

He was humble, kind, sympathising, and always ready to give any information he possessed. I have worked with him for nearly sixteen years, and feel his death as a personal loss. Mr. Macalister and myself attended his funeral, and I asked the Rev. J. Hanauer, who took part in the burial service, to mention how deeply sorry the Committee of the P. E. Fund would be to hear of his death, and to express their warm appreciation of all he had done for them, and the obligations they were under for all his valuable services."

C. W. W.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Sir C. W. WILSON.

(Continued from p. 77.)

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

In the works of Greek authors there is no indication of any belief or tradition that Golgotha was a public place of execution. The idea appears to have originated with Jerome, who writes:—"Outside the city and without the gate there are places wherein the heads of condemned criminals are cut off, and which have obtained the name of Calvary—that is, of the beheaded. . . . From this it is evident that Calvary does not mean the sepulchre of the first man, but the place of the beheaded"² (in *Matt.* xxvii, 33; *Q.S.*, 1902, pp. 74, 11b). Jerome's view was adopted by the Venerable Bede (17) (A.D. 730) and other Latin writers. The

¹ According to *Tal. Jer.*, *San.* vi, 9, 10 (written about A.D. 150), the Sanhedrin possessed two public burial-places—one for those decapitated or strangled, the other for those stoned or burned. When the flesh had disappeared, the bones were removed to the family tomb. (French translation by M. Schwab, Paris, 1888.)

² See, however, p. 74 (11), where Jerome, apparently, adopts the Adam legend. The quaint idea of Theodosius (*circa* 530), that Calvary was so called because men had their heads shaved there (*Illic decalvabantur homines*), need only be mentioned ("De Terra Sancta," ii).

fuller explanation of the word is given by Nicolaus de Lyra,—“because that place was full of the heads of the dead who had been decapitated there, since malefactors were punished at the spot”;¹ and by Erasmus,—“because they cast there the heads of those who were executed.”² In the same sense Jeremy Taylor (1613–67) writes, “the charnel house of the city, and the place of execution”;³ and Fuller, “because men’s bones were scattered thereabouts”⁴ (but *see* p. 146). Grotius and Vossius,⁵ on the other hand, consider that the spot was not called Golgotha because skulls were left lying about, since that was contrary to Roman and Jewish custom, but from the fact that it was the public place of execution: this was also the opinion of Luther.

In more recent times the explanation has been adopted, either fully or partially, sometimes as an alternative, by several writers. Thus Plessing remarks,⁶ “By this name (Golgotha) the Evangelists mean the place of execution at Jerusalem”; and Sepp⁷ holds a similar view. Langlois considers⁸ that Golgotha was “the place where criminals were crucified,” or “the great Jewish cemetery of Jerusalem”; and Warren suggests⁹ that “it may have been the place of public execution, where bodies were allowed to be devoured by birds and beasts, &c. (Gen. xl, 19; 2 Kings ix, 35; Herod. iii, 12) and thus have acquired this name.”

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

¹ In Matt. xxvii, 33. Quoted by Bynæus, “De morte Jesu Christi,” vol. iii, p. 262 (Amst. 1698).

² *Ibid.*

³ “Life of Christ,” xv, § 30; *see* Heber’s edition of the Works of J.T., iii, 260, *cf.* p. 374, “a hill of death and dead bones, polluted and impure.”

⁴ “Pisgah-Sight of Palestine,” p. 344 (Lond. 1650).

⁵ *See* Bynæus, *l.c.*

⁶ “Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab” (Halle, 1789).

⁷ “Golgotha selbst heisst das Hochgericht,” “Jerusalem und das Heilige Land,” i, 428 (1873). *See also* Mislin, “Les Saints-Lieux,” ii, 25 (Paris, 1851).

⁸ “Un chapitre inédit de la question des Lieux-Saints” (Paris, 1861).

⁹ As an alternative view, Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible, art. “Golgotha.”

¹⁰ For instance, the Mamertines had such a place on the Pompeian Way outside their city (Messina), and the Romans one for the crucifixion of slaves and malefactors of the lowest class, about 2½ Roman miles from the Esquiline Gate (Tacitus, “Ann,” xv, 60).

(*corvus*) in Thessaly;¹ that there must have been such a place at Jerusalem; and that its name was Golgotha.

