick, who knows more about the topography of Jerusalem than any man living. He has himself related in a former *Quarterly Statement* (for April, 1893) how, after many years' unbelief in the traditional site, he was converted by evidence, which he considers decisive, into a believer. But he is far too modest to parade his own special qualifications as an expert on the topography of Jerusalem. A German Protestant by birth, and by profession an architect, he went to Jerusalem 55 years ago, and has been constantly exercising his profession in the Holy City, generally in the employment of the Turkish Government, and also of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. More recently he has done a good deal of excavation for the Russian Government; and it is this which has led him to the discovery, as he believes, of remains of the second wall, just within the traditional site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. He has lived in Jerusalem continuously for 55 years, and has made the archæology of the city, and latterly of the holy places in particular, a matter of special study. He has thus had unique opportunities for verifying his own and others' theories; for the altering and pulling down of old houses and the building of new ones have greatly changed the exterior aspect of Jerusalem during the last 55 years. So that an architect whose vision covers that interval, and who himself superintended most of the changes, has obviously an unrivalled advantage in that respect over all competitors. Colonel Conder refers to him in the following terms:—

"Not only has this careful and patient workman erected many houses in the city, but, his professional ability being fully recognised by the Turks, he has been constantly consulted by the Government, and has had opportunities of examining buildings in every part of Jerusalem. All this valuable information remained still unapplied to the use of antiquarians. I gave Mr. Schick the Ordnance Survey map on which Major [now Major-General Sir Charles] Wilson, R.E., has shown all the present levels in the city, and he kindly undertook to mark accurately every spot where, from digging foundations and examining levels, &c., he was able to give the depths below the surface at which the native rock was reached."

He goes on to acknowledge his own obligations to Dr. Schick, especially in finding levels and contours in Jerusalem (*see* Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine," vol. i, p. 349).

It is evident, therefore, that Dr. Schick's unique knowledge of modern Jerusalem, extending over more than half a century, enables him to detect topographical indications and suggestions where the most accomplished archæologist, who did not possess Dr. Schick's prolonged experience, would see nothing. This was forcibly impressed on myself

during my last visit to Jerusalem. Dr. Schick was good enough to conduct me along the course which he believes the second wall to have taken. We started from the point where all authorities place the beginning of the second wall, and made our way to the Russian excavations, which Dr. Schick superintended, in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre. Every door was open to so well-known and respected a man, and an official of the Government in addition, and the inmates gladly removed pieces of furniture to let my guide show me portions of ancient Jewish masonry embedded in the walls of the houses. He believed—and his belief seemed to me well founded—that these pieces of ancient Jewish masonry were parts of the second wall. The course was irregular, curving in and out, thus corresponding to the form of the second wall as we learn from other sources. Dr. Schick told me, with some pathos, that if his quiescent prejudice against the traditional site had not dominated his mind for the first 37 years of his residence in Jerusalem, he believed he could prove to other minds the course of the second wall as plainly as it is now present to his own mind. Much of the evidence which his memory recalled was now obscured or obliterated. On the whole, the undoubting belief in the traditional site of a convert and an expert of Dr. Schick's long experience must be admitted to be a very weighty piece of evidence.

Another of the experts of the Palestine Exploration Fund is M. Clermont-Ganneau, for many years attached to the French Consulate in Jerusalem, and now Professor of Sinaitic Archæology at the Sorbonne. His reputation is world-wide, and his contributions to the archæology of Palestine are voluminous and valuable. His opinion will be found at the end of this article.

Another eminent authority is Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E., at one time Ordnance Surveyor of Jerusalem and the Peninsula of Sinai. He is of opinion "that no certain trace of the second wall has been found." As far as visible evidence goes, "that wall may have included or excluded the site of the Church. Either is quite possible, but nothing certain is known." This leaves the historical evidence, to which I shall presently appeal, untouched. But although Sir Charles Wilson is unable to prove that the second wall passed inside the traditional site, he feels equally unable to prove the contrary, and he sees strong arguments in favour of the traditional site. "To my mind," he says, "one of the strongest arguments in its favour is that it was never disputed, so far as I know, in the early days either by Jews or heathen. Surely when Julian was rebuilding the Temple, and Cyril was boldly denouncing the attempt in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Emperor would have indulged in one of his sneering remarks if there had been any doubt with regard to the authenticity of the sites."

That is an argument hard to upset. Sir Charles Wilson's own candid conclusion is:—"I am satisfied to think when I am in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that I am standing near the spots which were believed

in the fourth century to be the scenes of the Crucifixion and Burial." I am quoting from a letter to myself.

One eminent authority connected with the Palestine Exploration Fund, and one only, can be quoted against the authenticity of the traditional site. Colonel Conder, unless he has changed his mind within the last seven years, is a convert to Dr. Robinson's "pious fraud" theory. He has evidently not gone deep into the historical evidence, and his own contribution to the theory crumbles to pieces on close scrutiny, as I shall endeavour to prove.

So much then as to the jaunty allegation of the literary advocates of the new Golgotha and Sepulchre, that no one dowered with common sense and moderate knowledge can believe in the authenticity of the traditional site! Ignorance of one's own ignorance, said Plato, is the worst of all, for it bars the way to knowledge. He who thinks he knows all has no motive for further inquiry. "I have not been able," says Mr. Hugh Price Hughes in the "Westminster Gazette" of May 4th last, "to discover any evidence whatever of the traditional site except a foolish dream of the Empress Helena in A.D. 326." That gives us the measure at once of Mr. Hugh Price Hughes's reading on the subject, and an explanation of his scorn for those who still believe in the traditional site. But the great protagonist of the new site is Mr. Haskett Smith. He was allowed unfortunately to use the authority of Murray's "Handbook for Syria and Palestine" for disseminating all over the world his romance on this subject. Every traveller reads Murray's "Handbooks," and it is a just tribute to their general accuracy that their statements are commonly accepted without question. But for the respectable sponsorship of Murray's "Handbook" the egregious absurdities of the spurious site would have killed it at the birth. All the evidence for it is given in Murray's "Handbook." Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, indeed, has told us that he "was at Jerusalem last year, and studied the whole question minutely on the spot. The nature and result of my investigations, he adds, "were published in a careful article in the 'Methodist Times' of March 28th last" ("Westminster Gazette," May 4th, 1901). I sent for that article, and found that it was nothing more than an epitome of Mr. Haskett Smith's article in Murray's "Handbook." I prefer, therefore, to go to the original source of this myth and examine Mr. Haskett Smith's arguments *seriatim*. He begins in the high pontifical tone to which the impugners of the traditional site have accustomed us:—

"There is little to prove its claim beyond the ecclesiastical tradition of centuries, besides the miraculous vision which Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, is supposed to have had . . . . On the other hand, the whole locality has been shown by the best authorities to have been unsuitable."

