

THE SITES OF  
**THE CRUCIFIXION**  
AND  
**THE RESURRECTION**

*By*

**Ernest Tatham Richmond**

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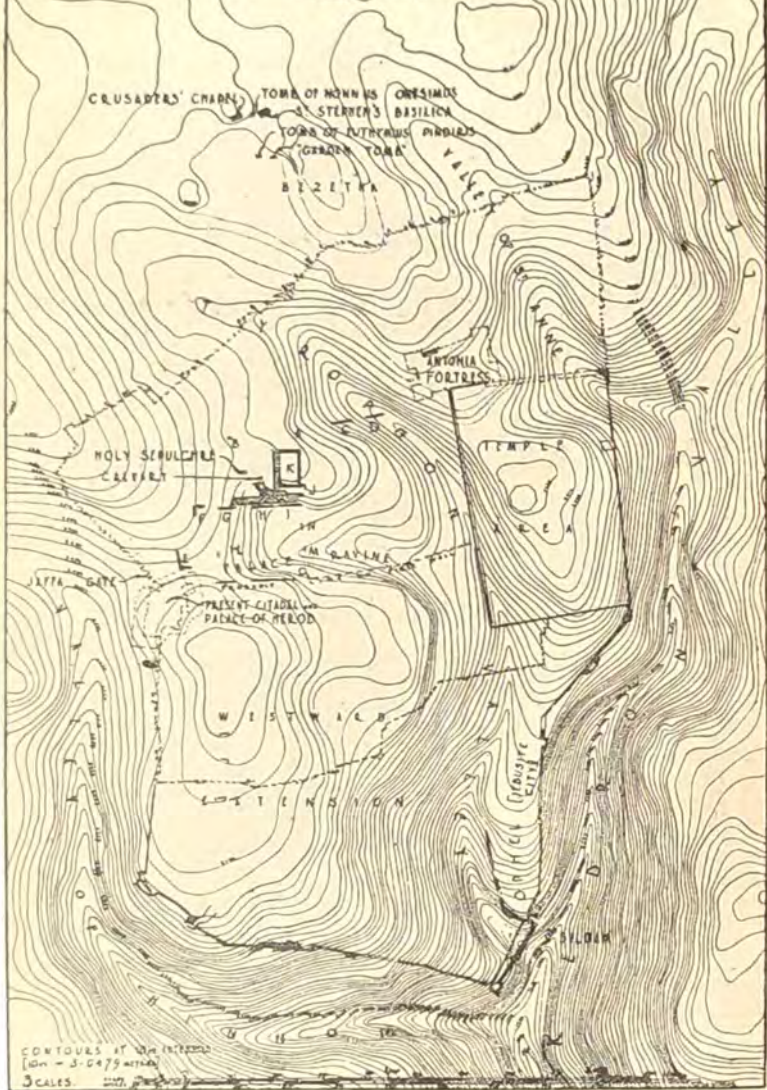
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# TOPOGRAPHICAL PLAN SHOWING WALLS OF JERUSALEM.



## INTRODUCTORY

OF all the hills of Jerusalem the smallest is the most important; for it is associated by tradition with Our Lord's Crucifixion and Resurrection. Houses cover its slopes, and accumulations of rubbish have reduced the depth of its neighbouring valleys; but, that it is a hill is clear to anyone who examines a contoured map of the city (Fig. I), or observes from the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre how the surrounding houses to the north-east, east and south, are built on sloping land; or notices, from the Tyropoeon valley, how the land rises to the church. It was upon this height that stood the mound of Calvary, of which the *crucis rupes*, or rock of the cross, is all that is left. Since, like Ophel, it is for the most part surrounded by lower land, it deserves, no less than Ophel, to be called a hill, though a little one. Both it and Ophel are spurs thrown out from higher land.

There is, then, justification in fact for the association of Calvary with the idea of height and prominence. This idea is not, as has been suggested, a fancy introduced from the west.

This hill is not only the traditional site of the Crucifixion but it lies in a position that made it an important factor in the solution of the problem that faced those who laid out the course of the "second wall"; the wall that formed the city's northern line of defence from the last centuries of the Jewish monarchy up till the reign of Herod Agrippa; a period that includes several years subsequent to the Crucifixion.