The objections to the explanation are:—That as the singular, not the plural, is always used in the Bible narrative—"the place of a skull" (*κρανίου τόπος*), not "the place of skulls" (*κρανίων τόπος*), or simply, as in Luke, "the skull" (*τό κρανίου*)—the name could not have referred to a collection of skulls; that decapitation, though it was a Roman form of punishment, and may have prevailed amongst the Jews under Roman rule, was not a common Jewish custom, and that the name, which apparently existed before the Roman occupation of Palestine, could not have been derived from the skulls of decapitated persons; that since, in accordance with Jewish law (Deut. xxi, 23), the Jews buried those who had been put to death on the evening of the day of their execution, and crucified Jewish criminals were allowed burial under the Romans² (Matt. xxvii, 58; John xix, 38), the unburied dead or their skulls could not have been lying about; that a fixed public place of execution, according to Western ideas, is unknown in the East, and that if such a place existed at Jerusalem, and was known as Golgotha, the name would probably have been attached to places of a similar nature in other parts of Palestine—there is, however, no known instance of such use of the name;³ that, if the words in John xix, 41, Matt. xxvii, 60,⁴ are to be taken literally, the explanation involves the almost inconceivable theory that the garden of Joseph of Arimathea was the public place of execution or immediately adjoined it, and that Joseph deliberately made a new tomb for himself at, or very near, a spot which every Jew must have regarded with abhorrence as unclean;⁵ that, philologically, the view that Golgotha means place of execution is inadmissible.

¹ Sestertium, from *semis tertius*, that is, two and a half; *κόραξ*, *corvus*, raven or crow, a term probably borrowed from the unburied bodies on which the birds fed.

² This was apparently omitted in exceptional circumstances (Josephus, "B. J.," iv, 5, § 2).

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

⁴ "Now in the place (*ἐν τῷ τόπῳ*) where he was crucified was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb"; and Matthew says that Joseph laid the body "in his own new tomb."

⁵ It is, on the other hand, quite conceivable that Joseph may have owned

The question which the explanation incidentally raises with regard to the existence or non-existence of a public place of execution at Jerusalem is discussed in Appendix II. It will be sufficient to say here that in late Jewish times, Maccabæan, and post-Maccabæan, the Place of Stoning, or Beth ha-Sekelah, may possibly have been a fixed spot; and that, if Stephen suffered martyrdom at the Place of Stoning, that spot is placed by a tradition, at least as old as the fifth century, outside the Damascus Gate. There is, however, no evidence of any kind to show that the Beth ha-Sekelah was called Golgotha,¹ or that it was the place at which the Romans executed criminals either by crucifixion or by decapitation. A consideration of Roman custom leads to the belief that crucifixion at a Jewish place of execution, if there were one, was a possible but not a probable occurrence. Authorities who accept the view that Golgotha was a public place of execution are not always agreed with regard to its identity with the Jewish "Place of Stoning." For instance, Hildebrand, regarding the two places as identical, locates the scene of Stephen's martyrdom at "the place of a skull."² Conder believes that Christ was crucified at the Beth ha-Sekelah.³ Warren, on the other hand, writes:⁴ "It (Golgotha) was probably distinct from the place of stoning, because at this time the Jewish Sanhedrin, though it could condemn, could not put to death without the intervention of the Roman Governor."

3. *Because Golgotha, in some fashion or other, resembled a human skull.* This is the explanation which finds most favour at the present day; but there are differences of opinion with regard to the nature of the resemblance. A large majority of writers consider Golgotha to have been either a rounded knoll, or underfeature, of bare rock, or a hillock with skull-shaped top; and associate with it the idea of height, prominence, and wide visibility. Thus Jeremy Taylor writes:⁵ "Calvary, a place difficult in the ascent, eminent and apt for the publication of shame, a hill of the ground in which the supposed tomb of Adam was situated, and have selected a place in it for his own sepulchre.

¹ There is no apparent connection between "the place of a skull" or "the skull," and the infliction of the death penalty by stoning.

² *Qui extra urbem ductus ad calvarie locum.*" Joachimus Hildebrandus, "De Precibus veterum Christianorum," p. 17, § 10, (1667).

³ "Handbook to the Bible," 4th ed., 1887, pp. 355, 356.

⁴ Hastings' D.B., art. "Golgotha."

