

## GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

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## I. GOLGOTHA AND THE CRUCIFIXION.

CHRIST, according to St. Matthew, was led out for crucifixion to "a place called Golgotha, that is to say, the place of a skull"<sup>1</sup>; 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."<sup>2</sup>

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? Were Christ and the two thieves crucified at Golgotha intentionally or by chance? Can the true position of Golgotha be determined? The answers to these questions have been many and various, but none of them have been so decisive as to command general acceptance. In the following attempt to solve the problems, an effort will be made to lay before the reader a clear statement of the material available for their solution, and of the arguments for and against the more important theories that have been based upon the information at our disposal.

*The Name.*—Golgotha is the Greek transliteration (the second *l* being dropped out) of the Aramaic *Gulgūtha* which corresponds to the Hebrew *Gulgōleth*. 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 Christian writers. In considering the latter it is necessary to bear in mind the relative opportunities possessed by Greek and Latin writers for acquiring local information. Some of the Greek writers were born in

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the Bible are, unless otherwise stated, from the Revised Version.

<sup>2</sup> *Εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃς ἐστὶ λεγόμενος κρανίου τόπος* (Matt. xxvii, 33). *ἐπὶ Γολγοθᾶ τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον, 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).

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 lived 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 years<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 233–253), was a personal friend of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and a sound Hebrew scholar. Origen states (1)<sup>2</sup> that there was a Hebrew tradition to the effect that Adam was buried at the Place of a Skull. Athanasius (296–373) says (2) 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.” Epiphanius (312–403), who was of Hebrew origin, writes (3) that “Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified at Golgotha, in no other place than that in which Adam lay buried.” Basil of Cæsarea (329–379), giving the Adam legend in a fuller form, states (4) that it was “a prevalent belief preserved in the Church by an unwritten tradition,”<sup>3</sup> that Adam was buried at the Place of a Skull, where Christ was crucified. Chrysostom (347–407) connects (5) Adam’s death and burial with the Place of a Skull, and so do Nonnus Panopolitanus (6) (*circ.* 385–440), and Basil of Seleucia (7) (Bishop 448),<sup>4</sup> who calls it a tradition of the Jews. The tradition is not mentioned by Eusebius (260–339), by Cyril of Jerusalem (*circ.* 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 (8)

<sup>1</sup> Origen had previously visited Palestine in 215 and *circ.* 226.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers refer to the extracts in the appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Theophylact, Bishop of Bulgaria, *circ.* 1070, describes the belief as having come down “from the Holy Fathers” (in “Marc.” xv, Migne, “Pat. Gr.,” cxxiii, col. 668), and as “an ecclesiastical tradition” (in “Joan.” xix, Migne, cxxiv, col. 273).

<sup>4</sup> See also Anastasius Sinaita (*d.* 599); in “Hexameron,” *lib.* vii; preserved in Latin only (Migne, “Pat. Gr.,” lxxxix, cols. 943–945).

(155-230), and appended to his genuine works; and in a letter (9) from Cyprian (Bishop 248) to Pope Cornelius, which is not accepted as genuine by Migne. Ambrose (*circa* 340-397) writes (10):—"There (at Golgotha) was the sepulchre of Adam," and ascribes (10*a*) a Hebrew origin to the tradition. Jerome (346-420) gives the legend without comment in the letter (11) of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, but elsewhere he calls it (11*a*) a "stage miracle," and proposes (11*b*) a different explanation of the word Golgotha. There is a notice of it in the (spurious) sixth (12) sermon of Augustine (354-430), but none in the history of Rufinus (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 Syrian Bishop, Moses Bar Cepha (13) (tenth century), and of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Saïd ibn Batrak, or Eutychius (14) (876-939). It appears in its most complete form in the Ethiopic "Book of Adam,"<sup>1</sup> which bears evident traces of having reached Abyssinia *via* 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"<sup>2</sup>; Didymus Alexandrinus (309-394), "the centre of the universe"<sup>3</sup>; Victorinus of Poitiers, "the middle of the whole earth" (9*a*); Sophronius (*circa* 564-637), "the navel of the earth"<sup>4</sup>; and Andreas Cretensis (Archbishop of Crete 675), "the middle of the earth."<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> A German translation was published in 1853 by Dillmann ("Jahrbücher der Biblischenwissenschaft," von H. Ewald, vol. v; Göttingen, 1853), and an English one, "The Book of Adam and Eve," by Malan, in 1882.