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The exact trace of this wall is not known. It was the discussion of this question which formed the main element in the dispute (that came to an end not more than a few

years ago after lasting for several centuries), about the authenticity of the site upon which stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It is hardly possible, in these days, that any one could be found prepared to uphold the thesis that the possession of religious beliefs must necessarily give a bias to judgement whenever the authenticity of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre is under consideration. It is, or should be, now sufficiently recognised that this is not a question of faith, but a question of history, though one of unique interest and importance. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that among those who have, in the past, attacked the authenticity of this site, religious antipathies have not been altogether absent as factors in the discussions; that statements both uninformed and irrational have been made, as well as misrepresentations of clear archaeological and epigraphical facts. The main facts relevant to the subject have, of course, already been published; and, among those who have had occasion to study those publications, it is sufficiently well known that, far from the opponents of authenticity having succeeded in proving their allegations, the investigations that have been made during the last forty or fifty years have resulted in disclosing a very complete agreement between topographical and archaeological facts, the Gospel accounts of the Passion and ancient tradition regarding the sites. Nevertheless these results seem still to be unknown to numbers of people; so much so, that it has become, for many, almost axiomatic that the sites cannot be the real ones; and it is a matter of some surprise to them to learn that there is anything whatever to be said in favour of their authenticity.

In these circumstances it would seem opportune to attempt briefly to summarize the main elements of this dispute. The subject will be dealt with in the following order. (i) The arguments that have been advanced against the traditional sites; (ii) the alternative sites that have been suggested; with special reference to the belief, still to some extent current, that Bezetha is Calvary; and the Garden Tomb, the Sepulchre of Our Lord; (iii) the question whether the site on which the Church of the

Holy Sepulchre now stands was, in the time of Our Lord, within the city or outside it; (iv) Golgotha and the Sepulchre; (v) the survival of a tradition from apostolic days to the time of Constantine; (vi) the monuments that have stood on the site; lastly, notes referring to the publications that can usefully be consulted, and to the methods whereby the general public is often misled on Palestinian archaeological questions.

## I

WHATEVER may have been the date when doubts were first entertained about the authenticity of the sites, it was not till the seventeenth century that the expression of these doubts became at all wide-spread.

In order to demonstrate the alleged untrustworthiness of the tradition, and, consequently, the non-authentic character of the sites, several lines of attack were adopted.

One, which dates from the seventeenth century, was to argue that the sites now shown must have been, at the time of the Crucifixion, inside the city wall, and not, as required by the Gospel accounts, outside.

As expressed by a writer in the eighteenth century, the argument was, that since Calvary was, as all could see, within the city (as it still is), and since the Jerusalem of Herod was more extensive than the modern town, therefore the traditional Calvary could not be the true Calvary. Another argument (used in the early nineteenth century) was based upon an inability to find anything in the Holy Sepulchre that could be reconciled with the history of Our Saviour's burial.

According to a third argument none of that generation of Christians who witnessed the Crucifixion could have carefully noted where it took place, because, to have done so would have implied that the observant Christian entertained an order of ideas contrary to the teaching of Our Lord (in John iv, 21), who abolished all superstitious localizations and substituted a worship in spirit and in

truth. Even on the supposition that this first essential link in any chain of tradition had existed, it is impossible that the chain could have continued subsequent to the year 66, because, in that year, the Christian community left Jerusalem, and, together with the Jews, were forbidden access to it for a considerable period; and because, even though some of them may have returned, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and again by Hadrian, and the erection on its ruins of the Roman colonial city of Aelia Capitolina in 135, must have rendered the sites unrecognisable. The position of the sites having thus been forgotten, they could not have been pointed out to Constantine the Great, some two hundred years later, either by the then Bishop of Jerusalem, or by any of his followers.

In order to explain the erection of the monuments by Constantine, it was suggested that his motive was purely political; that the Bishop was subservient and venal, and that he exploited this political end for the material benefit of himself and of the Church by inaugurating that fetishistic cult of the Holy Places which still continues its reprehensible course. Another suggestion was that the erection of the monuments reflected a process whereby the Church initiated and developed a new cult by a profitable plagiarism of an old pagan one.

Briefly, the suggestions amounted to this: that no one really knew or cared where the sites were; that Constantine acted for political ends; and that the Church acted in a manner that was at once fraudulent and materialistic.

Though it is not to be questioned that the attack on the authenticity of the site was, in some of its manifestations, the outcome of sincerely held doubts, yet it is equally unquestionable that, in other manifestations, it was based upon guess work that took the form of attempts to discredit the character of Constantine, of fourth century Christianity and of the Church.

## II

No reason could well be less decisive against the authenticity of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, than one derived from their situation within the present limits of the city. Yet it was this objection (together with other considerations referred to later) that led many to conducting random searches on the outskirts of the city, and to suggesting sites that appealed to themselves both as more appropriate, and as more likely to be authentic, than the one determined by ancient tradition.