I have already given the reader some specimens of the opinions of "the best authorities"; and as for "the miraculous vision of Helena," which Mr. Hugh Price Hughes calls "a foolish dream," let it suffice to

say here that authentic history knows nothing of it. Having thus magisterially dismissed the evidence for the traditional site into the shadowy realm of dreams and fable, Mr. Haskett Smith proceeds to give the readers of Murray's "Handbook" the evidence for the spurious site, which he prefaces, *suo more*, with the observation that "it is sufficient to say that the arguments in favour of this site are so strong as to be practically convincing to the unprejudiced mind." Let the reader judge. Here are the arguments:—

(1) "The tomb has never been finished, and yet has been occupied." I have examined the tomb several times in the company of experts, including Dr. Schick, and I assert that the tomb was beyond all question finished. Dr. Schick was present at the opening of the tomb 34 years ago, and found then *in situ* the stone slabs, the absence of which now Mr. Haskett Smith alleges in proof that the tomb was never finished. And even if it could be proved that the tomb never had been finished, what then? The original narrative does not say that Joseph's tomb had never been finished; it implies the contrary.

(2) "It has been occupied for one burial, and one burial only." Mr. Haskett Smith is a genial gentleman. I met him in Egypt, and afterwards in Syria, and I asked him how he knew that the tomb had been occupied for "one burial only." He was told so by "an eminent chemist," who assured him that the fact was capable of chemical demonstration. I wished to get the name and address of that chemist, but Mr. Haskett Smith was in a great hurry, being in charge of a party of ladies whom he was conducting on a pilgrimage to the tomb. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes says ditto, ditto to Mr. Haskett Smith:—"It is evident that it was originally intended to contain *loculi* for several bodies, but only one of these was ever completed and used. The rest, for some reason (I think an obvious one), were never finished and never occupied" (*see* Mr. Hugh Price Hughes's "Careful Article," in "Methodist Times" of March 28th, 1901). As a matter of fact, when the tomb was opened it was full of human bones and the mould of decomposed bodies. So Dr. Schick, who was present, told me, and Colonel Conder has borne similar testimony in a letter to the "Times" dated "September 24th, 1892." "The tomb was excavated," he says, "in 1873, and I then explored it, and found in it the remains of the bones of a large number of persons, and two red painted crosses on the walls, which had the form of a Latin cross, and could not be earlier than the twelfth century. The tomb was close to a large Crusading hospice, and I have no doubt that it was used for the burial of pilgrims."

(3) "It was constructed about the time of Christ, being Herodian in character." Again Mr. Hugh Price Hughes echoes ditto:—"The construction" satisfied him that the tomb "was the property of a 'rich man,' who was a Jew of the time of Christ, as its character is Herodian." Let Mr. Hugh Price Hughes settle that with his own infallible authority—when he happens to be on his side—Colonel Conder.

(4) "Though built for a Jew, it has been an object of sacred reverence

to the early Christians, for it has been used as a place of Christian worship, and is surrounded by Christian tombs." The proximity of Christian tombs is just as applicable to any other tomb in the neighbourhood, and there is not a scrap of evidence that it was used as a place of Christian worship.

(5) "It occupies a position with regard to the hill beside it which accords with the Gospel narratives." Just as applicable to several other tombs.

(6) "The frescoed cross, with the sacred monograms, still faintly to be traced on the east wall, and evidently of an age about, if not quite coeval with, the first century, connects the tomb most intimately with Christ." On the contrary, Colonel Conder is unquestionably right in saying that the cross is Latin and mediæval. Any tyro in ecclesiology could tell Mr. Smith that no example of this cross is found within many centuries of Christ's death. The alleged copy of the cross which Mr. Haskett Smith gives in his pamphlet is quite incorrect and most misleading.

(7) Mr. Smith next advances "one of the most remarkable corroborations of the truth of the Gospel which has perhaps been ever exhibited." In St. John xx, 5, we read that St. John, "stooping down and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying." In this spurious tomb there is a small window opposite the *loculus* in which Mr. Smith alleges the body of Christ to have lain. He proceeds:—

"In no ordinary tomb would it have been possible to see from the outside to the bottom of the *loculus*. But in this tomb, by leaning forward and peering through this opening, one can see quite clearly to the very bottom of this receptacle."

Mr. Haskett Smith assumes here that our Lord's tomb had a window in the rock opposite the *loculus* where his body lay. The fact is that this window is exceptional, and did not exist originally in this tomb. Next, in the authentic Holy Sepulchre, as in other rock tombs of the kind, the door leading from the outer chamber to the burial cave is so low that one must stoop down to enter, and by thus stooping down it would be quite easy to see whatever was laid on the depression, generally a few inches, which formed the *loculus*. But the most astounding part of Mr. Smith's argument is his assertion that the apostle, stooping down and looking through this very window, saw the linen clothes lying at the bottom of the trough—some 3 feet in depth, and therefore intended for more than one body, as Dr. Schick has rightly observed—which forms the *loculus*. But Mr. Haskett Smith cannot be accurate even in trivial details. It is *not* possible to see to the bottom of the *loculus* by any amount of peering through the window. I made the experiment with a gentleman—an English architect who had been in Jerusalem six months before I met him studying its archæology. We laid a white handkerchief in the *loculus*, and peered in succession through the window without being able to see the handkerchief till it was raised about 18 inches from the

bottom. And so far from being obliged to "stoop down," I was obliged to place a stone below the window before I could bring my eyes to a level with it, while my companion, who is over 6 feet, was obliged to stand erect before he could see through. But the most incomprehensible part of Mr. Smith's argument remains. There is, or was then, a heap of rubbish underneath the window on which the looker stood. Remove that rubbish, which of course was not there originally, and the sill of the window is quite 10 feet from the ground! "How could St. John," I asked Dr. Schick, "stoop down to look through that window?" "How, indeed," he answered, "unless he brought a ladder with him?" Here, too, Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, in his "Careful Article," has caught the infection of Mr. Haskett Smith's wonder-working imagination, and has drawn the same inference from the same figment.

(8) The knoll which we are asked to accept in place of the traditional Golgotha "is," Mr. Haskett Smith tells us, "held as an accursed spot; and Jews, when they pass it, spit and throw stones in its direction, uttering at the same time the following imprecation: 'Cursed be he that destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the King thereof.'" "An ancient Jew" told Mr. Smith that "this is the formula generally employed" by Jews when they pass the place. I tried hard, but in vain, to find any trace of this "ancient Jew," or, indeed, of any Jew in Jerusalem who ever heard of this formula and custom. I applied for information, among others, to the Rev. J. E. Hanauer (himself a Jew by race), who has spent all his life in Palestine except during the period of his education abroad. He has worked for years as a missionary among the Jews, and is a learned man withal, and thoroughly acquainted with the customs and traditions of the Jews in Palestine. Here is his answer:—

"JERUSALEM, *May 5th*, 1893.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to state that my inquiries, both amongst Jews and Hebrew Christians, have utterly failed in eliciting any information confirmatory of the statement of Mr. Haskett Smith, that the Jew spits in the direction El Heidemiyeh as he passes near it, and mutters to himself the accustomed curse, 'Cursed be he who destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the King thereof.' I am myself almost certain that the 'ancient Jew,' from whom Mr. Haskett Smith derived his information, shaped his story so as to suit the wishes of his questioner. That the Jews identify El Heidemiyeh with the Beit Ha Sekelah [place of stoning] is certain. My recent inquiries have afforded me fresh opportunity for verifying this.

"Yours respectfully,

"J. E. HANAUER."