⁵ *l.c.*, iii, p. 374, § 3.

death"; Fuller, that it was so called "Either from the fashion thereof, because that hill was rounded up in the form of a man's head,"¹ or (*see* p. 143); and Warren, "From the appearance of the place itself, from its round and skull-like contour, the Hebrew word Golgotha being applied to the skull from its rounded form"² (but *see* p. 143). Fisher Howe considers³ that Golgotha was the crown of an "isolated skull-shaped hill," with "a skull-like front or face," and "eminently conspicuous"⁴; Bovet says that it was "A small knoll, or summit, like those seen in large numbers to the north of Jerusalem. . . . It was no doubt a bare rock, such as those knolls usually are."⁵ Renan writes that Golgotha "Corresponds, it seems, to our word *chaumont*, and probably designated a knoll of bare rock (*tertre dénudé*) having the form of a bald head";⁶ Thenius, that "It may have had its name from its likeness to a skull";⁷ and he cites as analogies the tumuli in Thessaly called *Cynocephalæ* (Liv. xxxiii, 7), the hill called Εὐρύηλος, *latus clavus*, near Syracuse (Thucyd., vii, 2; Liv. xxv, 25), and the Ochsenkopf, a peak of the Fichtelgebirge. A similar view is taken by Meyer, who compares the German use of the words *kopf*, *scheitel*, and *stirn*.⁸ Guthe maintains that the name was derived from a knoll, or, better still, an under-feature with a projecting cliff of rounded form, which reminded those who looked at it of a skull. His view is that the natural feature was the origin of the place-name; and that Jewish fancy declared the grotesque skull to be that of Adam, and placed the tomb of the first man beneath it.⁹ General Gordon considered the resemblance to a skull to consist in the form of a contour of the ground, as represented on the Ordnance Survey Plan of Jerusalem.¹⁰

¹ *L.c.*, p. 344.

² *L.c.*, Art. "Golgotha."

³ "The True Site of Calvary" (New York, 1871).

⁴ *See* the Speaker's Com. on the Bible, "Matt.,"—"A mound sloping on all sides, sufficiently high to be seen from some distance."

⁵ *L.c.*, p. 196.

⁶ "Vie de Jésus," 16th ed., p. 429.

⁷ "Golgotha," &c., in "Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie," vol. xii, Part 4, pp. 1-34 (1842).

⁸ "Com. on Matt.," 486 *f.* *See* also Brandt, "Die Evangelische Geschichte," p. 168; and Arts. Golgatha in Schenkel, "Bibel Lexikon," and Riehm, "Handwörterbuch des bib. Altertums."

⁹ Art. "Grab, das heilige," in Hauck, "Realencyklopädie für prot. Theol.," 3rd ed. (1899).

¹⁰ On the $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale plan; *see* Q.S., 1885, p. 78; 1901, p. 403.

The explanation is considered unsatisfactory by Alford,¹ Mommert,² and others.

There is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a knoll, a hillock, or a hill. The narrative does indeed imply that the crucifixion was visible to many spectators; but this would have been the case if the crosses had been erected in one of the valleys that enclose or intersect the Jerusalem plateau, and the lookers-on had stood on its slopes. The features of the ground near the city are, in fact, such that elevation is not necessary for visibility.³

No early Greek or Latin writer suggests resemblance to a skull as an explanation of the place-name; and, with the exception of Cyril of Jerusalem, who, lecturing in the immediate vicinity of the Golgotha of Constantine's Church, alludes to it as "this holy place which is raised above all others," and "this holy Golgotha rising on high, and showing itself to this day;"⁴ no Greek writer connects Golgotha with the idea of height or altitude. Still, both ideas must have been current in the fourth century, for Epiphanius mentions them, simply to condemn them: "There is nothing to be seen in the place resembling this name; for it is not situated upon a height that it should be called [the place] of a skull, answering to the place of the head in the human body; neither has it the shape of a lofty watch-tower, for it does not even rise above the places round about it" (*Q.S.*, 1902, p. 72 (3)).

The skull-like appearance and elevation of Golgotha appear to have been fancies introduced from the West. No Greek writers use the expression "mount." Without exception they call⁵ the spot "Golgotha," "the place Golgotha," "the holy place Golgotha," "the skull," "the place of a skull," or "of the skull," &c. The first, so far as is known, to use any expression connecting Golgotha with altitude is the Bordeaux Pilgrim (*circa* 333 A.D.), who visited Jerusalem whilst the churches of Constantine were being built, and calls the spot

¹ "Greek Testament," on Matt. xxvii, 33.