<sup>2</sup> "Catech.," xiii, 28; Migne, "Pat. Gr.," xxxiii, col. 805.

<sup>3</sup> "De Trinitate," *lib.* 1; Migne, "Pat. Gr.," xxxix, cols. 323-326.

<sup>4</sup> "Anacreontica," xx, line 29; Migne, "Pat. Gr.," lxxxvii, col. 3,320. Orat. v, "De Festo S. Crucis," *ib.*, col. 3,313.

<sup>5</sup> "In Exalt. S. Crucis II" (Orat. xi); Migne, "Pat. Gr.," xciii, col. 1,044. See also Jerome, in Ezek. v, 5; Migne, "Pat. Lat.," xxv, col. 52; Hilarius, in "Matt.," xxxiii; Migne, "Pat. Lat.," ix, cols. 1,073-1,074.

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 mentioned in the Talmud.<sup>1</sup> Adam, however, is directly connected with Jerusalem by the celebrated Jewish Rabbi Moses ben Maimon or Maimonides (1131-1204), who states (15) 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" (vol. i, p. 180, *s.v.* Adam), "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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> The belief that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth is of ancient date, and appears to have been derived from Ezekiel v, 5<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Apostolic Constitutions (vi, 16) mention an apocryphal 'Αδάμ; and Epiphanius ("Adv. Hæer.," xxvi, 8) notices a Gnostic work, "The Revelations of Adam." For an account of the lost legendary works of Jewish literature, and of the Christian books of Adam, see Schürer's "History of the Jewish People," Div. II, vol. iii, pp. 146-148, of English translation, in Clarke's Foreign Theological Library. See also arts. "Books of Adam," in Smith and Wace's "Dicty. of Christian Biog.," and Hastings' "Dicty. of the Bible."

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix (11b and note).

<sup>3</sup> "Some assert that Adam was buried in two places, first at Kirjath Arba and then in Mount Calvary"; Johannis Nicolai, "De Sepulchris Hebraeorum," p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> "This Jerusalem: I have set her in the midst of the nations, and

(cf. xxxviii, 12, and Ps. lxxiv, 12). Thus Josephus says ("B.J." iii, 3, § 5): "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"<sup>1</sup>; and the Rabbis represent the "stone of foundation," or *aven sheteyah*, in the Temple as the centre or nucleus from which the world was founded.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> there was a tradition current amongst the Christians of Palestine that Adam had been buried at Golgotha, the centre of the earth.<sup>4</sup> To this tradition a Hebrew origin was ascribed, 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.<sup>5</sup> 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 foolish the Adam tradition<sup>6</sup> 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 countries are round about her," "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). "Yet God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth" (Ps. lxxiv, 12).

<sup>1</sup> See also Aristeas, *lib. de LXX Interpretibus*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Chaplin in *Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> After the building of the churches most of the Hebrew traditions attached to Mount Moriah were transferred to the "New Jerusalem"; that relating to Adam stands apart from the others.

<sup>4</sup> May there not, perhaps, be an allusion to this tradition by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv, 22, 45?

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

writers of the first six centuries. Cyril of Jerusalem, who says (16) that Golgotha was so named because Christ, the Head of the Church, suffered there, and Jerome, whose views are discussed below,<sup>1</sup> are the only writers of importance who explain the word without connecting it with the tradition.

(*To be continued.*)

## APPENDIX.

### EXTRACTS FROM EARLY GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.<sup>2</sup>

(1) ORIGEN, *in Matt.*—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,<sup>3</sup> "Pat. Gr.," 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, ὃν 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

<sup>1</sup> In (2), and see Appendix 11b.

<sup>2</sup> The translations, except where otherwise stated, are by Mr. Aubrey Stewart, M.A.

<sup>3</sup> The references to Migne are for those who wish to consult the original texts.

Christ shall give thee light"; and, again, "Rise, come 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, "Pat. Gr.," xxviii, col. 208).