(9) Mr. Haskett Smith has one more argument "which almost settles the question," namely, "two memorial stones," on one of which is inscribed, "Buried near his Lord"; on the other, "To Nonus and Onesimus, deacons of the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Christ." Mr. Smith's inference is that there was an early Christian Church close to "Gordon's tomb" bearing the title which he quotes, and

that Nonus and Onesimus were deacons of it. But the only Church in Jerusalem which ever bore the title of "the Martyry of the Resurrection" is that which occupies the traditional site. Mr. Smith's last argument does therefore "settle the question" against him. "Near his Lord" is, of course, a relative term, meaning any part of Jerusalem or its environs.

Such are the arguments on which Mr. Haskett Smith bases his astounding assertion that "there is actually not a link missing in the chain of evidence which connects this tomb with the sepulchre of Christ." Mr. Hugh Price Hughes thinks the evidence so overwhelming that he does not hesitate to write :—

"I was so convinced that this was indeed 'the place where the Lord lay,' that if an angel had suddenly appeared I should not have been at all surprised, but should have turned to him with eager confidence and exclaimed, 'That is where my Lord's body rested from Friday to the first day of the week, was it not?' I could not resist the desire to place my poor body on the very spot on which the Sacred Body once rested. For a space I lay there flat on my back."

I respect and honour the sentiment which prompted Mr. Hughes's action. Let the reader, who has now all the so-called evidence before him, judge whether Mr. Hughes's fervent faith rested on a single scrap of tangible proof. Nor is this all. Not only is there no evidence for the spurious site, but there is demonstrative evidence against it. There is a general agreement among the defenders and impugnors of the traditional site that the rocky mound which the believers in the spurious site have selected for their Golgotha was the Jews' place of public execution. This is enshrined in the early tradition which caused a church dedicated to St. Stephen to be erected there, and which gave the name of St. Stephen's Gate to that now known as the Damascus Gate. Indeed, Mr. Haskett Smith and his disciples, including Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, make a point of their "skull-hill" being the ancient place of stoning. The fact is the corner-stone of their case. But a little reflection would have shown them that to prove that the "skull-hill" was the Jews' place of stoning is in fact to prove that it could not have been Golgotha. "Now in"—not near—"the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid. There they laid Jesus" (St. John xix, 41-2). Now it is simply inconceivable that "a rich man of Arimathæa," who was also "a councillor of honourable estate," "a good man and a righteous," and a member of the Sanhedrin as well (St. Luke xxiii, 51), should have had his villa and garden abutting on the accursed place of public execution. The fact that "in the place where He was crucified there was a garden" belonging to a member of the Sanhedrin is alone a decisive proof that it was not a place of public execution; therefore not the so-called "skull-hill."

Whence then the name? St. Matthew calls it "a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull." St. Mark says that "they brought Him to Golgotha, a place which by interpretation means a place of a

skull." St. John says that "Jesus went forth into a place called that of a skull." St. Luke says elliptically that "they came to the place called a skull."

It is plain, then, that for some reason not mentioned in any of the Gospels Golgotha was a marked feature in the topography of Jerusalem. The Jewish Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and John, naturally gave their Greek readers the meaning of the word—"the place of a skull." Plainly therefore the name was not derived from any peculiarity in the place itself. The genitive case precludes that suggestion. The three Evangelists clearly imply in their explanation some story of a skull distinct from the place itself. On the other hand, St. Luke, a Gentile by birth, an educated traveller<sup>1</sup> and man of the world, and writing for Gentiles, did not think it necessary to encumber his narrative with explanations of Jewish words, and therefore simply translated the Hebrew Golgotha into its Greek equivalent.

We may dismiss at once then two explanations of Golgotha. It did not derive its name from being a place of public execution.<sup>2</sup> No skulls, few or many, could have been lying about; for, in the first place, the Jews put criminals to death by stoning, not by decapitation; in the next, all bodies had to be buried before sundown. Nor did it derive its name from its likeness to a human skull. Cyril of Jerusalem does mention that suggestion, but only to dismiss it. "There is no evidence," as Sir Charles Wilson says, "that 'the place called Golgotha' was a hill, or that it derived its name from a topographical feature"; "and artists, unmindful of truth-telling photographs, have supplied the 'skull' of the nineteenth century Golgotha with eyes, nose, and mouth." (Letter from Sir C. Wilson, in "Times" of October 2nd, 1893.) In a letter to myself a few weeks ago Sir Charles Wilson says:—

"As regards the spurious site, I came to the conclusion that the tomb belonged to the series of tombs in the Dominican grounds, which are only separated from it by a few yards, and that it was probably Christian. It also seemed to me that the cliff below what is called 'skull-hill' did not exist at the time of the Crucifixion, and that the so-called 'eye-sockets' were not then in existence," being, in fact, the effect of quarrying "after the Great Siege."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, in his very interesting monograph on "The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul," argues with great plausibility that St. Luke was a ship's surgeon by profession.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that our Lord was put to a Roman death by a Roman governor with a guard of Roman soldiers under a Roman centurion. The Romans had no place of execution in Jerusalem. Crucifixion was a punishment which they often inflicted on the Jews, sometimes in the streets of the city. Pilate would have paid no heed to the Jewish law forbidding to execute inside the wall, for he and others violated it. That he was overruled to fulfil the type here we know from Heb. xiii, 12. But he chose Golgotha for the crucifixion for the purpose of insulting them, not in order to fulfil their law.

I have myself walked over and round the "skull-hill" several times, and saw no more resemblance to a skull than is to be seen in any number of mounds in a rocky country. I have, however, seen pictures and photographs considerably touched up, so as to give some likeness to a skull. But if the cavities in which prejudiced eyes see a likeness to eye-sockets did not exist at the time of the Crucifixion, the misnomer loses even the shadow of plausibility.

The real truth, however, is that Golgotha derived its name from an old Jewish tradition, which said that a skull was found there in ancient days which was identified by Solomon's wisdom as the skull of Adam, whose body was believed to be buried there. For this tradition there is a cloud of witnesses whose testimony must be regarded as conclusive. Here are some specimen quotations. Origen says :—

"The Hebrews have a tradition about the Place of the Skull, viz., that the body of Adam was buried there: that as in Adam all die, in Christ should all again be made alive."

Epiphanius :—

"Since the skull of the first man was found there, there also his remains were buried, and for this reason the place where our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified received the surname of the Place of a Skull."

Athanasius :—

"Nowhere else did He suffer, nowhere else was He crucified, but at the Place of a Skull, which the doctors of the Hebrews say was Adam's Sepulchre."

Basil :—

"According to the traditions of the Jews the skull of Adam was found there, and they also say that Solomon recognised it by his surpassing wisdom. For this reason they also say that place is called the Place of a Skull."

Ambrose :—

"There [Golgotha] is Adam's sepulchre; that He [Christ] might raise up that dead man through His cross. Where, therefore, is the death of all in Adam, there is the resurrection of all in Christ."

In his exposition of St. Matthew (Lib. x) he refers to the tradition of the Jews on this point.