² "Golgotha und das heilige Grab in Jerusalem" (Leipzig, 1900).

³ See the extract from Ambrose (*Q.S.*, 1902, p. 74, 10a), "The place of the cross was either in the midst, that it might be seen of all," &c.

⁴ "Cat.," x, 19; xiii, 39. The lectures were delivered in the Basilica of Constantine, called by St. Silvia the "Great Church in Golgotha," to distinguish it from the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection.

⁵ Γολγοθά; ὁ τοῦ Γολγοθά τόπος; ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθά; κρανίον; κρανίου τόπος; ὁ τόπος τοῦ κρανίου; τοῦ κρανίου χώρος; &c.

“little Mount Golgotha”¹ (*Monticulus Golgotha*). At first the expression does not seem to have found favour with Latin writers, for Jerome uses the terms “the skull” (*Calvaria*), “the place of a skull” (*locus Calvariae*), and “the rock of the cross”² (*crucis rupes*); Rufinus (345–410) mentions “the rock of Golgotha” (*Golgothana rupes*);³ see also Eucherius⁴ (*circa* 440). The “mount” is unknown to Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine; but it appears in the sixth century in the “mountain of the skull” (*Mons Calvariae*, or “Mount Calvary”) of the Breviarium⁵ (*circa* 530); and in Theodosius.⁶ Bede and Willibald, in the eighth century, revert to the earlier form, but in the ninth century “Mount Calvary” reappears in the pilgrimage of Bernard (870 A.D.).⁷ In later times the expression is very frequently used by Latin authors, from whose writings it has passed into the languages of the West. It would almost appear that the Western type of mind required a material elevation of Golgotha to complete the spiritual idea of looking up to the Redeemer upon the Cross, and to ensure wide visibility. At any rate the idea of height in connection with the Crucifixion has been so persistent in the Western mind that in Latin translations from the Greek, *κρανίου τόπος*, “the place of a skull” is often rendered *Mons Calvariae*, Mount Calvary⁸; and in the Calvaries of Roman Catholic countries the cross stands on an eminence reached by a *Via Dolorosa* marked by the stations of the Cross. So, too, in our own country, the words of a popular hymn—

“There is a green hill far away, outside a city wall,”

teach every child to believe that Christ suffered on the top of a hill.

¹ “Itin.,” see “P.P.T.S.,” vol. i, “The little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified.”

² “Ep. ad Paulinum” (*circa* 395 A.D.), Migne, “Pat. Lat.,” xxii, col. 581. The expression “in Montem Calvariae” occurs in a collection of writings wrongly (?) attributed to Jerome (“In Marc.”), Migne, xxx, col. 565.

³ “Hist. Eccl.,” ix, 6. Juvencus uses the expression “the field named Golgotha” (“Ev. Hist.,” lib. iv, Migne, “Pat. Lat.,” xix, col. 334).

