

Moreover, trenching is not the whole work of the tell. There is a very large amount of extra-mural débris which must be searched for ancient rubbish heaps, and the cemetery which exists somewhere in the adjacent hills must be located and exhausted before our knowledge of ancient Gezer can be said to be complete.

The work has advanced continuously throughout the year, save for two and a half months lost during the cholera epidemic in the winter, with an average of 75 labourers. Obviously, unless the labourers can be added to in large numbers, the completion of the work before the expiry of the firman will be a sheer impossibility.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

24. *Mount Hermon and its God in an inedited Greek Inscription* (continued).—IV. Naturally, at the date to which the palæography of our inscription brings us down—perhaps the third century of our era—we are far from the remote times when the god in his high place¹ received the homage of the primitive population of that part of Syria. But neither the place nor the god have changed, and no less the ceremonies which constitute his cult. It is to be supposed that it is to some one or other of these rites that our inscription refers. It has the character of an imperative liturgical order. It is a command issued in the name of the god himself, and it seems to me that ἐντεῦθεν should be taken in its natural sense of starting from a place—"from here, hence"—a verb being understood. The stone, shaped like a rude stele, should mark the very point

¹ There can be no doubt that it is exactly upon this central summit of Hermon that the cult of which it was the object should be placed, and the new document now introduced into the question only corroborates this view. It is useful here to correct an erroneous idea formerly expressed by Robinson, and still current to-day, namely, that the various temples, whose ruins appear in the region around Mount Hermon, were orientated towards the great culminating and central sanctuary as a sort of sacred *Kibla*. Sir Charles Warren (*op. cit.*, p. 184, *et passim*) has shown that this is not so, and that all the temples were, as is usually the case, orientated towards the East.

indicated by the order where the ὀμνύοντες, "those who take the oath," had to perform a certain movement. If reference is made to the sanctuary in its actual state, with its oval *enceinte*, encircling the sacred ground in the midst of which stands the truncated cone, hollowed out, and marking the site of the Holy of Holies, with its little *sacellum*,¹ flanking the *enceinte* on the south, with the mysterious cavern on the north-east side, one can imagine a kind of solemn procession (πομπή),² which performed around the sacred place the ritual circumambulations which always appear to have played a considerable part in the various Semitic cults. The order and steps of these evolutions would be minutely regulated, as also their number, direction, and stations: our inscription, perhaps, marking the point of departure or of a halt followed by a resumption of the evolutions. I do not think one can attribute to the god's order a prohibitive sense, and regard ἐντεῖθεν as an interdiction: "Away from here!"—an elliptical expression—forbidding to the ὀμνύοντες access to the sanctuary.

It is difficult to determine what these ὀμνύοντες ("sworn" or "vowed") might have been. Were they the faithful, initiated ones who joined themselves by solemn vows to the divinity under circumstances of which we are ignorant? On the other hand, were they persons to whom was tendered the judicial oath in the sanctuary of the supreme god? In the latter case one is reminded of certain Biblical passages (1 Kings viii, 31; 2 Chron. vi, 22) where reference is made to an oath pronounced in the temple before the altar of Jehovah. These are, indeed, only conjectures, and others might be hazarded, but in view of our ignorance of the particular kind of oath of which the inscription speaks, it is more prudent to refrain. One cannot help asking, however, whether there may not be some connection, more or less intimate, between the oath, whatever it may have been, and the name of *Hermon* itself, which popular tradition, rightly or wrongly, associates with the root הָרַם, "devote, consecrate."³ From this point of view the

¹ The construction of this little edifice, to judge from the mouldings, does not appear to date back beyond the Roman period. It may, therefore, be almost contemporaneous with our inscription.

² The very arrangement of the places naturally suggests this idea (*cf.* Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, p. 293, &c.).

³ It corresponds thus to the Arabic *ḥarama*. Some moderns, however, have preferred to connect the name with the root *ḥarama*, comparing *ḥarm*, *ḥurm*, "mountain summit."