Jerome :—

"Tradition has it that in this city [Jerusalem], nay, more, on this very spot, Adam lived and died. The place where Our Lord was crucified is called Calvary because the skull of the primitive man was buried there. So it came to pass that the Second Adam, that is the blood of Christ, as it dropped from the cross, washed away the sin of the buried protoplast,<sup>1</sup> the first Adam; and thus the words of the Apostle were fulfilled: 'Awake thou that sleepest and

<sup>1</sup> See "Book of Wisdom," vii, 1, where mortal man is described as ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου.

rise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." (Paula and Eustoch., "Ad. Marcell.," Ep. 46.)<sup>1</sup>

Let it be remembered that some of the writers whom I have quoted (*e.g.*, Origen in the East, and Tertullian in the West), wrote long before Constantine's recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and their words imply that Golgotha was then a place well known to both Jews and Christians. There is not a hint or suspicion of the site being lost, not a doubt as to its locality and the origin of the name. Origen, moreover, was perfectly familiar with the topography of Palestine and Jerusalem, and thoroughly versed in Hebrew lore. We may take it then as absolutely certain that Golgotha was so called because Adam's skull was believed to have been found there, and to lie buried with his body. The passage from St. Paul (Eph. v, 14) referred to above by St. Jerome is a quotation; but the Apostle does not indicate its source. It is poetical in structure and the reference to Christ indicates a Christian origin. It is doubtless a quotation from one of the "hymns and spiritual songs," of which the Apostle makes mention elsewhere, and it embalms an amalgamation of Jewish and Christian tradition, namely, that some of the second Adam's blood percolated through the ground, or through the fissure in the rock, and touched the body of the first Adam, who was thus one of those who rose from the dead, as related in St. Matthew xxvii, 52, 53.

Golgotha was, therefore, to Jew and Christian alike one of the holiest spots on earth. The Jew believed it to be the burial place of the first man, and the spot predestined to be the scene of the victory over the Evil One promised to the Woman's Seed. He believed it also to be the scene of the arrested sacrifice of his son by the Father of the Faithful.<sup>2</sup> Here then we have a clue to the triple crucifixion on Golgotha. The Jews forced Pilate, against his conscience and his wife's warning, to crucify a man whom he had publicly pronounced innocent, and whose mysterious words bewildered and awed the superstitious and pusillanimous Procurator. The threat to denounce him to Cæsar as a fautor of sedition cowed the wretched man into obedience to the frenzied cries of "Crucify Him!" But the iron of humiliation entered into the proud Roman's soul, and he determined on revenge. And what revenge so triumphant as to crucify his tormentors' Victim, with a robber right and left of Him, on sacred Golgotha, with the mock trilingual title, which infuriated them, over His head? Hence the emphasis with which the Evangelists tell that the Crucifixion was on Golgotha, where, according to the hymn quoted by St. Paul, the New Man met the Old and revived

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tertullian, "Adv. Marc.," ii, p. 883. I have given the above quotations in the original, with references, in an article on "The Site of Golgotha" in the "Contemporary Review" of February, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative in Gen. xxii does not say that the sacrifice of Isaac was to take place on Mount Moriah, but "on one of the mountains" in "the Land of Moriah." Moriah thus appears at that time to have embraced the whole amphitheatre of hills which surrounded Jerusalem.

him by His life-giving blood. To the minds of the early Hebrew Christians, therefore, Golgotha presented no picture of executed criminals or hideous figure of death with its eyeless skull, but a place *sacro-sanct* in their national traditions which the malice of the Jews and the vindictiveness of Pilate had unknowingly conspired to fulfil. Golgotha was thus a place of which the vicinity would naturally be coveted by rich Jews of distinction and piety for their villas and gardens and family tombs.

It is, therefore, evident that Golgotha was a place which would not easily pass out of the memories either of the Jews or Hebrew Christians.

Let us now consider the principal objections against the traditional site. A learned supporter of the spurious site writes as follows :—

“As to the tradition of ‘more than fifteen centuries,’ what is it worth in the face of the fact that at and after the Siege of Jerusalem by Titus the Christians fled from the city, and the Jewish population were either slain or carried captive; so that for perhaps a century or more tradition was absolutely broken, while the whole interior of the city was reduced to ruins and most of the old landmarks were erased?”<sup>1</sup>

“The Jewish population either slain or carried captive,” forsooth! when within about 60 years they reconquered their metropolis and most of the strongholds of Palestine, and held their own for two years against the might of the Roman Empire. And as to the Christians’ flight to Pella beyond the Jordan, the exile lasted only about two years. After the fall of Jerusalem many of them returned to the city, and their ecclesiastical organisation then, as is evident from Eusebius, continued without interruption. Moreover, even those who abode at Pella till the reign of Trajan “enjoyed,” as Gibbon (i, p. 461) says, “the comfort of making frequent visits to the Holy City,” including, doubtless, pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. Yet we are assured by objectors to the traditional site, from Robinson downwards, that both Jews and Christians were excluded from the Holy City from the capture of Jerusalem by Titus to the reign of Constantine! After the insurrection under Bar-Cochebas the Jews were forbidden and forcibly prevented from approaching the city within a distance of seven miles. That prohibition lasted for some centuries, though Constantine relaxed it so far as to allow the Jews, on certain conditions, to behold the Holy City from the neighbouring hills. But the Christians of Palestine were exempted from the edict of proscription. “They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles. . . . At his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered for a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices they purchased a free admission to the colony of Hadrian” (Gibbon, i, 461).

But “the city was reduced to ruins and most of the old landmarks were erased.” How curious that able men should make random assertions without taking the trouble to verify them, and that, too, in a matter

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the “Guardian” in December, 1892, from Professor Hull.

where so much depends on exact accuracy. The destruction of Jerusalem was not nearly so thorough as many imagine. Josephus tells us that Titus gave orders to spare the principal towers which defended Jerusalem, as a lasting proof of the strength of the fortifications which cost him so much labour and blood to master. Titus, moreover, left the whole of the north-western part of the city comparatively uninjured, and repaired the breaches in the wall to protect the garrison which remained to guard his conquest. That quarter of the city, therefore, underwent no material change, and it is there that the traditional site lies. The garrison left by Titus consisted of the tenth legion, some squadrons of cavalry, and several cohorts of infantry. A quarter of the city where such a body of troops could be lodged cannot have been seriously demolished, and there is no reason to suppose that either Golgotha or the Holy Sepulchre underwent any change at all.

Nor was the traditional site affected by the subsequent rebellion of the Jews and the recapture and more complete destruction of the Holy City. Some 10 years after our Lord's crucifixion Agrippa built the third wall, leaving a wide and thinly-peopled space between it and the second wall on the north-western side. This we may infer from the fact that Titus had during the siege a large body of troops encamped in this space between the two walls. To blot out the rebellious city from the page of history, and to disgust the Jews with it for ever, the Roman authorities did two things: they demolished the inhabited part of the old city—the city within the second wall; transformed what remained into an Italic colony, and gave it a Roman name, which, however, never took root, and the city outside the second wall was commonly called “New Jerusalem”—an important link in the chain of evidence, as we shall see presently. The second thing that the Roman authorities did was to erect a temple to Jupiter, with two idol statues, on the site of the temple of Jehovah, and a temple with statue to Venus (the Hebrew Astarte) over Golgotha, the second sacred shrine of the Jews. The statues of Jupiter were still standing *in situ* while Constantine's Basilica over the Holy Sepulchre was in building, and Roman coins, with inscription and picture, attest the existence of the temple of Astarte over Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. That temple remained till it was removed by Constantine's order. So that, in matter of fact, there never has been any *hiatus* in the evidence for the traditional site. Except during the two years' siege by Titus, Jerusalem has never been without a Christian community. The huge mound of earth which was piled over Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre as a foundation for the idol temple did indeed conceal Golgotha and the Sepulchre; but it also marked the site indubitably. We have thus two pieces of evidence, each of them sufficient to attest the site—a resident Christian community without break, and a conspicuous heathen temple over the traditional site.