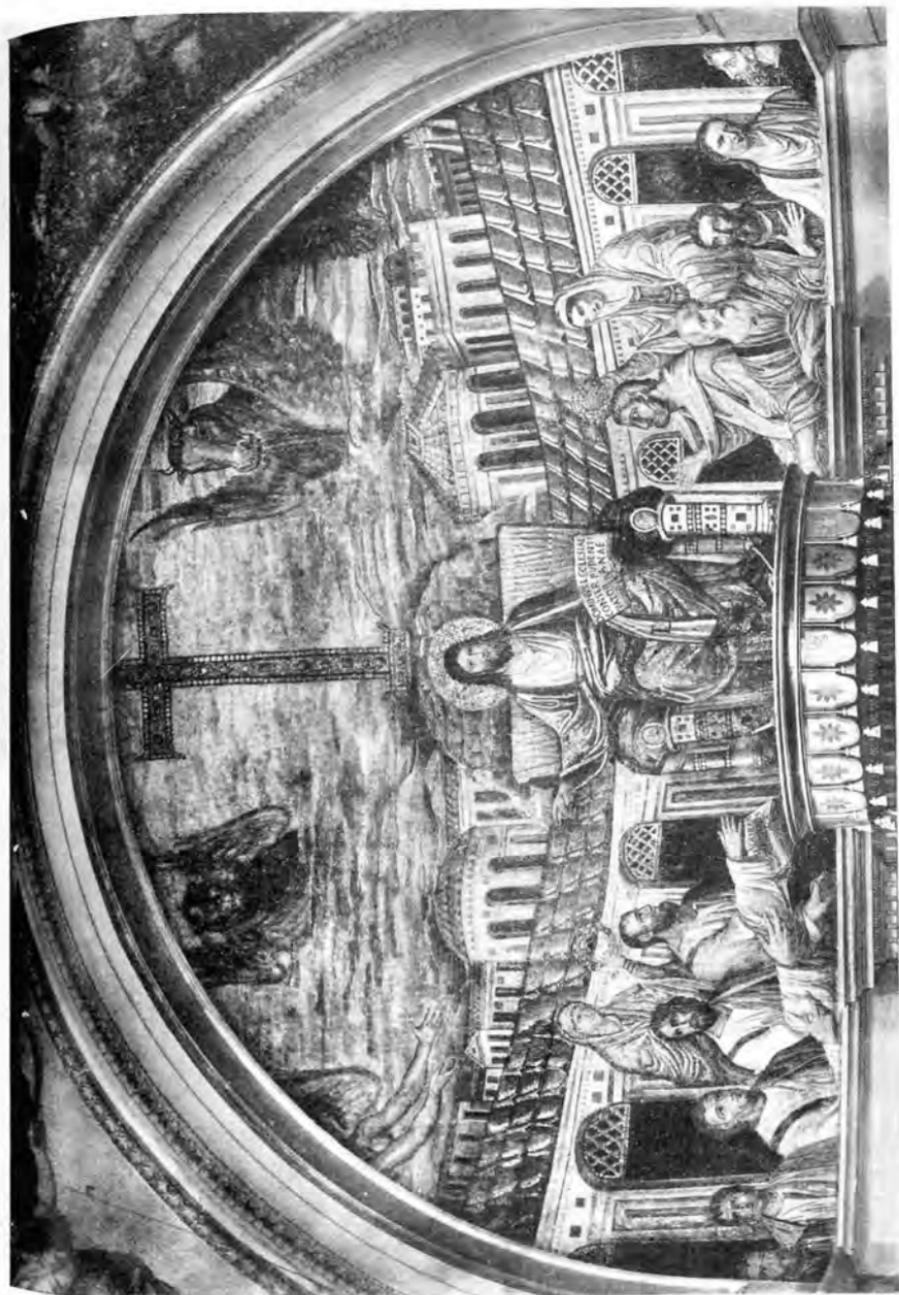
⁴ “Epit.,” § iv; “P.P.T.S.,” vol. ii.

⁵ “P.P.T.S.,” vol. ii.

⁶ “De situ Terræ Sanctæ,” *ib.*

⁷ “Itin.,” *ib.* vol. iii.

⁸ Also *locum sacri Montis Golgotha* for ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθᾶ. Even in the last English edition of “Sozomen’s Ecclesiastical History,” *κρανίου* is translated Mount Calvary (Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Wace and Schaff, vol. ii).



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

(Photo. by B. Anderson.)

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

On several tombstones of the sixth century, found by M. Clermont-Ganneau in Palestine, the cross stands upon a three-lobed or trefoil base, which, in ancient art, *e.g.*, Assyrian, is the symbol for a hill or mountain. M. Clermont-Ganneau, from whose "Archæological Researches" the illustration (p. 150)³ is taken, regards the symbol as evidence that popular belief in very early times began to regard Golgotha as an eminence—"Mount Calvary." The base seems, however, to be a conventional representation of "the rock of the cross," and its use possibly dates from the fifth century, when the attitude of the Church in Jerusalem towards "holy places," and symbolical representations in art was, to say the least, sympathetic. The symbol is so suggestive of a hill, and the upper lobe is so

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

² Many authorities believe that the Mount Calvary of the present day is an artificial construction, and some support is given to this view by the words of Gregory Nazianzen (as quoted by Quaresimus, ii, 446, *a*; *see* 18). My own examination of the spot has led me to believe that the "Mount" is natural rock, somewhat altered from its original form by the vicissitudes which it has undergone, and the various reconstructions of the church. The mosaic appears, at first sight, to confirm the idea of artificial construction; but the horizontal lines are probably intended to represent the thin beds of limestone.

³ "Archæological Researches," i, 337; ii, 407, 409, 410, 416, and the accompanying woodcuts.

skull-like in form, that the whole could not fail to strengthen the Western theory that Golgotha was a hill with a skull-shaped summit.

