

chambers. This was a couple of brass tokens, one of them being a specimen of the well-known coinage of Hans Schultes, the "Rechenmeister," or money-changer and banker, of Nuremberg. Of the many types of token issued by this person, which I have examined from time to time, I have never seen a dated example, and am not aware whether his date has been accurately determined; from the costume of a figure represented on a specimen in my own possession—doubtless intended for Schultes himself—I should conjecture him to have lived in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. By what channel his token reached a chamber in a Palestinian tomb, and how long the journey occupied, it is of course impossible to say, but if we conjecture that the tomb has been opened for at least 150 years we shall, I think, allow a liberal time for the token to travel from Nuremberg to its singular destination.¹

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

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

(Concluded from p. 249.)

IN the concluding section of these notes I propose to consider some of the views of those earnest Christians of all denominations who, for various reasons, find themselves unable to accept the traditional sites as genuine.

The situation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within the modern city is, in itself, almost suggestive of doubt. Educated pilgrims to the Holy City are often sorely perplexed when they visit the "holy places" for the first time. They know that Christ suffered without the gate. They find Golgotha within the walls of a small Oriental city and in close proximity to its thronged bazârs. They may realise that the Jerusalem of Herod was not a large city, and may believe that the ground upon which the church stands was outside the walls at the time of the Crucifixion; but at the same time there lingers in their minds an uneasy feeling

¹ There are two slight misprints in the last Report which require correction. At the end of the first paragraph, *foremen* should be *foreman*; and on p. 321, line 3, *profanus* should, of course, be *profanum*.



EL-EDHEMÎYEH : " JEREMIAH'S GROTTTO " AND " SKULL HILL. "

with regard to the accuracy of the received tradition. They see little in the church that seems to be in complete harmony with the familiar Gospel narrative. The features of the ground have been so altered, there has been so much building, and the "holy places" are so obscured by decorative and votive offerings, that a strong effort of the imagination is required to restore the form of the ground as it existed before the churches of Constantine were built. Many pilgrims, either from indolence or from want of knowledge, never attempt to make the effort. They form a hasty and unfavourable opinion upon a difficult and obscure question, and seek some spot which appeals more directly to the eye and to their preconceived ideas of the character and appearance of Golgotha.

The date at which doubts with regard to the authenticity of the "holy places" first arose is unknown. But some explanation of their position within the walls seems to have been considered necessary as early as the eighth century. The quaint statement of Willibald¹ (*circ.* A.D. 754), that Calvary was formerly outside Jerusalem, "but Helena, when she found the Cross, arranged that place so as to be within the city," reads like a reply to the remarks of some doubting spirit of his age. A somewhat clearer appreciation of the situation is noticeable in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Thus Saewulf² (1102-3), Wilbrand von Oldenberg³ (1212), Jacobus de Vitriaco⁴ (Jacques de Vitry, *circ.* 1226), Burchardus de Monte Sion⁵ (1283), Odoricus de Foro Julii, Fréjus⁶ (1320), and Gnilielmus de Boldensele⁷ (1332), maintained that Hadrian, when he rebuilt Jerusalem, greatly enlarged the city and enclosed Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre which were previously outside the walls.

There would appear to have been for several centuries two conflicting views: one that the city had been moved from its

¹ *Hod.*, xviii, see *P.P. Text Series*, vol. iii, p. 19.

² *Relatio de per. Saewulfi*, &c.; see *P.P.T.S.*, vol. iv, pp. 9, 10.

³ *Itin. Terr. Sanct.*, in Laurent's *Peregrinatores medii ævi quatuor*.

⁴ *Hist. Or.*, in Bongar's *Gesta Dei*, see *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xi, p. 39.

⁵ *Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, ch. viii, Jerusalem; in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, &c.; Eng. trans. in *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xii, pp. 66, 79.

⁶ *Liber. de Terr. Sanct.*, in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, &c.