This is the state of facts on which we are assured that all knowledge of the genuine site of the Holy Sepulchre was lost between A.D. 70 and A.D. 1867, when it was discovered and verified by a chain of evidence in

which "there is actually not a link missing." That evidence is in its integrity before the reader. And the propounders and supporters of this amazing assertion wave aside, as persons either grossly ignorant or incapable of weighing evidence, all who believe in the traditional site. They are assumed to be, like Constantine and the Christians of Palestine in A.D. 326, the victims of "a pious fraud," practised by Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem and some clerical confederates at that date. A gentleman writing against myself on this subject eight years ago declared that "the age of Constantine and Helena was one in which religious credulity ran mad." And Mr. Hugh Price Hughes has recently informed the readers of the "Westminster Gazette" (in a letter dated May 13th) that "the fourth century" was "a very ignorant and superstitious century." One is obliged to say, with all courtesy, that assertions like these prove the writers to have no real knowledge of the literature or intellectual history of the age which they thus characterise. If we take the period embraced by the united ages of Helena and Constantine, it contains such a galaxy of illustrious names in almost every department of learning and intellectual effort as no period of Christian history within the same limits of time can show. It embraces names like Origen and Tertullian at the one end, with the towering names of Augustin and Jerome at the other, and in the list are Athanasius, the two Cyrils, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, the two Eusebiuses, Ambrose, and a host of others. It was an age also remarkable, not for credulity, but for critical inquiry. Arian and his followers—a brilliant band intellectually—aided by all the intellectual forces of Paganism, were finally marshalled by the Emperor Julian against Christianity. Never in the history of Christianity has there been such a trial of strength, exhibiting such varied skill and resource in offence and defence, as there was then between the assailants and defenders of Christianity. "Pious fraud," indeed! when there was a legion of keen critics—Pagan, Jew, and heretic—to pounce on any weak spot in the armour of Christianity. Was the sneering and agile-minded Julian—who took Jews as well as Pagans under his patronage in his fanatical campaign against Christianity—likely to endure in silence Cyril's denunciations, delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, against the Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple, if he could have pointed to the Holy Sepulchre, 400 yards distant, as "a pious fraud"? For if fraud there had been it was then too fresh to escape detection. The silence of Julian and his malevolent allies in Palestine is the best proof that there was no case against the traditional site.

The one authentic account of the recovery—not "discovery," for it was never lost—of the Holy Sepulchre is that of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, who was an eye-witness of what he relates. He was one of the most distinguished writers of that or of any age, and one of the least credulous of mankind. He possessed the historical faculty in an eminent degree, and was of a cautious and critical, not to say sceptical, temper; so cautious, indeed, was he that he accepted the Nicene definition

of Christ's Divinity with reluctance, and was suspected of leaning towards semi-Arianism. And his reputation for critical sagacity and historical accuracy has risen with our fuller knowledge of those times. The joint editors of the Apocryphal Gospel and Revelation of St. Peter (Canon Armitage Robinson and Mr. James) pay a well-deserved tribute to his accuracy and critical acumen, and refer to him as "the Father of Church History," "who seems so well to have divined what would be of interest to readers who lived 15 centuries later than his own time" (p. 15). Eusebius gives the particulars of the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in his "Life of Constantine" (chaps. xxvi-xlvi), which I have summarised as follows in my article in the "Contemporary Review":—

"The statement of Eusebius is that, in the year after the Nicene Council, Constantine, moved by a Divine impulse, after establishing peace throughout his empire, determined to do honour to the site of our Lord's resurrection, and accordingly commanded a church (*ἐκκλήριον*) to be built there. Neither here nor elsewhere in the historian's narrative is there the slightest indication that there was any doubt as to the precise locality. Eusebius proceeds:—

"This cave of salvation (*τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον*) certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly, with immense labour they brought a quantity of earth from a distance (*ἐξωθεν*) and covered up the whole place. Then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the divine cave (*τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον*) beneath this huge mound.'

"On this mound, he goes on to say, they erected a shrine for an idolatrous statue of Venus, 'and offered detestable oblations there on profane and accursed altars.' 'These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any of the governors, or military commanders, or even any of the Emperors themselves, ever yet appeared who had courage to abolish these daring impieties, except our Prince, befriended by God.' Here we have a proof that the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre and the purpose of the mound were known all along to the Roman authorities. By Constantine's order the temple and statue were destroyed. But 'the Emperor's zeal did not end there.' He ordered 'the materials, stones and timber, to be carted as far as possible from that quarter.' He also ordered 'that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth,' so that the soil brought thither might be removed 'to a far distant place.' 'And when another level appeared instead of the former—viz., the ground which lay below—there at length appeared, beyond all hope, the solemn and all-holy witness (*μαρτύριον*) of the Saviour's resurrection; and thus the cave, a holy of holies, imaged the Saviour's revival, and, after being sunk in darkness, came to light again, and to those who witnessed the sight presented a manifest history of the wonders which had then been done,

witnessing by facts more eloquently than by any voice the resurrection of the Saviour.’”

Not a word does Eusebius say about any discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by means of miracle or Divine interposition. His narrative implies throughout that the site was known to everybody. He does say that the recovery was beyond all hope (*παρ' ἐλπίδα πάντων*); and Constantine's letter to Macarius (given by Eusebius) speaks of the recovery of the Sepulchre as "this marvel" (*τοῦ θαύματος τούτου*). But the meaning is plain. The object of Hadrian having been to desecrate and efface a sacred Jewish shrine, it might well seem a "marvel" "beyond all hope" that, when the temple and artificial mound were removed, the Sepulchre was found intact. Not a word or hint does Eusebius drop of any miracle connected with the recovery of the Sepulchre. He does not say a word about Helena in this connection, though he says that she built a church at Bethlehem and another on the Mount of Olives. He is equally silent about the discovery of the crosses. Authentic history says nothing about the discovery of the site of the Sepulchre by Helena. Eusebius declares repeatedly and emphatically, and Constantine's own letter confirms him, that the desire to recover the Sepulchre originated, from a Divine impulse, in the Emperor's own mind long before he carried out his wish. Three historians (Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomen), writing a century later, relate, with substantial agreement, that Helena, "divinely moved in her dreams" (Socr., Lib. i, c. xiii), made a journey to Jerusalem in her old age (about 80), and became thus the bearer of Constantine's (her son's) letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem, commissioning him to erect a splendid church over the Sepulchre regardless of cost. Helena does not appear to have known accurately the details of Hadrian's endeavour to efface all trace of Golgotha, and Socrates relates that on her arrival in Jerusalem she eagerly inquired where the Sepulchre was. "But when she was informed of the facts" she had the idol removed and the mound cleared away, when three crosses were found in the Sepulchre, with the *titulus* over the Saviour's cross lying detached. Helena "was not a little distressed" by the uncertainty as to which was the true cross. "Not long afterwards" the doubt was resolved by the application of the three crosses to the body of a woman in Jerusalem who was seriously ill. Two crosses touched her in vain; but the touch of the third cross cured her. Theodoret (Lib. i, c. xviii) and Sozomen (Lib. ii, c. 1) agree with Socrates. In no single account is there the slightest reference to any dream, vision, or miracle ancillary to the recovery of the Sepulchre. They all agree that the site was well known, though there was fear that the Sepulchre might have been destroyed in the construction of the superincumbent mound and temple. The only miracle mentioned is the cure of the sick woman by the touch of the cross, and to that Eusebius makes no allusion. And to dismiss that miracle contemptuously is hardly philosophical when men, who do not believe in Christianity, accept the evidence for the miracles of Port Royal and the stigmata of Louise Latour. I should have thought, too, that the recollection of a passage in Holy Writ