(3) EPIPHANIUS, *Adversus Haereses* (lib. 1, tom. iii, xlvi, 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 watchtower, for it does not even rise above the places round about it (*ὄθεν, εἰκότως τὸ ἐπώνυμον ὁ τόπος ἔσχε, κρανίου ἐρμηνεύμενος τόπος, ἧς ὀνομασίας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ τόπου ἐμφερείαν τινα οὐχ ὑποδείκνυσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τινὶ κείται, ἵνα κρανίου ταῦτο ἐρμηνεύηται, ὡς ἐπὶ σώματος κεφαλῇ τόπος λέγεται, οὔτε σκοπιᾶς· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἐν ὑψηλῇ κείται 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, "Pat. Gr.," xli, col. 844).

(4) BASIL (of Cæsarea), *Com. in Is.*, 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 ὀνόμασαν*). 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, "Pat. Gr.," xxx, col. 348).

(5) CHRYSOSTOM, in *Joan.*, 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, "Pat. Gr.," lix, col. 459 ; Pusey, "Library of the Fathers," Chrysostom, ii, 756).

(6) NONNUS PANOPOLITANUS, *Paraphrasis in Joan.* 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, "Pat. Gr.," xliii, col. 901).

(7) BASIL (of Seleucia), *Oratio* 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, "Pat. Gr.," 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  
Commingled, by that saving flood might rise.

(Appendix I to the genuine works of Tertullian. Migne, "Pat. Lat.," ii, col. 1,067.)

(9) 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. Carthaginensis et Mart. Opera, ed. Baluzius, p. 133).



(9a) *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) 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, "Pat. Lat.," xvi, col. 1,243; Pusey, "Library of the Fathers," Epistles of St. Ambrose).

(10a) *Expositio Evang. sec. Luc., 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, "Pat. Lat.," xv, col. 1,832, § 114).

(11) JEROME, *Ep. Paulae 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, "Pat. Lat.," xxii, col. 485).

(11a) *Com. in Ephes.* v, 14.—I remember to have heard some one 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, this prophecy was fulfilled which saith, 'Arise Adam, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead'" (Migne, "Pat. Lat.," xxvi, col. 526).

(11b) *Com. in Matt.* xxvii, 33.—I have heard some one 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 any one 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)<sup>1</sup> the son of Nun, that Adam was buried at Hebron, which is Arba (Migne, "Pat. Lat.," xxv, col. 209).

(11c) *Onomasticon*, s.v. *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, xxiii, col. 862).—[C. W. W.]

(12) AUGUSTINE, tom. v, *Sermones Suppositivi*, Sermo vi (lxxi).—§ 5. Hear also another mystery. St. Jerome, the Elder of the Church, has recorded (in "Marc.," 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, "Pat. Lat.," 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

<sup>1</sup> This well-known error of Jerome's, which also occurs in the "Onomasticon," s.v. *Arboc*, is due to a misreading of the Hebrew text of Josh. xiv, 15. The Vulgate has "Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est," where the Revised Version reads, "which Arba was the greatest man among the Anakim."

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, "Pat. Gr.," cxi, cols. 497, 498).—[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-Kanáz*: 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-Kanáz*. . . .

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-Jalalah* (Migne, "Pat. Gr.," 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.)—[C. W. W.]

(16) CYRIL (of Jerusalem), *Cat.*, 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, "Pat. Gr.," xxiii, cols. 800, 801; Pusey, "Library of the Fathers," Cyril's Catechetical Lectures.)

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#### REMARKS ON THE JULY, 1901, "QUARTERLY STATEMENT."

P. 275.—The journey of my learned countryman, Professor Felix Bovet, to the Holy Land did not take place in 1875, but in 1858. The first edition of the "Voyage en Terre-Sainte" was published in 1861. Canon MacColl's mistake is easily explained by the fact that he has used the seventh edition, 1876. It must be acknowledged that the beginning of the narrative is rather misleading, but see p. 27 of the seventh edition. I do not think that a careful perusal of Professor Bovet's deservedly popular book would strengthen the assertion that this traveller "went to Jerusalem . . . on purpose to investigate the question on the spot, having previously compared