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

original position to the vicinity of the sepulchre,¹ the other held by those who impiously asserted that the tomb had been moved and not the city (Gretser, A.D. 1598).²

According to Jacques Le Saige of Douai (1518), the representative of the Holy Sepulchre who went with pilgrims to Palestine insisted, "que nous falloit avoir foy des Lieux-Saincts qu'on nous monstreroit, ou, se ne volliesme estre tels, que ne prissicsme de palme."³

Quaresmius (1639)⁴ alludes to and refutes those "befogged (or scoundrelly) western heretics" (*nebulones Occidentales hereticos*), who argued that the tradition tomb could not be the true one because (1) it was inside the walls and almost in the middle of the city, (2) Joseph of Arimathea would not have hewn his tomb near a place where criminals were executed and buried, (3) a tomb west of the Holy Sepulchre was shown as that of Joseph, and should therefore, according to the Bible, be the place in which the body of Jesus was laid, and (4) the bodies of criminals were thrown into a common tomb, and for this the traditional sepulchre was not suitable. Monconys⁵ (1647) writes that Calvary, according to tradition, was outside Jerusalem, but that it was difficult to realise this, since the place was then in the centre of the city, which was much smaller than at the time of the Crucifixion.

In the eighteenth century the authenticity of the "holy places" was vigorously attacked and denied by Jonas Korte,⁶ a bookseller of Altona, who visited Jerusalem in 1738. Korte's view is succinctly described in the title of one of the chapters of his book—"On Mount Calvary, which now lies in the middle of the town and cannot therefore be the true Calvary." He argues that the traditional Golgotha is too near the site of the Temple,

¹ Burchardus, *l.c.*; see also Ludolph von Sudheim, *Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, xxxviii; Eng. trans. in *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xii, p. 98; and Gretser, who quotes Pope Nicholas I.

² *Opera Omnia*, vol. i; *De Sancta Cruce*, lib. i, cap. 17, *De loco in quo Dominus crucifixus est.*

³ *Voyage de J. Le S.*, ed. Duthillœul, 1852, p. 98.

⁴ *Elucidatio Terr. Sanct.*, lib. v, cap. 14.

⁵ *Journal des Voyages*, vol. i, p. 307; see also J. Nicolai (1706), *De Sepulchris Hebræorum*, p. 221.

⁶ Jonas Korten's *Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten . . . Lande*, 2nd ed., 1743. Korte was the first to publish openly a declaration that the sites were not authentic.

and that it must have been inside and not outside the ancient city, since the Jerusalem of Herod covered a much larger area than the modern town. The rejection of the traditional sites led, naturally, to speculation with regard to the true position of Golgotha. Korte, on his plan, drew the *first wall* of Josephus a little north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed Golgotha on the right bank of the "Valley of Gihon" (Valley of Hinnom), on rising ground to the south-east of the "hohe Brunn" (Birket Mamilla), but gives no reason for his selection of that position. Since Korte's day Golgotha has been located north, south, east, and west of the city, and theorists who have considered the selection of the traditional site to have been a "pious fraud" on the part of Constantine's advisers, have convinced themselves that the localities which accord with their own preconceived ideas are in each case the true scene of the Passion.

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

Clarke (1812) was able to find nothing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that could be "reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial." He could not believe that "in the construction of a church to commemorate the existence of the tomb she (Helena) would have levelled and cut away not only the Sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary,"³ and rejected the whole tradition. On his plan three crosses are shown outside the Sion Gate, and referenced, "Now called Mount Sion, perhaps the place of our Saviour's Crucifixion." The tomb of Joseph is assumed to be one of the sepulchres in the Valley of Hinnom on which the inscription "Of the holy Sion" appears.

¹ *Ueber Golgatha und Christi Grab*, Halle, 1789.

² *Vie de Jésus*; in the 16th edition he adds: "Il sera loisible aussi de penser au monticule qui domine la 'Grotte de Jérémie.'"