(Acts xix, 11, 12) would have restrained Mr. Hugh Price Hughes from an insinuation and a sneer which others might turn against what he reveres. I am, here, however, concerned only to show that the solitary miracle related in this connection has nothing to do with the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and is not even mentioned by the eminent and cautious historian who was an eye-witness of what he relates.

And now I proceed to another link in the chain of evidence for the traditional site which of itself goes far to settle the question. In his "Life of Constantine" (Lib. iii, c. 32), Eusebius says that "on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was built over against the old (*ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαιᾷ*), so celebrated, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the Emperor now began to rear a trophy of the Saviour's victory over death." This alone seems to me decisive of the controversy. The "New Jerusalem" was the city outside the second wall. Constantine's church was in the "New Jerusalem," "over against the old," which crucified the Lord "without the gate."

It seems that the revolt under Hadrian resulted in the entire destruction of the city inside the second wall. The passage just quoted from Eusebius implies this, and it remained in ruins still later. For Jerome speaks of that part of Jerusalem in his day as reduced to cinders and ashes.<sup>1</sup>

Those who repeat Robinson's coarse and absurd imputation of "pious

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the gates of Sion, which David "loved above all the tabernacles of Jacob," Jerome says: "Non eas portas quas hodie cernimus in favillam et cinerem dissolutas" ("Ep. Ad. Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ"—Erasmus's Basle folio edition of 1565, tom. i, p. 172). I give these particulars because an editorial note calls attention to the fact that Hadrian so enlarged *Ælia Capitolina* ("New Jerusalem") towards the north that the places of the Resurrection and Crucifixion, "which had formerly been outside the walls," were in the time of Jerome surrounded by a wall, *i.e.*, the third wall (ut *locâ Resurrectionis et inventæ crucis, quæ prius intra mœnia fuerant ætate divi Hieronymi, septentrionali muro circumdarentur, ut ipse testatur alibi*). From his use of the plural (*locâ*) Jerome evidently believed that the Cross was not found in the Sepulchre, but in some cave at Golgotha, which is more probable. The unclean instruments of death had of course to be hurriedly hidden away before sundown, and there is nothing improbable in their recovery during the excavation of A.D. 326. The course of the second wall, we thus know, was visible in Jerome's time, and his testimony as an eye-witness to its being then inside the traditional site is surely conclusive. Eucherius visited Jerusalem about A.D. 430, and describes it minutely, and especially Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. He, too, says plainly: "These places are seen outside Mount Sion, where a knoll of scanty size stands on the north" (see "Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem," p. 18). But outside Mount Sion means outside the second wall, which enclosed Sion.

fraud" fail to see the extraordinary inversion of reasoning which their accusation involves. Persons who wish to palm off a pious fraud try to impart verisimilitude to their invention. They choose what is probable and plausible, not what is violently improbable. If Macarius and his supposed confederates—assuming for argument's sake the site to have been lost—had wished to gain credence for their alleged fraud, would they not have fixed it outside what was then the exterior wall? They knew that Golgotha was outside the wall at the time of the Crucifixion: why did they select a site inside the wall? Only one answer is possible: the genuine site was known to everybody. We may confidently apply Tertullian's axiomatic paradox to their choice: *credo quia impossibile*. The choice was an impossible one except on a basis of absolute certainty.

I must hurry over some further pieces of evidence. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, delivered his Catechetical Lectures in Constantine's Basilica. He testifies that in his time "there was a garden where Christ was crucified," "for though it was much adorned by the gifts of the Emperor, yet it was formerly a garden, and the evidence and remains of this continue (*σύμβολα τούτου μένει και λείφανα*)." <sup>1</sup> This is a most important fact. For by Jewish law no gardens were allowed inside the walls of the old city, with one exception—a rose garden, which dated from the time of the prophets.<sup>2</sup>

There is evidence that Joseph's garden remained as Cyril describes it for centuries afterwards. Saint Willibald was in Jerusalem about A.D. 722. He visited Golgotha and Constantine's Church, and reports that "they were formerly outside of Jerusalem." "And near at hand is the garden in which was the sepulchre of our Saviour cut in the rock. . . . The bed on which our Lord's body rested stands within the rock on the north side, to the right of a man entering the Sepulchre to pray."<sup>3</sup>

A Moslem traveller, 'Ali of Herat, describing the Holy Places in A.D. 1173, says that the Church of the Resurrection "of old lay outside the city. . . . The Christians have in this place the rock which they say was split,<sup>4</sup> and from beneath which Adam rose up, because it stood under the place of the Crucifixion, as they relate. They have also here the garden of Joseph, surnamed As Siddik (the Truthful), which is much visited by pilgrims."<sup>5</sup> We must distinguish here between what this Moslem writer reports as the belief of the resident Christians and his own observation. The church-enclosed tomb, he asserts on the evidence of his own eyes, was in "the garden of Joseph"; which proves that it was then outside the second wall, since no gardens were allowed inside.

<sup>1</sup> "Catech.," xiv, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Stapfer, pp. 53, 62. See also Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Kammo*, c. vii.

<sup>3</sup> "Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem," p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> A natural rent right down the rock of Golgotha from the spot where tradition puts the Cross is plainly visible. If any rocks were rent in sympathy with that great tragedy—as Christians will find no difficulty in believing—certainly the rock of Golgotha must have been one of them.

<sup>5</sup> "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 208.

In the year 1225, after the recovery of Jerusalem by Saladin, another Moslem traveller of the name of Yakut gives an account of the Holy Sepulchre :—

“It stands,” he says, “in the middle of the city, and a wall surrounds it. There is here the tomb which the Christians call *Al Kayamah* (the Anastasis) because of their belief that the Resurrection of the Messiah took place here.” It “stood anciently without the town . . . . There is here a rock which they say was split, and Adam arose from it; for the Crucifixion took place on the summit of the same. The Christians have also in this spot the Garden of Joseph the Truthful, and visitation is made thereto.”<sup>1</sup>

Here, again, we have the independent testimony of a Moslem eye-witness to the existence of the garden in the thirteenth century, and, therefore, to the site being then clearly outside the second wall.