It is unnecessary, and would be wearisome here to examine, or even to record, all the guesses that were made in the course of searches for a new Calvary and for a new Holy Sepulchre. None of them has, by this time any adherents among those who have given any real attention to the matter. Nevertheless, before dealing with the subject of the traditional sites, it is worth while here to summarize the events connected with the suggestion that the Bezetha mound, north of the Damascus Gate, was Calvary, and that the tomb, now known as the *Garden Tomb*, was the Holy Sepulchre (see Fig. I). This is worth while, if only for the reason that such a summary will show, both something of the spirit that dominated many of those who rejected the traditional sites and contended that Bezetha and the Tomb were Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, and something also of the methods that were employed in attempting to justify that contention.

For the sake of clarity it will be convenient to divide this summary into two parts consisting of (i) a short description of the main archaeological discoveries that have been made in this neighbourhood and of the conclusions drawn from them by competent archaeological opinion, and (ii) a description of the procedure followed by those who sought in this neighbourhood a new Calvary and Holy Sepulchre.

(i) About the year 1867, while excavating in the rubbish that covered the rocky slope, on the top of which

is the Moslem cemetery of Bezetha, a Greek, to whom the site belonged, found at the side of the path that led upwards, and at the bottom of his excavation, a rock-hewn cavity. A skeleton was seen at the side of the excavation through the depth of which it was necessary to descend in order to reach the mouth of the cavity. This cavity was almost entirely filled with rubbish and bones, undoubtedly human. On its wall a Cross was observed. Between the arms of this cross were seen the Greek letters. 'A' and 'Ω' (Alpha, Omega). The owner contemplated making a cistern in the place. Later he cleared it of bones and rubbish. It was then recognized that the cavity was a tomb.

About 1870 the owner died; and the tomb, with the bit of land in front of it, passed into other hands. This tomb is now known as the *Garden Tomb*. It comprises two chambers and contains trough-shaped graves. Its entrance is cut in a vertical rock face. It offers no evidence of any work earlier than the Byzantine period; and it must have been part of the graveyard attached to the monastic establishment that existed in this neighbourhood in the fifth-sixth centuries and of which the Basilica of St Stephen was the centre. The modern Basilica of St Stephen, situated about eighty metres north of the *Garden Tomb*, stands on the site formerly occupied by the Byzantine church and contains many remains of the latter.

The tomb was turned into a room when the Hospitallers established in this neighbourhood a Hospice for the accommodation of pilgrims pending admission to the city. Later on it was turned into a charnel-house.

In the summer of 1924, during the clearance of the area in front of the entrance, a stone of unusual shape and ornamented with carving was picked up. This stone played an amusing part in the later proceedings. It proved to be the model of a columbarium, or something of the sort, that had been carved some fifteen years previously by a Danish sculptor who had at that time been guardian to the place, and who had been in the habit of occupying his leisure hours by carving, in soft stone, models of buildings, etc., which he sold to visitors.

In 1881, the Dominican Fathers of the French Archaeological School at St Stephen's discovered, at a point about 120 metres north-west of the Tomb, and on the side of the road leading northwards to Nablus, the remains of a mediaeval chapel.

About the beginning of May, 1885, an accidental occurrence brought to light the existence, at the southern limit of their enclosure, and within a few paces of the *Garden Tomb*, of an extensive hypogeum, or rock-hewn group of tombs. At some period the graves in this hypogeum had been ransacked. Among the remains was a tomb-slab inscribed in Greek with the following epitaph:

Θήκη διαφέρουσα Εὐθυμίου δ(ια)(κόνου) Πινδίση —

*"Private tomb of the deacon Euthymius Pindiris."*

The second name is apparently a family name or surname.

The history of this hypogeum is sufficiently clear. In its original form it dates probably from the Herodian period. It consisted of an entrance and an ante-chamber, round which were set subsidiary chambers provided with funerary slabs or benches, with ossuaries below floor level.

During the middle of the fifth century it was included in the monastic property of St Stephen's, and was re-used, altered and added to. Tombs of trough-form were cut, and crosses were incised in the walls. These modifications, together with the discovery of Christian lamps and of the epitaph of the deacon Euthymius, are clear evidence of utilization in the fifth-sixth centuries, when the monastic establishment existed. There is also evidence of a partial adaptation during the time of the Crusades. This hypogeum, together with the *Garden Tomb*, which lies within a few steps of it, formed part of one and the same monastic cemetery.

The excavations were stopped when the southern boundary of the Dominican property was reached. The hypogeum was, of course, left accessible, as were all other archaeological discoveries.

The work of excavation was then concentrated more to the north, round the ruins of the Basilica of St Stephen. These ruins lay a little east of the Mediaeval Chapel already mentioned.