³ E. D. Clarke, *Travels, &c.*, vol. ii, pp. 552-565.

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

Robinson's opinion that the traditional site of the tomb was not authentic was accepted by many writers who, less cautious than the learned American, asserted with confidence that they had found the true sites of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. One of the first to publish his views was Otto Thenius³ (1842), who identified "Jeremiah's Grotto," and the hill above it, sometimes called "Skull Hill," with the Tomb of Christ and Golgotha. The hill is described as being rounded on the north, west, and east, but abrupt on the south, and as having the form of a skull—whence it might be called Golgotha. "The hill is outside and near the town; near a road which must have existed in the time of Christ; and it has in the very place (John xix, 41) a rock-hewn cavern which has an entrance such as the Holy Sepulchre must have had." Thenius believed that the tomb was inside "Jeremiah's Grotto," but had been quarried away with the exception of the actual place upon which the body

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

² *L.c.*, i, p. 418.

³ "Golgotham et sanctum Sepulchrum," &c., in *Zeitschrift für die Hist. Theologie*, vol. xii, Pt. 4, pp. 1-34 (1842).

was laid, and that this was preserved in the "couch" of Jeremiah. The knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was also identified with Golgotha by Fisher Howe¹ (1871), whose description of the place may be quoted as representing the imaginative view of the present day:—

"The hill is left steeply rounded on its west, north, and east sides, forming the back and sides of the *kranion* or skull.² The skull-like front, or face, on the south side is formed by the deep perpendicular cutting and removal of the ledge. To the observer, at a distance, the eyeless socket of the skull would be suggested at once by the yawning cavern, hewn within its face, beneath the hill."

Fisher Howe maintains that the present city wall marks the course of the *second* wall of Josephus; that previous to the construction of the *second* wall the eastern spur (Bezetha) was a continuous ridge; and that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B on plan) was part of the general plan of fortification connected with that wall.³

The same spot, considered permissible by Renan (*see* p. 29, note 2), was selected by Conder⁴ (1878) on account of the suitability of its position, and, mainly, on the ground that it was pointed out by Jews at Jerusalem "by the name Beth has-Sekilah, 'the Place of Stoning,'" and, "according to Jewish tradition," was "the ancient place of public execution." Conder identifies the tomb of Joseph with a rock-hewn sepulchre (No. 4 on plan) about 200 yards west of "Jeremiah's Grotto."⁵ The view that Christ suffered on the hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was widely accepted in this country and in America when it became known that it had received the support of the late General Gordon⁶ (1883-4). Since that date

¹ *The True Site of Calvary*, New York, 1871.