Baal of Hermon should partake somewhat of the character of a *Zeûs ôrkios* or *Jupiter Jurarius*.

V. Now, whether justified or not, this popular tradition existed in ancient times: Mount Hermon was the "mountain of oath." So we are told, with some extremely curious details, in the famous apocryphal "Book of Enoch."¹

As will presently be seen, this document and our inscription shed brilliant and unexpected light upon each other: the former refers to the celebrated episodes of the fallen angels whom the Bible calls "the sons of God"—the *bēnē Elohîm*.²

"And it came to pass when the sons of men were multiplied, that in these days there were born beautiful and fair damsels. And the angels, sons of heaven, saw them and desired them, and they said one to another, 'Come! let us choose women among the men and beget children.' And Semiazas, who was their chief, said unto them: 'I fear lest you be unwilling to carry the thing through (to the end), and then I alone shall remain blameworthy of a great fault.' They answered him together: 'Let us all take an oath and adjure one another by mutual anathemas³ not to desist from our resolve until we have accomplished it and brought the undertaking to a successful finish.' Then they all swore together and bound themselves by reciprocal anathemas⁴ [Now⁵ these (angels) were 200 in number which descended in the days of Jared upon the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called this mountain Hermon, because it was there they had sworn

¹ My citations are from the recent edition of the Greek and Ethiopic text by Flemming and Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig, 1901). The Greek text is naturally followed for choice; its lacunæ are supplemented by Syncellus, and the divergences of the Ethiopic version are noted where the occasion arises. [English readers may prefer the translation of the Book of Enoch by Professor R. H. Charles.]

² I do not stop to take up the question, so frequently discussed, of the close relation between Gen. vi, 1-4, and the narrative in Enoch. It is well known that the latter is referred to in the Epistle of Jude, verses 6, 14 *seq.*

³ Ὁμόσωμεν ὄρκῳ πάντες καὶ ἀναθεματίσωμεν πάντες ἀλλήλους.

⁴ Τότε ὤμοσαν πάντες ἑμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ . . . (lacuna).

⁵ Here the Greek text of the Akhmîn MS. presents a lacuna which is exactly completed by the literal text of Syncellus (ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι διακόσιοι οἱ καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰαρέδ εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦνιμου ὄρους· καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄρος Ἑρμῶν, καθότι ὤμοσαν καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ). The Ethiopic version has the passage also complete, but has disfigured it by a serious contradiction, taking the name of the patriarch Jared to be that of the summit of Mount Hermon: "And they descended upon *Ardîs*, which is the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because, &c."

and bound themselves by reciprocal anathemas.] And these are the names of their chiefs, &c.”

(Then follows the enumeration of the names of the ten chiefs commanding the 200 sinful angels, Semiazas at the head; their fornication with the women; the birth of the giants, the issue of these unions, veritable ogres devouring everything upon the earth—beast and man; instruction in different sciences and industries given to men by the fallen angels, each according to his speciality; the cry of humanity rising towards God, entreating Him to put an end to all these monstrosities; finally, the chastisement of the wicked angels and the announcement of the Deluge.)

This passage from the Book of Enoch was well known to St. Hilary and to St. Jerome¹ (or at least the author of the commentary attributed to this Father of the Church), who refer to it in their commentaries on Psalm cxxxii (Eng. cxxxiii), v. 3, where mention is made of the dew of Hermon descending upon Mount Zion.