It has been urged, in support of the view that Golgotha derived its name from its skull-like appearance, that place-names of a similar nature occur in the Bible and Josephus, *e.g.*, the shoulder (*shēchéh*, Gen. xlvi, 22, *cf.* Josh. xv, 8, xviii, 16), the navel, apparently for a pass, in Judges ix, 37, and Gamala, from the hump of a camel, in Josephus. Place-names taken from fancied resemblance to parts of



TOMBSTONE FROM GAZA.

the human body are known in all languages, but there is no evidence that any physical feature was called "the skull"¹ or "the place of a skull," from its likeness to a human skull, in Hebrew or in any of the cognate languages. It may be added that the thin beds of hard siliceous chalk, or limestone, which form the upper surface of the

¹ El-Jumejmeh, "the little skulls," a small village on a hill-top in Northern Palestine, has been cited ("Encyc. Bib. Art. Golgotha") as an instance of a place-name analogous to Golgotha. The origin of the name is not known, but there is no resemblance between the hill and little skulls. Probably, as in the case of Ramath-lehi (Judges xv, 17), "the hill of the jaw-bone," the place-name is derived from some incident or legend connected with the spot.

Jerusalem plateau, do not weather into bare rocky knolls of skull-like form and appearance, such as are sometimes to be seen in places where the softer rock comes to the surface. On the small plateau the knolls only assume a rounded form when covered with soil or rubbish. If any resemblance to a skull existed at Golgotha it must have been as suggested by Guthe (*see* p. 146) to a profile.

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

APPENDIX I.

(17) VEN. BEDE, *in Matt.* xxvii.—*And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha.*—Now Golgotha is a Syrian word, and is, being interpreted, a place of a skull (*Calvaria*). This place is in Elia (Jerusalem), and was at that time without the city, on the northern side of Mount Sion, and was called the place of Calvary, not because of the baldness of the first man, whom some in error do vainly suppose to have been buried there, but because of the beheading of criminals and men condemned to die. For this reason the Lord was crucified there, in order that the standard of his martyrdom might be set up on the spot which heretofore had been the place of execution of the condemned (Migne, "Pat. Lat.," xcii, col. 123).

(18) According to QUARESMIUS (ii, 446*a*, ch. 38), "Gregory Nazianzen mentions this place, and has described its nature, for towards the beginning of his tragedy of 'Christus Patiens,' he says that it is rocky, and stands out above the paved floor:—

"When the impious crowd, dragging with it my King, had left the city of the Solymi, and had come to a lofty spot strewn with many rocks. . . ."

"And further on:—

"So when, standing on a spot raised on a mound of rocks, they had nailed the Lord of all upon the tall cross, &c."¹

¹ I have not been able to trace these extracts in Migne.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE EXISTENCE OR OTHERWISE OF A PUBLIC PLACE OF EXECUTION AT JERUSALEM.

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

The penalty of *decapitation*, or death by the sword, is not sanctioned directly by the Divine command. Its indirect sanction is deduced from a comparison of the words in Ex. xxi, 20, "he shall surely be punished," with those in Lev. xxvi, 25, "and I will bring a sword upon you that shall execute the vengeance of the covenant" (San. vii, 1). The instances of execution by sword or spear recorded in the Bible, are due either to Divine direction (Ex. xxxii, 27); to individual action, prompted by Divine impulse (Num. xxv, 7, 8; 1 Sam. xv, 33; 1 Kings, xix, 1); or to an order from the King or persons in authority (1 Sam. xxii, 18, 19; 2 Sam. i, 15, iv. 2; 1 Kings ii, 25, 34; 2 Kings x, 7, xxi, 4; Jer. xxvi, 23, Judg. ix, 5; 2 Kings xi, 16–20; 2 Ch. xxiii, 15; Matt. xiv. 10). None of these executions appear to have been carried out at a place specially selected.