Colonel Conder has thrown much valuable light on the archæology of Palestine, especially eastward of the Jordan, and I gratefully acknowledge my own obligations to him. But the exploration of Jerusalem has been mainly the work of Sir Charles Warren and Sir Charles Wilson, and Colonel Conder's strictures on the traditional site lack the evidence of research and care which are apparent in his work generally. He appears to have relied chiefly on Robinson, a most untrustworthy guide, and he is led astray, like so many others, by assuming that Golgotha was the Jews' place of public execution. It is probably on Robinson that he relies when he tells us that “Eusebius gives a long description of the growth of New Jerusalem, to account for the position of Constantine's site almost in the heart of the town.”<sup>2</sup> What Eusebius describes is not the growth of New Jerusalem, but the building of Constantine's Church in the New Jerusalem, and as to its length, it occupies 15 lines of Greek. He says expressly that the Church was *ἐν μέσῳ* of the city, at the dividing line between the new city outside the second wall, and the old which lay in ruins within.

But Colonel Conder offers two arguments of his own against the traditional site which I must now briefly examine. The first is that Josephus says that the second wall “encircled the north quarter of the city,” whereas the exclusion of the Holy Sepulchre would require the wall to be serpentine. His second objection, which he regards as decisive of the controversy, is that the exclusion of the traditional site would require the second wall to run in part through a valley; and :—

“No military man will suppose for a moment that the wall of a fortress could have been constructed in a deep valley and commanded from without by high ground immediately near. Fortresses stand on hills, not in deep valleys.”<sup>3</sup>

But Colonel Conder strangely forgot that this is not a question of a fortress wall but of a city wall. The citadel of Jerusalem had a wall

<sup>1</sup> “Palestine under the Moslems,” pp. 208-9.

<sup>2</sup> “Tent Work in Palestine,” p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> “Tent Work,” p. 194.



we have described exactly the angular course of Dr. Schick's map, with the abrupt bend eastward at "the corner," where the traditional site is. Of this Biblical description Tacitus gives us a remarkable confirmation in his account of the siege by Titus. I had better quote the passage in the original :—

"Sed urbem arduam situ opera molesque firmaverant quis *vel plana satis munirentur* ; nam duos colles (i.e., Akra and Sion) *immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut retrorsus sinuali, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent* ; extrema rupis abrupta ; et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter deversa in centenos vicinosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares : alia intus mœnia, regia<sup>1</sup> circumjecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia."<sup>2</sup>

Here we have specific and demonstrative evidence that the very conditions and peculiarities in the course of the second wall, which, according to Colonel Conder, the traditional site requires, and which he thinks so impossible as to disprove absolutely the truth of the tradition, did, in fact, characterise the second wall. Never did objection more completely establish the position it assailed and destroy the cause which it was summoned to support. The wall, says the historian, was made to run zigzag for a military reason, namely, to enable the defenders to take assailants, who attacked at close quarters, in flank and rear as well as in front. Tacitus says distinctly that even the low grounds were efficiently protected by a fortified wall. I wonder, moreover, that it did not occur to Colonel Conder that wherever the course of the second wall may be fixed it must cross the valley of the Tyropœon, which was much deeper at the time of the Crucifixion than now. There is nothing in Colonel Conder's argument from Josephus's use of the word "encircle." The verb *ἐγκυκλέω* is constantly used, like its English equivalent, in the sense of enclosing. Sir Charles Warren's explorations convinced him, as his convinced Dr. Schick, that "in the time of Pilate" "there was an indented wall bounding the northern portion ; the site of the Holy Sepulchre being in the re-entering angle *without* the wall, past which ran the main thoroughfare from Jerusalem to Jaffa and Caesarea."<sup>3</sup> Following this quotation is a bit of criticism so important that I must give it in Sir Charles Warren's own words :—

"It is worthy of mention that the walls of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, in all probability, stand on the lines of the former walls, are built square with the west wall of the Haram area [the site of the old Temple], that old wall ascribed to the time of Herod. It is further to be remarked that a line, drawn from a point a few feet north of the Holy Sepulchre, perpendicular to the old west wall of the Haram area, passes through the remains of the portico (ascribed to Constantine) still existing in the market street, and runs straight down one of the principal thoroughfares, the Akubât at Takiyeh, to the

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Asmonean dynasty, and afterwards the Herodian.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist.," Lib. v, c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "The Temple and the Tomb," p. 37.

gate of the Inspector in the Haram area. It may be naturally inferred from this that this street existed when the site of the Holy Sepulchre was first built over by Constantine, and that advantage of the position was taken to give his portico one of the finest prospects that could be desired, a view upon and over the Temple area, and up to the Mount of Olives."

This tallies exactly with the passage in Eusebius describing Constantine's Church as built in the New Jerusalem "right over against the old." Sir Charles Warren continues :—

"This street is, in many parts, cut in the rock and appears to be one of the old streets of Jerusalem. If so, it would, from its position, have been the principal thoroughfare from the Antonia, Temple, and market of the Lower City to Jaffa and Cæsarea. The city gate would have stood where Constantine's portico was afterwards built, and now remains, and the thoroughfare beyond the wall would have passed close to the present [traditional] site of the Crucifixion."

This harmonises in all particulars with the Gospel narrative : the procession along the "Via Dolorosa" to Golgotha ; the seizure of Simon of Cyrene coming in from the country along the principal thoroughfare to the market place ; the passers-by railing at Jesus from the highway, a few paces from Golgotha ; and the jeering priests and scribes and elders, not mingling with the rabble outside the wall for fear of defilement (St. John xviii, 28), but flinging their insults at Him from the wall across the road.

To this may be added a corroborative piece of evidence furnished by Eusebius in his "Theophany" (book iii, Sec. 61, English translation of Syriac version, p. 199) :—

"The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out ; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, 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."

It is plain from this that the Holy Sepulchre was outside the second wall in the time of Eusebius. Constantine levelled the slope of the garden round about the Sepulchre to enable him to enclose it within his Basilica.

Arculfus, Bishop of Gaul, visited Jerusalem about A.D. 680, and he gives a most interesting account of Golgotha and the Sepulchre. He describes the tomb as "hewn out of the rock, 7 feet in length, and rising [*i.e.*, the *loculus*] 3 palms above the floor." It was "broad enough to hold one man lying on his back." "Internally the stone of the rock remains in the original state, and still exhibits the mark of the workman's tools. Its colour is not uniform, but appears to be a mixture of white and red." "The exterior is covered with choice marble to the very roof, which is adorned with gold."

I may add that while St. Mark xvi, 5, confirms the genuineness of the traditional tomb, it is fatal to the spurious one, where the *loculus* is on the left of a person entering.

One more little item of evidence may be given before I conclude. On a piece of stone which Dr. Schick found among the *débris* which he unearthed near the Holy Sepulchre are the letters I M P . . . PART . . . This Dr. Schick considers, with great probability, to be part of the words Imperator Parthicus. Hadrian was one of the few Roman Emperors who bore that title, and the mutilated words are probably a portion of the dedicatory inscription on the temple which he built to Venus over the traditional site.