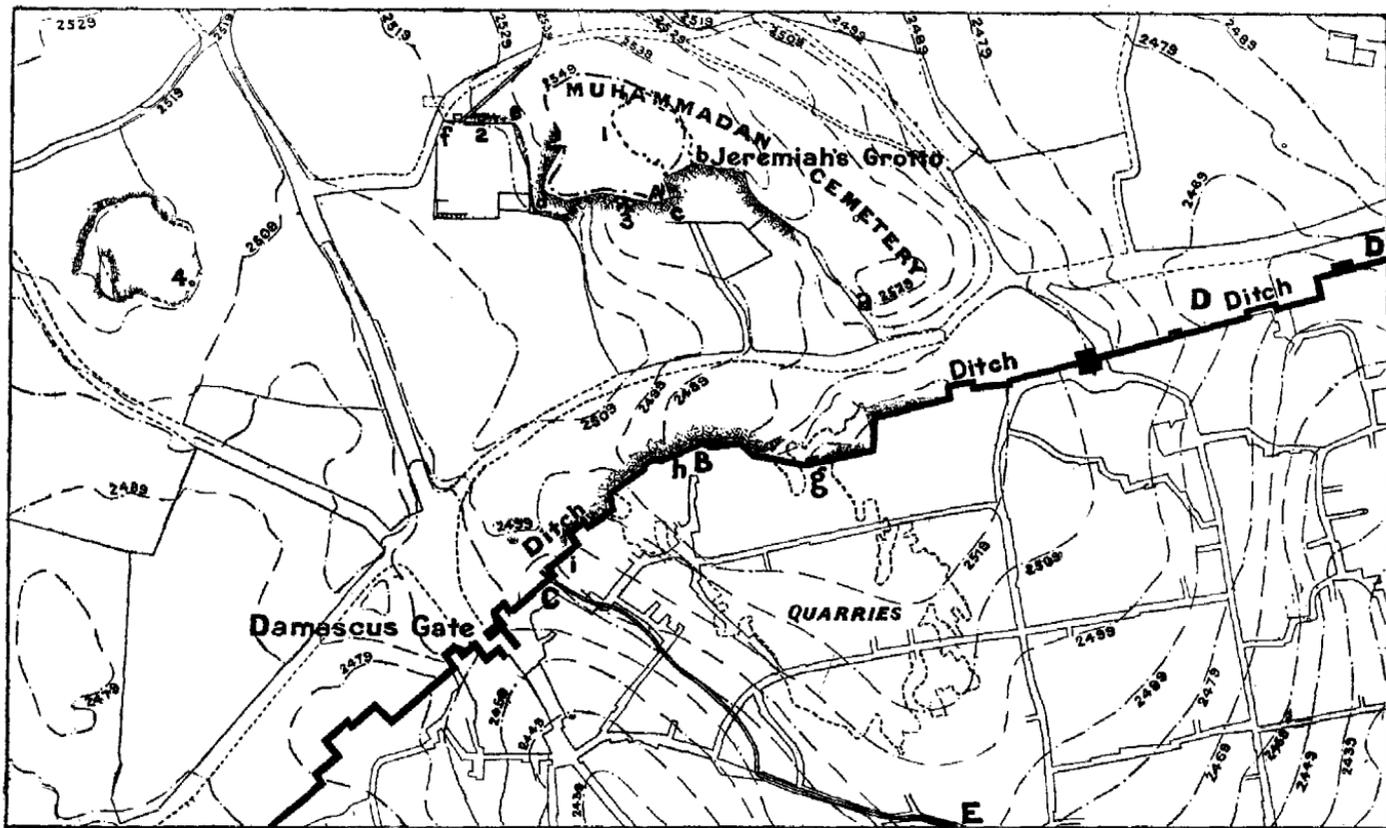
² Conder remarks (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 202), "It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base an argument on so slight a resemblance."

³ The great width of the cutting and its irregular face on the north side (*abcd ef* on plan) show that it can only have been connected very remotely, if at all, with the ancient defences of the city.

⁴ *Tent Work in Palestine*, i, 372-374 (1878); *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 200 *sqq.*; *P.E.F. Mem.*, Jerusalem vol., pp. 429 *sqq.* (1884); *Handbook to the Bible*, pp. 355, 356 (1887).

⁵ *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 203-206.

⁶ General Gordon's identification is part of his theory that the eastern spur or ridge of Moriah resembled a human figure. His views are fully stated in Appendix I.



SCALE 100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 OF FEET

PLAN OF GROUND NEAR "JEREMIAH'S GROTTTO."

1. "Skull Hill," contour 2540.

2. "Gordon's Tomb."

3. Caves, "Eye-sockets."

4. "Conder's Tomb."



the identification has been adopted by Dr. Selah Merrill, U.S. Consul at Jerusalem¹ (1885), Sir J. W. Dawson, late Director of the Canadian Geological Survey² (1887), and many others; and it has received wide currency from its publication in the Palestine volume of Mr. John Murray's well-known series of handbooks.³ The hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" is now frequently referred to as "the Protestant," "the English," or "Gordon's" Calvary, and the tomb, supposed to be that in which the Lord lay, is called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ," or "the Garden Tomb."