VI. The characteristic trait of the narrative is the preliminary “conjuration” of the rebel angels on the summit of Hermon, which hints at the meaning of the name of the mountain itself. The most solemn form of oath was always strengthened by fearful invocations and anathemas, which fell upon the head of him who violated it. Such is probably the case here. It will be noticed that the Greek text uses the verb ὀμνῶμι several times. This is precisely the word in our inscription, and at first one is even tempted to ask whether the mysterious ὀμνῶντες, who are mentioned absolutely, may not designate the angels in question, and whether the inscription was not intended to commemorate an ancient tradition connected with the sanctuary, whilst, at the same time, marking the very place where the divine conjurators placed foot on earth, and whence (ἐντεῦθεν) they separated. But I do not think that such a view is right. The terms employed at the beginning of the inscription (“by the order of the God”) clearly show that it deals with a liturgical order regulating a certain movement of the devotees who

¹ *St. Hilary*: Hermon autem est mons in Phœnice, cujus interpretatio *anathema* est; quod enim nobiscum anathema nuncupatur, id hebraice *Hermon* dicitur. Fertur autem id, de quo etiam nescio cujus liber extat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de cœlo descenderunt, in hunc montem maxime excelsum convenerint. *St. Jerome*: Legimus in quodam libro apocrypho, eo tempore quo descendebant filii dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Hermon et ibi inisse pactum quo modo venirent ad filias hominum et sibi eas sociarent.

participated in some ceremony, the fundamental feature in which was the taking of an oath. I incline rather to the idea that the author of the Book of Enoch, or, at least, with that part of the book with which we are dealing, being very familiar, as we shall see, with the Hermon district, and, in particular, with the local traditions there current, has chosen to place there the scene of the conjuration of the angels, on account of the sanctuary of Hermon being celebrated for the performance of this ritual oath. It is even possible that the author, whether a Jew or, if the term be preferred (the question is controverted), a Judæo-Christian, found this pagan practice so abominable that it first suggested to him the idea of this detail of the "conjuration" of the wicked angels. We cannot find in the narrative, which is certainly very brief, the germ of the growth which has supplied him with the mythical development of the theme. Besides, instead of being the actual inventor of this detail, he may, perhaps, have merely followed a legend which was already held in honour in the particular circle to which he belonged, and was formed under the influence and conditions which I have indicated above. In fact, we shall shortly notice curious variations of the narrative in other sources. We shall meet with the same elements: the sons of God, Hermon, and a certain oath closely associated with it. But these elements are combined from another point of view, and the question is whether these variations are deviations, intentional or not, from the narrative in the Book of Enoch, or whether they may not represent another account of an ancient popular tradition from which the author of this book and the other writers have borrowed more or less independently.

Whatever it be, it is manifest that the Book of Enoch attaches special importance to this oath of the fallen angels. It is proved by the fact that the author frequently returns to it with marked relish. Indeed, immediately before starting the episode which interests us, he prepares for it, in a way, by expressing his horror for certain sacrilegious oaths (*cf.* Matt. v, 33-37; and James v, 12):—

"And it is by you that utter imprecations, all those who utter them, and all the sinners and impious swear by you" (*ἐν ὑμῖν . . . ὀμοῦνται*; v. 6, ll. 11-13).

In another passage, preserved only by Syncellus,¹ the author speaks again (without naming it) of the mountain where the

¹ Cited in *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 44, note.

angels concluded their pact, binding themselves by oaths and anathemas. He seems to regard it as an accursed mountain, on account of the crime of which it was the scene. Cold, snow, and frost envelope it eternally¹; the dew never falls there,² only the curse descends there, until the Day of the Last Judgment when it will be burnt and melt like wax.

Finally, in another part of the book, which is preserved only by the Ethiopic version (ch. lxi, pp. 88–90), unfortunately with some lacunæ and doubtful or obscure passages, the author speaks in detail of another mysterious oath which he appears to set in opposition to that of the wicked angels. After having enumerated anew — under different forms — their names, he shows us the archangel Michael entreated³ to disclose to the saints, in order that they may pronounce it in their oath, the secret name of God — the famous *Shêm Mephôrâsh* — the name and oath before which tremble “those who have shown to the sons of men everything that was hidden.”⁴

Alongside the account of the Book of Enoch must be placed the narratives of the Syriac,⁵ which, though agreeing with it both essentially and in a number of smaller details, diverge in one important particular: the “sons of God” are not angels, but the descendants of the patriarch Seth, the father of the giants — himself

¹ It is well known that on some parts of Hermon the snow remains until the middle of summer, whence one of its names, *Jebel et-Telj*, “the mountain of snow.”