Stoning was the primitive and popular form of execution, inflicted on criminals guilty of heinous crimes. Originally everyone took part in the execution as a patriotic act, which removed a criminal of the worst description from the community. Moses, by Divine command, introduced reforms which restrained the passions of the multitude by insisting that those who had testified against the condemned person should commence the stoning (Ex. xvii, 4, xix, 13; Lev. xxiv, 14–16; Deut. xvii, 2–7, xxi, 21, xxii, 21, 22; Josh. vii, 25; Luke xx, 6; Acts vii, 58, xiv, 5; cf. John viii, 7). The Talmudists completely altered the method of execution; they made it judicial, and threw the condemned person down from a height. He was only stoned if he did not succumb to the fall (San. vi, 5). The criminal was executed outside the camp or city (Lev. xxiv, 14; Josh. vii, 24–26; 1 Kings xxi, 13; Acts vii, 58), possibly near one of the gates (Deut. xvii, 5, xxii, 24); but, apparently, sometimes within the camp or city limits (Deut. xxii, 21; cf. John x, 31, where the Jews are said to have taken up stones to stone Jesus in Solomon's Porch). After the stoning the body was hung on a sort of gibbet until sunset, and then buried outside the city, heaps of stones being raised over it (Deut. xxi, 23; Josh. vii, 26, x, 26, 27).

The method of execution in later times is described in the Talmud. The sentence was carried out at some distance from the place where the Court sat (San. vi, 1). According to Maimonides,¹ if the trial took place outside the city, the place of execution was three Sabbath days' journey

¹ San. xii, 3, p. 96. Quoted by Hanauer in *Q.S.*, 1881, pp. 318, 319.

from it. The place of stoning, or Beth ha-Sekelah, was twice the height of a man. One of the witnesses threw the condemned person down from this elevation in such manner that he fell upon his back. If the fall did not kill him, another witness cast the first stone; and if this did not suffice the bystanders, or all Israel, stoned him till he died (San. vi, 5). In carrying out the sentence a natural feature, such as a low cliff, or rock-scarp, was not necessary, and is not mentioned, I believe, in any of the treatises of the Talmud. Possibly a stage or scaffold of wood,¹ which could be set up at any convenient spot, was used—the spot becoming for the time the Beth ha-Sekelah. The bodies of those stoned for blasphemy or idolatry were hung up after death, but were taken down when night commenced and buried without honour in a common burial-place which belonged to the Sanhedrin (San. vi, 6, 7, 9; Jos., “Ant.” iv, 8, § 6; cf. iv, 8, § 24, where the body of a rebellious child is to be exposed, not hung up).

There is nothing in the Bible or Josephus to suggest that condemned persons were stoned at a spot set apart for the purpose. Places of public execution, according to Western ideas, are not, and never have been, customary in the East.² The usual practice has been, and is, to execute important criminals at places where the greatest impression would be made on the people; and in the case of obscure criminals to allow the soldiers, or others in charge, to carry out the sentence where they pleased. It is, however, a possible inference from the fact that the Sanhedrin owned a burial-place for executed criminals (San. vi, 9), that the Beth ha-Sekelah was not far from the sepulchre. Assuming that this was the case, there is nothing in the Talmud to show the direction of the place of stoning, with regard to the city. A tradition, at least as old as the fifth century A.D., places the scene of Stephen’s martyrdom on the north side³ of the city, outside the Damascus Gate, and one local tradition now identifies the Beth ha-Sekelah with *el-Edhemîyeh* or *el-Heidemîyeh*,⁴

¹ Hanauer (*l.c.*) gives the height of the scaffold as 10 to 12 feet, on the authority of Rabinowicz; but I have not been able to find the statement in the original French, or to see a copy of the German translation referred to.

² Fallmerayer appears to go too far when he says that in Jerusalem and the whole East there never was, and is not now, a public place of execution according to Western ideas (“Denkschrift über Golgotha und das heilige Grab,” p. 671).

³ In the original Greek of the Latin version of the story of the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen, it is said that the martyr’s body lay for a night and a day “on the *exopyla* of the town on the side by which we go to the Kedar.” M. Clermont-Ganneau considers the *exopyla* to be the heaps of refuse outside the city, and “the Kedar” to be some unknown place near Jerusalem (“Recueil d’Arch. Orient.,” 1900, p. 66). A different view is taken by P. Lagrange in “Revue Biblique,” 1900, p. 142.