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

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

² *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 107 *sqq.*, 1887. The views of the knoll and the caves (pp. 105, 106) are rough, inaccurate, and misleading. Sir W. Dawson visited Palestine in 1883-4. See also Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage in 1909*; and Sir W. Charley, *The Holy City, Athens, and Egypt*, 1902.

³ *Handbook to Palestine and Syria*. In the latest edition the identification has been abandoned, and a very incorrect plan of the tomb omitted.

⁴ Dawson, *l.c.*, p. 108.

(1) It has already been pointed out¹ that "there is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a hill; that near Jerusalem elevation is not necessary for visibility; that no Greek writer uses the expression "mount" in connection with the spot; and that the skull-like appearance and elevation of Golgotha are apparently fancies introduced from the West.

(2) Resemblance to a skull can hardly be regarded as a serious argument, for it involves the assumption that the appearance of the hill, and of "an artificial cliff produced by ancient quarrying,"² has not altered during the last 1,870 years. There are some reasons for believing that, at the time of the Crucifixion, the eastern spur was a continuous ridge; that the quarries were then worked underground; that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B, *see* plan) had its origin in the ditch of Agrippa's wall, and did not assume its present form and dimensions until the fifth century, when the great church of St. Stephen was built³; that after the erection of the church portions of the quarry were used as a cemetery; and that some of the excavation is as late as the time of the Crusades. In the first century the eastern spur was at this point a rocky ridge of some width (*see* Plate⁴) covered with stony detritus which is still visible, and its essential features appear to have remained unchanged until the period of the Crusades. Daniel⁵ (1106-7) calls it "a flat rocky mountain." The knoll, which is supposed to give a skull-like form to the hill, is due to the ruined tombs and accumulations⁶ of a Moslem cemetery which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The view that any portion of the very hard limestone beds above "Jeremiah's Grotto" could have been worn into a rounded or skull-like form by the action of wind and weather is untenable.⁷

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 147.

² Dawson, *l.c.*, p. 107.

³ The date of the open cutting and the general appearance of the ground near "Jeremiah's Grotto" at the time of the Crucifixion are discussed in an Appendix, for which there is no room here.

⁴ Reduced from an Ordnance Survey photograph taken in 1865.

⁵ Abbot Daniel, ch. ix, *P.P.T.S.*

⁶ Macalister gives the depth of soil as 10 feet (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 129).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 151.

(3) In considering proximity to the city and the road, it must be remembered that the *second* wall of Josephus was probably some distance south of the present wall, and that it is by no means certain that the road from the Damascus Gate marks the line of the road to the north in the time of Christ. It is possible that the road then followed the easier slope up the Tyropœon Valley,¹ and ran north-west until it met the road from the Upper City. The existing road between the "Tombs of the Kings" and the Damascus Gate, possibly following an earlier footpath, may only date from the reign of Hadrian. In any case the distance from "Skull Hill" to that road is greater than would be customary² in the case of a Roman crucifixion.

(4) There is no evidence that there was a special Jewish place of execution at Jerusalem in the first century, and the existing local tradition which connects "Jeremiah's Grotto" with the "Place of Stoning" is unreliable.³

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

(6) The rock-hewn tomb supposed to be that of Joseph of Arimathea, and called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ" or "the Garden Tomb," is one of the most insignificant in the great necropolis which surrounds Jerusalem, and does not resemble the class of sepulchre which a man of Joseph's rank and position is likely to have had hewn out for himself. Unlike the Jewish tombs near the city, it is cut in the cliff of a disused quarry, and not in the scarped face of one of the beds of limestone.⁴ Some of the details in the tomb⁵ are certainly Christian, and there seems every reason to suppose that it belongs to the great cemetery north of the city, of which a portion north of the tomb is owned by the Dominicans, and south of it by the Germans.⁶ The extensive cemetery, partly

¹ See plan, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 154.

³ *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 152-155.

⁴ See view, *ibid.*, 1903, p. 85.