² The dew of Hermon was celebrated; cf. Ps. cxxxiii, cited above, and the commentaries of St. Hilarius and St. Jerome.

³ The reason of this is not very clear, owing to the obscurity of the Ethiopic version.

⁴ An allusion to the various arts and trades revealed to men by the fallen angels. The piece also contains a long elaboration of the quasi-magical power of this oath, by virtue of which everything has been created and regulated. I suspect that here the Ethiopic translator has not entirely seized the general sense of the passage, and has attributed to the oath the power which in reality belongs to the ineffable name.

⁵ Cf. Eutychius, *Annals*, pp. 16 *et seq.*; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* (ed. Chabot) i, pp. 4–13; Barhebræus, *Chron.*, p. 4, *Hist.*, p. 7, &c.; cf. Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, notes, p. 78 *seq.*; and the *Storehouse of Treasures* (*Auṣâr Râzê*). For the various Fathers of the Church who have adopted the Syriac tradition from a dogmatic point of view, cf. Robert, *Revue Biblique*, 1895, pp. 340 *et seq.*, 525 *et seq.* On the Rabbinical points of contact, see, among others, Grünbaum, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxi, pp. 225 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*, 245. Allusion may be made, in passing, to the various details, more or less accurate, which Moslem tradition has borrowed.

a giant. This group of narratives, which is full of variants, into which it would take too long to enter here, may be thus summed up:—At the death of Adam, Seth (born in place of Abel) and his family separate themselves from the family of Cain the accursed, and whilst the latter remains in the valley, the scene of the murder of Abel, the Sethites set out to establish themselves upon the summit of Hermon, the holy mountain where Adam had been buried in the Cave of Treasures. They pass a life of purity and holiness, under conditions of simplicity reminding one of the Golden Age; whilst, below, the Cainites invent musical instruments, work in metals, and construct buildings. The Sethites pass their time praising God, mixing their chants with those of the angels neighbouring whose voices they hear. It is on this account that they are called “sons of God.” They have an oath consisting of the words, “No, by the blood of Abel!” Seth, at his death, adjured his children, “by the blood of Abel,” never to descend from the holy mountain to rejoin the Cainites, and at each generation this solemn oath was renewed until the time of the patriarch Jared, father of Enoch. The Cainites, however, continued to abandon themselves to every excess and debauchery, and the noise of their instruments of music rose to the summit of Hermon. Then 500 Sethites, drawn by this music, united to descend to the Cainites, despite the efforts of Jared, who, in the name of the blood of Abel, adjured them to refrain. Other bands followed them. Inflamed by the charms of the shameless daughters of the Cainites, they joined themselves to them, and as they were of gigantic stature they begat giants. Time passed; iniquity increased on the earth to such an extent that Noah, the last patriarch of the Sethites, remained alone upon the mountain with his wife¹ and three sons. At the command of God, who had decided to bring about the Deluge, he left it to build the ark, but not before he had taken with him the body of Adam.²

We find there, in short, the same elements as in the account of the Book of Enoch, but combined and presented in a different manner. The oath there, too, plays an important part, but it is a

¹ According to Euty chius, Noah's wife bore the suggestive name *Hêkal* (“Sanctuary”), and was daughter of *Nâmûsâ* (*cf.* *nâmûs*, “cavern,” in the Arab dialect of Syria).