I have by no means exhausted the evidence; but I have exhausted my space, and I leave the reader to judge whether I have made good my thesis that this is not a case of strong evidence against weak, but of overwhelming evidence against none. Not a scrap of evidence which a lawyer or logician would look at is adducible in favour of the spurious site, and not a single archæological or historical authority can be cited in its favour. All the experts of the Palestine Exploration Fund—*e.g.*, Sir Charles Warren, Sir Charles Wilson, Dr. Chaplin, Colonel Conder, M. Clermont-Ganneau—think it undeserving of serious argument. I have heard from several of them on the subject.

I wrote to ask M. Clermont-Ganneau's opinion on the controversy as to the authenticity of the traditional site and its modern rival, telling him that I was going to write on the subject. I received a courteous reply, in which he said, *inter alia*, that in his view "two questions dominate the situation:—(1) The second wall ought to be east of the Sepulchre; (2) there were genuine Jewish sepulchres on the traditional site of an age not later than the time of Christ." On these two points M. Clermont-Ganneau is supported by all the experts. The existence of these ancient tombs is another piece of hardly disputable evidence that the traditional site is outside the second wall, since burials were not allowed within. I asked M. Clermont-Ganneau's permission to publish his letter, and, at the same time correcting an obvious slip of the pen—"Fouest" for "Fest." I received the following reply. In his previous letter, M. Clermont-Ganneau expressed his surprise at "the infatuation" which induced so many of the British public to believe in "Gordon's tomb," adding that Gordon was no authority on topography or archæology. The readers of the *Quarterly Statements* will not need to be told that M. Clermont-Ganneau is one of the first living authorities on the topography and archæology of Palestine. He is now Professor of Palestinian Archæology at the Sorbonne:—

"1, AVENUE DE L'ALMA,

"PARIS, 15 Juin, 1901.

"Cher Monsieur,—Comme vous l'avez justement supposé, c'est par suite d'un *lapsus calami* que j'ai mis 'ouest' pour 'est' dans la petite note en réponse à votre question. Bien qu'elle contienne en gros ma façon de voir sur la question, je ne crois pas qu'elle soit suffisante pour mériter l'honneur

d'être citée *textuellement* dans votre article. Vous pourriez tout simplement dire en deux mots que je me suis toujours rangé dans le camp de ceux auxquels vous apportez l'appui de vos conclusions personnelles. J'ai toujours été d'avis que le Hammâm-el-Butrak représente une partie du fossé qui courrait à l'ouest le second mur; c'est aussi, si je ne me trompe, l'opinion que Schick a formulée lui-même plus tard, en l'otayant d'importantes constatations faites sur le terrain même. J'espère que votre article paraîtra dans le prochain *Statement*, et je me propose de le lire avec tout l'intérêt qui mérite cette importante question.

"Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, l'assurance réitérée de mes meilleurs sentiments,

"CLERMONT-GANNEAU."

All who have really examined the evidence will share M. Clermont-Ganneau's wonder at "the infatuation" which has accepted, in lieu of the traditional site, a site for which no rational argument can be produced. And this fact has an aspect more serious than an archæological blunder. Here we find a number of excellent persons, all good and pious, and some of them able, intelligent, well-read, allowing their emotions or their prejudices to reject what must at least be considered as exceedingly strong evidence in favour of the traditional site, and believing in the authenticity of a site on behalf of which they genuinely believe that they possess irrefragable evidence, whereas, in matter of fact, they possess none. This is a serious injury to the cause of our holy religion. There are those who will say—who, in fact, have said—"Behold an illustration of the evidence on which the Resurrection of Christ was believed under the influence of unreasoning and emotional enthusiasm!" I implore, therefore, those who have encouraged and still support this extraordinary illusion, to examine the facts in the dry light of reason and evidence before they proceed further. I learn, to my amazement, that they have already given £2,000 for a plot of ground which is intrinsically not worth £20, and that they are now asking for £3,000 more to keep this "site" in order and give a salary of £70 a year to a caretaker! If this is persevered in one thing is inevitable. The believers in "Gordon's tomb" will never again be able to accuse the Roman Church of "pious frauds." For neither Lourdes, nor La Salette, nor the Holy House of Loretto rests on a more complete absence of evidence for and a more complete mass of evidence against it than does the mound beyond Jeremiah's Grotto which is pointed out by credulous enthusiasts as the site of the Crucifixion and Resurrection.

One more illustration of the carelessness with which the supporters of the spurious site have jumped to their conclusion must be noted here, because I have only just received authentic confirmation of my own recollection. Mr. Price Hughes says, in his "Careful Article," that "the trough or groove in which the circular stone [that closed the tomb] revolved has been laid bare. That rolling stone was at least 5 feet in diameter." I felt convinced on reading this that Mr. Price Hughes had made a mistake. But wishing to be quite sure, I wrote to Jerusalem

to Dr. Schick for information. I have just received his answer, in which he says:—"It was not with a round or millstone-like stone, but with a regular door, with lock and hinges, that this tomb was closed, as can be clearly seen." The "trough or groove" that Mr. Price Hughes has mistaken for the receptacle of a circular stone door is, in fact, one of the grooves in which the slabs were fixed for the receptacle of other bodies. The absence of these slabs is Mr. Hughes's proof (following Mr. Haskett Smith) that the tomb was never finished. But the slabs were *in situ*, and the tomb was full of bones and mould when it was first inspected by Dr. Schick, showing not only that the tomb was finished, but that it was full of human remains. As the tomb stands, it is not Jewish at all, but indubitably Christian, and long subsequent to the time of Christ.

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### ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By REV. FRANCIS GELL, M.A., Rector of Ripple, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester.

WE are witnessing a recrudescence of the old controversy as to the real site of Golgotha, and we shall, perhaps, be told that it is a sign of the decay of faith. It has been remarked that, as true faith in the Divine person of the Lord Jesus ebbed and flowed, the ebb has always been marked by an almost feverish desire to find, what will probably never be found in our time, the exact spot where the greatest crime man ever committed was perpetrated, and the greatest deliverance man ever experienced was accomplished.

Of late years the saintly eminence of Gordon, backed by the topical knowledge of Conder, has given currency to a theory which has a certain sort of plausibility. On the other hand, the revived ecclesiasticism of the day has contended against it with some ingenuity, and polished up the old arguments for the traditional site, which has at least the advantage of ancient prescription in its favour, if it has nothing else.

Otto Thenius, in 1849, was, I believe, the first to suggest that the striking mound just outside the Damascus Gate was the true place of the Crucifixion; and Gordon, holiest of soldiers, who was, unfortunately, neither an Orientalist nor a topographer, adopted this theory. Like the sweet singer who composed those tripping verses, sung by every English child the world over, "There is a green hill far away, outside a city wall," he fell into the venerable blunder of supposing that Calvary was a hill; and the children who sang that simple ditty grew up to believe that it must be a hill just outside the existing city wall; and have thus been prepared to accept with acclamation from a Christian hero and a diligent and learned explorer, what I venture to call the Gordon myth.