⁴ Abbot Daniel (1106–7 A.D.) describes (ix) this place as “a flat rocky mountain which split up at the time of Christ’s crucifixion; the place is called Gehenna.” Whether the name was originally *el-Heidemîyeh*, “the

now known as Jeremiah's Grotto. Another local tradition¹ places the spot to the west of the city, near the Convent of the Cross. How far these traditions are trustworthy it is impossible to say, but probably not much reliance can be placed on existing local traditions.²

Roman Capital Punishment.—The question whether the Romans had a public place of execution at Jerusalem, and, if so, whether it was identical with the Beth ha-Sekelah, is equally obscure. With regard to *decapitation*, Jerome writes (in Matt. xxvii, 33): "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" (*Q.S.*, 1902, p. 75, 11*b*); as if there were, in his day, several places of execution, each of which was called Calvary. This is no evidence against the view that, in the first century A.D., there was a fixed place of execution, but it is suggestive of Roman custom.

Crucifixion, in one form or another, was widely spread in the ancient world. From the Phœnicians it seems to have passed to the Greeks and Romans, and the latter introduced it into the Provinces for the punishment, at first, of slaves, highwaymen, rebels, &c. The Jews hung up, or "crucified," the bodies of criminals after death; but crucifixion does not appear to have been a Jewish form of punishment at any period.³ The Romans⁴ crucified criminals outside the city or camp. They usually selected for such executions the side of a frequented road or pathway, but they often carried them out in a conspicuous place like the Campus Martius, at a spot set apart for the purpose like the Sestertium (p. 143), or at the place where the crime was committed, and occasionally on a hill.⁵ At Jerusalem, Florus had Jews of equestrian rank crucified in his

rent," or *el-Edhemiyekeh*, as it is given by Mejr ed-din, is uncertain. The valley to the east is connected by Moslems with death and the last judgment (see "The Abbot Daniel," App. I, p. 90, "P.P.T.S.").

¹ Hanauer (*l.c.*).

² The tradition relating to Jeremiah's Grotto is current amongst the Spanish Jews, whose ancestors settled in the city in the fifteenth century.

³ The crucifixion of 800 Jews, within the walls of Jerusalem, by Alexander Jannæus (Jos., "B. J.," i, 4, § 6) seems to have been an exceptional act of barbarity. It has been suggested (Smith's "Dicty. of the Bible," Art. "Crucifixion") that in Num. xxv, 4, Deut. xxi, 22, Josh. viii, 29, and other passages in the Old Testament, "hanging" implies crucifixion; but this is very doubtful. It probably indicates the hanging, or exposure of the body after death, as a mark of ignominy. Such hanging was apparently not uncommon amongst the Egyptians (Gen. xl, 19), the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi, 12), and the Jews (2 Sam. iv, 12; xxi, 6, 9). Minute details with regard to the Jewish mode of hanging after death in later times are given in the Talmud (San.).

⁴ The authorities for the Roman custom with regard to crucifixion are given in Articles "Cross," "Crucifixion," and "Punishments," in Smith's "Dicty. of the Bible," "Dicty. of Greek and Roman Antiqs.," "Dicty. of Christian Antiqs.," Hastings' "Dicty. of the Bible," "The Encyc. Biblica."

⁵ The practice seems to have been similar to that which prevailed in this

presence whilst seated on the *bema* in front of Herod's palace (Jos., "B. J." ii, 14, § 9); and Varus seems to have crucified Jews at any convenient place ("Ant." xvii, 10, § 10). In ordinary cases the body was left upon the cross until it had perished through the action of rain or sun, or had been devoured by birds and beasts. Sepulture was usually forbidden, but in consequence of the Jewish law (Deut. xxi, 22, 23) an exception was made in favour of the Jews (Matt. xxvii, 58; John xix, 38; cf. Jos., "B. J." iv, 5, § 2).

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

OBSERVATIONS OF THE DEAD SEA LEVELS.

By Dr. E. W. GURNEY MASTERMAN.

FOR a year and a half observations have been made under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund to ascertain the seasonal and annual variations in the level of the Dead Sea. In *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 4, Mr. Macalister reports our visits to 'Ain el-Feshkhah and the selection of a suitable place for making these observations. Since that time I have made the periodical measurements of the changes of level, except once, when Mr. Hornstein, who has on several other occasions given me the benefit of his assistance, undertook the duty. Exact uniformity in the method of taking the measurements is absolutely necessary, as otherwise, at the site chosen there is room for a considerable range of error. On

country with regard to gibbeting, which like crucifixion was meant to terrify. In populous districts, and in large towns, the gallows were erected near a road, or in a public place, whilst in the more sparsely-peopled country districts they were set up on hills so as to be more visible.