² He carried away at the same time (*says* Euty chius) the offerings deposited with Adam. Shem took charge of the gold, Ham the myrrh, and Japhet the incense (*cf.* the three Magi).

violated oath instead of a conjuration preliminary to an act of sin. The guilty "sons of God" are no longer angels, but descendants of Seth. The mountain has a more marked character of sanctity, without the evil reputation which the Book of Enoch ascribes to it. It is a true place of cult; it contains a sacred cavern, the sepulchre of Adam and the patriarchs.¹ It is difficult to say whether this is a case of mere disfigurement of the narrative in the Book of Enoch, or of true variants which have preserved other traits of a primitive local and purely Syrian legend. I must confess that I incline to the second hypothesis. I am struck by the persistence with which certain significant Biblical incidents are remembered, and are attached to various places in the district, whether in written or oral tradition: the tomb of Seth at Yafûfeh, that of Noah at Kerak Nûh, the name of Abel at Abila, the creation of Adam at the *ager Damascenus*, the site of Eden itself in these quarters, &c. It would seem, at least, as if at some time there had been a general localising of the principal episodes of the first chapters of Genesis in this particular region. Nothing proves that this localisation was *after* the Moham-medan conquest; certain indications, on the other hand, point to the contrary. In this case there would be in the formation of these indigenous legends a mixture of pagan,² Biblical, and Christian elements, which may, to some extent, explain the relationship of the cult of Hermon, such as it is revealed to us by our inscription, with the various fables associated with the sacred mountain.

VIII. In any case, it seems to me to lead to a rather interesting indication as to the origin of the author (or one of the authors) of the Book of Enoch. I incline to believe that, wherever he may have been born, at least he must have lived in the district of Hermon. This mountain which interests him so much, and which he knows

¹ Cf. the cavern mentioned above (p. 232), at the north-east of the *enceinte* of the sanctuary of Hermon.

² As regards pagan elements, account should be taken of a detail in Sanchuniathon's Phœnician cosmogony, wherein a connection with the Biblical tradition of the fall of the sons of God, and of the birth of the giants, has long been recognised. It is the passage (ed. Orelli, p. 16) dealing with the giants identified with the mountains Kasius, Lebanon, Anti-libanus, and Brathu, and their shameless mothers. In this family of Syrian mountain gods, Hermon is evidently included; it is either represented by the Anti-libanus or it is to be recognised in the enigmatical Brathu. The connection is confirmed by the fact that the pseudo-Sanchuniathon attributes to these giants and their posterity the invention of the chief industrial and other arts.

so well, must have been in his immediate geographical horizon. He is familiar with the surrounding places. Whilst he speaks of Sinai or Jerusalem in only a vague way, he describes the topography of the Hermon district with the greatest precision:—

“And, having gone, I seated myself near the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is due east of Hermon (Ἐρμωνειεῖμ). [There Enoch falls asleep and has a vision; a heavenly voice orders him to go and speak to the ‘sons of heaven’ to convince them.] And being awakened I went to find them. And they were all assembled mourning at Ebelsata (περθεῶντες ἐν Ἐβελσατά), which is between Lebanon and Senesel (Σενεσήλ).”¹

As has long been recognised,² by the “waters of Dan” the author means one of the sources of the Jordan, probably that of the little Jordan of Josephus, the modern Leddân,³ near Tell el-Kâdi, at the foot of Hermon, on the south-east side. One may note the expression ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἐρμωνειεῖμ δόσεως, which, if this somewhat unexpected plural is not the result of an error,⁴ is to be understood literally: “At the east of the right-hand Hermons,” דָּן = “right (hand side),” and “south.”

The place where the angels assemble to mourn is defined with a minuteness that shows that it refers to an actual locality, and one well known to the writer. Unfortunately the form of the two names in the passage are somewhat uncertain. For the first, the Ethiopic transcription *Ublesiâël* seems to imply **ΕΒΕΛΑΙΑ** or **ΟΒΕΛΑΙΑ**, instead of **ΕΒΕΛΑΤΑ**—that is, if it is not a wrong reading on the part of the translator. As for the second,

¹ *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 36 (xiii, 7-9).

² See, among others, Lods, *Le Livre d'Henoch*, pp. 132-135.