⁵ The only accurate plan and description of this tomb are those by Dr. Schick (*ibid.*, 1892, pp. 121 *sqq.*). A Christian origin is ascribed to the tomb by Selah Merrill (*l.c.*), and by Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 205).

⁶ The coins found in the graves in the German property range from 518 A.D. onwards (*ibid.*, 1902, pp. 403 *sqq.*).

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

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

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

Dr. Barclay⁵ (1857) believed that the accepted tradition was unsound; that no engineer could have located the *second* wall of Josephus so as to exclude the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

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

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

³ *Die Bauten Konstantin d. G. am hl. Grabe*, 1863.

⁴ "Palestine," in *L'Univers Pittoresque*, 1856.

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

and that Golgotha must have been near the Temple, since the priests who derided Christ would not have left the precincts on that "high day." He places Calvary on the spur between St. Anne's Ravine and the Kidron Valley, outside the present walls, and east of the Church of St. Anne. He supposes that there was, originally, a monticule, or rock, at this place which was destroyed afterwards by Jews or Pagans.

The late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem (1864-5) held that Christ, the Antitype, must have suffered north of the altar, and placed Golgotha and the Tomb on the same spur as Barclay but north of the present wall and due north of the altar, near the contour 2504 (*see plan, Quarterly Statement, 1902, p. 292*). I at one time¹ adopted Dr. Gobat's view under the impression that the hill of Bezetha was covered with houses at the time of the Crucifixion; but a reconsideration of the history of Jerusalem during the first 40 years of the first century has led me to modify my opinion with reference to the occupation of Bezetha and possibility of its having been the scene of the Passion (*see p. 38*). Canon Gill² suggests the "Tombs of the Kings" as possibly the sepulchre in which the body of Christ was laid, but the distance from the city and the character of the Tomb seem opposed to this theory.

Keim³ (1883) considers that a spot near the castle garrison would have been selected for safety's sake, and places Golgotha near the Jaffa Gate. Clos⁴ (1898) adopts the traditional Golgotha, but places the Tomb some 200 yards to the south of it.

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

As regards the true sites I agree with Robinson that "probably all search for them will be in vain." If there be anything in the

¹ Smith's *Dicty. of the Bible*, 2nd ed., Art. "Jerusalem," i.

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

³ *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, vi, p. 134.

⁴ *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, 1898.

idea of type and antitype, and there possibly may be, then Christ must have suffered north of the altar, possibly on the eastern slope of that portion of Mount Moriah known as Bezetha, and perhaps close to the road which led northwards from the Antonia and the Temple precincts.¹ If, on the other hand, there is nothing in the idea of type and antitype, then, always supposing that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is eventually proved to have been outside the *second* wall, I should be inclined to give more weight to the identification of Macarius and his coadjutors in 327 A.D. than to the guesses or arguments of writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

N.B.—It is proposed during the course of this year to publish an enlarged edition of these notes in a separate volume, with additional illustrations and appendices, and discussions of questions such as the course of the *second* wall, the date of the open cutting south of “Jeremiah’s Grotto,” &c.

APPENDIX.

General Gordon’s views are contained in a signed article in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1885 (pp. 79 *sqq.*); in *Reflections in Palestine* (pp. vii, 2–17), and in private letters. He maintained that the Temple ought to have been built on the knoll above “Jeremiah’s Grotto,” which he called “Skull Hill,” but that the builders, the Jews, rejected that rock, or stone, and erected the building further south, on the knoll, or rock, within the Harâm esh-Sherif—that is, at the spot where the Dome of the Rock now stands.² Nevertheless, by Divine providence, the stone which was refused or rejected by the builders became the head corner-stone (1 Peter ii, 7)³ through the crucifixion of Christ upon it (Ephes. ii, 20). The cross was erected on the top, and in the centre of “Skull Hill,” and its

¹ See plan, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292.