³ A survival of the name *Dan* has rightly been sought in the Arabic *Leddân*, but no satisfactory explanation of the first syllable, *Led*, has been offered. I am tempted to believe that the syllable conceals the primitive name, *Laišk-Dan*, שׁלֵךְ; corresponding normally to *layth*, *layt*; the dental *th*, *t*, is assimilated to *d* on account of the *d* following. The successive stages would be

לֵישׁ דָּן = לֵישׁ דָּן = לֵישׁ דָּן = לֵישׁ דָּן = לֵישׁ דָּן = לֵישׁ דָּן.

⁴ So various scholars, but their conclusions are scarcely satisfactory: Ἐρμών [καὶ ἐκ] δόσεως (Dillmann); Ἐρμών [ἢ οἶμαι] δόσεως (Diels). Another correction may be suggested which, if not quite philological, is at least palæographically easy: ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἐρμών [εἰς τὰ] δόσεως (**ΕΙΕΙΜ=ΕΙCΤΑ**). Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that Syncellus himself uses the plural form (τοῦ Ἐρμωνειεῖμ), not to speak of the (in other respects doubted) דָּן of Ps. xlii, 7.

CENECHA, the Ethiopic variant *Seneser* is, perhaps, phonetic rather than palæographic (*r* = *l*). In any case, it is probable that, as already admitted,¹ in the first element of *Εβελσατα* we have the widely-spread Hebrew אֵבֶל, *âbel*, "meadow," with an allusion in the *πενθοῦντες* to אֵבֶל, *êbel*, "mourning"; cf. the "mourning of the Egyptians" *Âbel* or *Êbel Miṣraim*, perhaps under the influence of אֵבֶל הַשִּׁטִּים, *Abel hash-Shittîm*. I do not know whether the proposed connections with Abel Beth-Maacah, Abila of Lebanon, &c., are justified, or the arbitrary and risky explanations by Abel-Jael, Abel-Zion, Abel-Sheol, Abel-Satan,² &c. Perhaps the truth is to be found near at hand: the names *Ibl* and *Abil* are numerous enough in the immediate neighbourhood of Hermon itself, and offer plenty of choice. *Sîn Ibl*, to the north-east, quite near the source of Leddân; *Ibl* (el-Haua), rather more to the north, in the valley of Hasbâny; *Âbl* or *Âbil* (el-Kamh), to the east of and not far from Tell el-Kâdi.³ The second of these perhaps corresponds best to the requirements of the narrative, especially if *Σενεσηλ* may be corrected to *Σενεβηλ* and identified with *Sîn Ibl*, *Ibl* el-Haua being between the *massif* of Lebanon (to the north-east) and *Sîn Ibl* (to the south-east). In any case, it can scarcely be doubted that the author has in his mind actual localities situated in the western district of Hermon.

IX. It is very tempting to suppose further that in the picture he shows us of the angels in mourning at Ebelsata, he is referring to some pagan ceremony of the kind that was celebrated on the summit of Hermon, and which has already furnished him with the most striking features of his history of the "conjunction" of the wicked angels. Here there may have been another idolatrous abomination to inspire our rigid votary of Jehovah: the celebration of the *Ἀδώνια*, so popular in Syria, in which was mourned the god Tammuz-Adonis.

Finally, this narrative of the fall of the angels appears to me to contain another feature which, like the oath taken upon the holy mountain, might also be borrowed from old Syrian cults and myths. This is the detail of the "descent" of the angels upon

¹ Cf. Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

² Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

³ The last mentioned is generally taken to represent Abel Beth-Maacah.

the summit of Hermon "in the days of Jared" (*καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰαρέδ*). There would seem to be some close connection between the name of the patriarch *Jared*, ירד ("to descend"), and this "descent" of the angels. Origen¹ insists upon explaining this name by *καταβαίνων*, "descending," and in speaking of the "descent" (*καταβάσεως*) of the "sons of God" to the daughters of men which took place in Jared's time.