² Rabbi Schwarz quotes from *Sebbachim*, 54b: “It was at first the intention to build the Temple on the En Etam (mount) which overlooks Mount Moriah, but in the end the lower Mount Moriah was selected.” The Rabbi, however, identified En Etam with a height west of the city, “which would have been a very proper place for the erection of the Temple, since it overlooks Zion, but, as the Talmud states, there were other important reasons for building it on the lower Mount Moriah” (*Das heilige Land*, p. 228).

³ “The word is one which denotes two walls, and, meaning the union of Jews and Gentiles, it is called the Head Corner-stone.” (Private letter.)

outstretched arms embraced "the whole city, and even the Mount of Olives."¹ The women stood on the subsidiary knoll, south-east of the cross. From an explanatory diagram (Fig. 1), in a private letter, General Gordon appears to have believed that the churches of Constantine were near "Skull Hill." He writes: "I have still a strong opinion that we shall find the Constantine sepulchre² is close to St. Stephen's Church, outside the Damascus Gate, where the cisterns are."

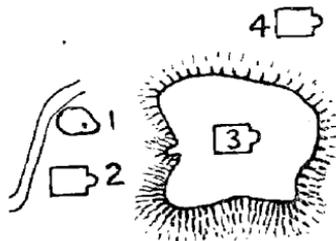


FIG. 1.—"Skull Hill" and Churches.

1. Holy Sepulchre. 2. Church Virgins. 3. Crucifixion. 4. Martyrdom.

General Gordon also held what he calls "a more fanciful view." This was that:—

"The mention of the place of the Skull in each of the four Gospels is a call to attention. . . . If the skull is mentioned four times one naturally looks for the body, and if you take Warren's or others' contours, with the earth or rubbish removed, showing the natural state of the land, you cannot help seeing that there is a body,³ that Schick's conduit⁴ is the oesophagus, that the quarries⁵ are the chest, and if you are venturesome you will carry out the analogy further. . . . Now the Church of Christ is made up of, or came from, His pleura, the stones of the Temple came from the quarries, from chest of figure, and so on; so that fixed the figure of body to the skull."⁶ (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, pp. 79, 80.)

¹ *Reflections in Pal.*, p. 3, and diagram in *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 80.

² Apparently that known as "Gordon's," or the "Garden" tomb (No. 2 on plan, p. 32). General Gordon visited this tomb but makes no direct reference to it.

³ "Warren's plan of Jerusalem in *The Temple and the Tomb* (p. 33) shows very clearly the human figure, and only wants the skull hill to be considered with it to complete it" (*Reflections in Pal.*, p. vii). The resemblance is not very apparent. ⁴ C E on plan, p. 32. ⁵ See plan.

⁶ General Gordon also held that the Gihon of Gen. ii, 13, had its source in Jeremiah's Grotto. It dried up after the Deluge, but will flow again, as prophesied by Ezekiel (xlvi, 1-6): running at first as a rill through Schick's conduit (C E on plan) and then swelling, it will fill the Kidron Valley and sweeten the Dead Sea. (Private letters.)