It is, perhaps, owing to the apparent significance of his name that the patriarch owes his inclusion in this history. Now we know, on the other hand, that in old Syrian rites there was a very important and very popular ceremony which actually bore the name of ירד, *yērid* and *κατάβασις*, "the descent." As M. Isid. Lévy² has shown, following Hoffmann, it was practised in various places in Syria: at Heliopolis, Hierapolis, Aphaca, Tyre, at the Terebinth of Mamre, &c., perhaps, even, at Jerusalem itself. It consisted chiefly in drawing water, which was borne in procession and thrown into a sacred tank, whence the full name, as given by the pseudo-Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 47): *κατάβασις ἐς τὴν λίμνην*. I should not be surprised if the sanctuary of Hermon was formerly the scene of such a ceremony of this nature. Perhaps it was into the deep and remarkable cavity noticed by the explorers in the central cone that the consecrated water was thrown.³ Under these circumstances, if the sanctuary of Hermon really had its *yērid*, or *katabasis*, it would not be too rash, perhaps, to suppose that it was from this that the author of the Book of Enoch may have drawn his idea of the "descent of the angels in the days of Jared," even as he has drawn his idea of the "conjunction" of this rite of the "oath," the existence of which is expressly attested by our valuable inscription. Viewing it with abhorrence from the Jewish point of view, he will only have interpreted after his own fashion two characteristic features of an abominable pagan cult which was practised under

¹ *Comm.* on St. John, *ap. Lods, op. cit.*, p. 106; *ib.*, the same explanation in the Book of Jubilees.

² *Rev. des Études Juives*, 1901 (extract, pp. 10, 13-19). To the Talmudic and Greek texts cited by M. Lévy, one may add the passage in the pseudo-Melito (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, p. 44), which agrees in a very remarkable manner with that of pseudo-Lucian. [*Cf.* above, p. 218.—ED.]

³ Although this ritual act appears to have been associated in a general way with diluvian myths, it is not impossible that here it reflects some superstition relating to the origin of the Jordan, which is, to some extent, the son of the Hermon, and whose name (יַרְדֵּן), immediately recalls that of Jared (יָרֵד).

his very eyes on the summit of the mountain, at the foot of which he may have lived, and with the legendary history of which he was intimately acquainted.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(Continued from p. 153.)

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

The possibility of some connection between Golgotha and the name *Ælia Capitolina* has already been mentioned.¹ According to a fanciful etymology the word *Capitolium* is derived from the head or skull of a certain *Olus*, or *Tolus*, *caput Oli regis*, which was discovered when the rock on the summit of the Capitoline Hill at Rome² was excavated for the foundations of the temple of Jupiter; and there is an ancient legend that Golgotha was so called from the skull of Adam, which was found in a tomb beneath the "rock of the Cross."³ The two words *Capitolium* and *Golgotha* have the same meaning, and the *Capitolium* was regarded at Rome, as Golgotha was at Jerusalem, as the chief place or centre of the world.⁴

On the Capitoline Hill at Rome, near the temple of Mars, stood a temple of Venus Capitolina; and above the assumed rock of Golgotha rose a temple of Venus, or Aphrodite, the Syrian Astarte. At Rome the goddess was known as Venus Victrix, the giver of victory to lovers and Roman armies, and she was called *Calca*, "the bald," a word from which *Calvaria*, "Calvary," is derived. One of the chief seats of the worship of the Oriental Aphrodite, or Astarte, was Golgi⁵—the same word as Golgotha—in Cyprus. In building

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 151.

² The connection of a head, or skull, with a city is not uncommon, e.g., that of the head of St. John Baptist with Samaria, Damascus, and Emesa. See also the legends connected with the heads of Bel, Dionysos, Orpheus, and Osiris, and the oracle-giving head at Harrân.

³ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 67-70.

⁵ Γολγοθῆ, Γόλγος, from Γόλγος (Golgōs), the son of Aphrodite and Adonis, and the reputed founder of the town; or, according to Sepp (*Das heilige Land*, i, 419), from the rock-cones (Heb. *Gatgal*, *Golgal*) which played an important