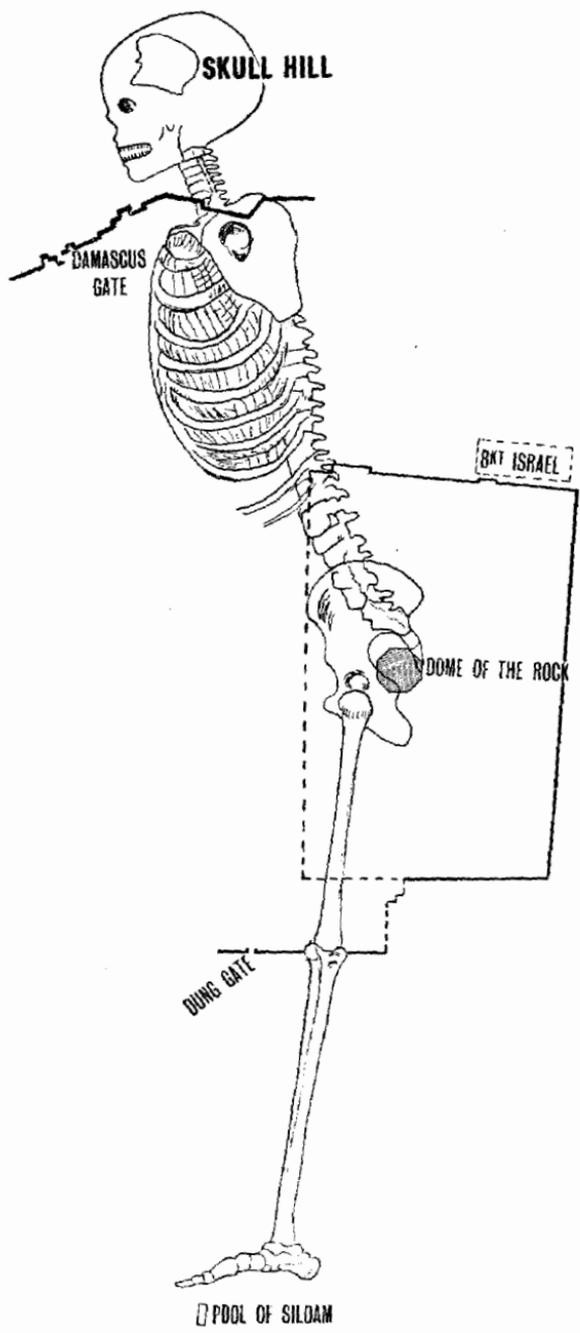


FIG. 2.
(From a Drawing by Major-General C. E. Gordon.)

The idea that the "sacred eastern hill" bore a "rough resemblance to the human form" appears to have been fixed in General Gordon's mind. He "illustrated" it by a curious drawing¹ (Fig. 2), and in his *Reflections* (p. 8) he wrote: "From the Skull Hill, on the north-north-west, the body lies—as did that of the victim—aslant or askew to the altar of burnt sacrifice."

General Gordon's reasons for identifying Golgotha with "Skull Hill" are thus stated:—

"I went to the Skull Hill, and felt convinced that it must be north of the altar. Leviticus i, 11, says that the victims are to be slain on the side of the altar northwards (literally to be slain slantwise or askew on the north of the altar).² If a particular direction was given by God about where the types were to be slain, it is a sure deduction that the prototype would be slain in the same position as to the altar; this the Skull Hill fulfils. . . . The Latin Holy Sepulchre is west of the altar, and, therefore, unless the types are wrong, it should never have been taken as the site." (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 79.)

The name Golgotha was not derived from any resemblance in relief, or profile, to a human skull, but from the form of the ground as represented by a contour³ on the Ordnance Survey Plan of Jerusalem on the $\frac{1}{25000}$ scale. In a private letter General Gordon writes with reference to the alleged likeness to a human skull, "Skull with caves for eye sockets, that is all one would get, if one was foolish enough to write. I say it is the contour in a map of 1864." Elsewhere he refers to "Skull Hill" as "an apex of uncovered rock—a rocky knoll resembling in form the human skull"; but there is at present no apex of uncovered rock or rocky knoll (*see* p. 34).

General Gordon's theory involves the view that ground, which for several centuries has been used as a Muhammadan burial place, has not altered since the Crucifixion.

¹ Reduced from a tracing of the original drawing in the possession of the late Dr. Schick.

² *See also Reflections in Pal.*, p. 3. The interpretation of Lev. i, 11, is erroneous. The words mean that the victim was to be slain north and not north-north-west of the altar. According to Jewish tradition the sin offerings, the burnt offerings, and the trespass offerings in the Temple were slain on the north side of the great altar.

³ The contour represents, rudely, the side view of a skull, or head, in plan (*see* plan).