During the summer of 1889, while the remains of the Basilica's forecourt were being cleared, a slab, with a Greek inscription, was found. Below the slab were three steps leading to a small stone door. Beyond the door three more steps led down within a narrow passage, and two funerary benches were found under a vault. The slab was inscribed as follows:

† Θήκ(η) διαφέρ(ουσα) Νόννου διακ(όνου) Ὀνισ(ίμου) τῆς  
 ἁγ(ίας) τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Ἀ(ναστάσεως) κ(αὶ) τῆς μο(νῆς)  
 αὐτῆς —

*"Private tomb of the Deacon Nonnus Onesimus, of the Holy Anastasis of Christ and of this monastery."*

The term *Agia Anastasis* (the expression used since the Constantinian period to designate the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre), indicates that Nonnus exercised his diaconal functions at "the Church of the Resurrection", although he belonged to the Monastic community of St Stephen's. Graves of functionaries of the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection (now known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) have also been found on the Mount of Olives and at Gethsemane; on the former, the grave of a sub-deacon of the Anastasis, and at the latter, the graves of two door-keepers of the same sanctuary. When the Empress Eudocia decided to confide to a monastic community of established orthodoxy the duties attaching to the Martyrium of St Stephen, which she had just built, she chose the disciples of St Euthymius. In order to emphasize dependence on the Patriarchate, she seems to have desired, if we may judge from a sentence in Cyril of Scythopolis' life of St Euthymius, that the clergy should be affiliated to the Holy Sepulchre. The passage referred to is:

Γαβριήλιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τε... τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως  
καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου.

*“Gabriel, at one and the same time priest of the Holy  
Anastasis and Superior of St Stephen.”*

This provides a striking analogy with the epitaph of the deacon Nonnus Onesimus. Onesimus seems here to have the same relation to Nonnus as Pindiris has to Euthymius, and we may regard it, too, as a family name or surname.

On the completion of the excavations the Rev. Père Lagrange, O. P., published the results.

Such are the main archaeological discoveries that have been made since 1867, in the area immediately west and north-west of Bezetha.

(ii) At first sight it would seem difficult to extract from these discoveries any evidence in support of a conjecture that in this neighbourhood are Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. The fact, however, remains that Bezetha came to be believed by many people to be Calvary, and the Byzantine Tomb, found in 1867, to be the Holy Sepulchre.

A complete freedom from the cramping touch of fact; an unrestrained use of the imaginative faculty; an equally unrestrained abandonment to emotional guidance were the main factors in achieving this result.

Strong feelings of disgust were, it seems, aroused in many by the somewhat uninformed interpretation they saw fit to attach to all that they observed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Superstitious mummerly, lying and idle mummeries, formalism, trafficking, hateful and despicable rivalries, were among the expressions used. The conviction of general falsity connoted by these expressions seems to have embraced not only usages in the Holy Places but also their authenticity.

Of those who concluded that the traditional sites could not be authentic there were some who doubted whether the real sites would ever be found, and others who were sufficiently hopeful to make the attempt. The authentic

Calvary was, it seems, only to be found outside the present walls of the City. The Sepulchre would, of course, be near to it. The spot must be free from the contamination of superstition and contention; it must answer to the requirements of the searchers' preconceptions and must be of a character that would satisfy, and not repel, the Christian conscience.

For those thus minded, the hill of Bezetha had certain obvious attractions. It is a hill, though not, except in the rainy months, a very green one, and it is without the city wall. It was not, however, till a distinguished soldier, General Gordon, gave his support to the suggestion that Bezetha was Calvary, that the idea received any widespread acceptance. In his eyes, the city appeared as typifying a human skeleton lying on its right side on the Eastern hill. Bezetha provided the skull, while the feet were placed at Siloam. The site of the former Jewish Temple was seen to be in the neighbourhood of the pelvis and the altar of burnt sacrifice was in a position suitable for indicating the rejection of the holocausts that had become an object of disgust to the Lord. This imaginary skeleton symbolized the victim who abrogated the Old Law.

As soon as all this had been perceived, and its importance as a contribution to the topographical and historical problems of Calvary had been fully grasped, Bezetha was duly pronounced to be Calvary. This pronouncement was made in 1883. That question once settled, a Holy Sepulchre was clearly the next requisite. The Byzantine Tomb, discovered in 1867, was hit upon as fulfilling every requirement. But, for some reason or other, it was considered necessary, in order firmly to establish this tomb as the Holy Sepulchre, to use not only the method of intuition which had sufficed for the identification of Calvary, but others of a different character.

Various versions of the Greek epitaphs discovered by the Dominicans and already described, appeared from time to time in newspapers, periodicals and in books.

An American newspaper called the *North Christian Advocate*, in an issue dated 7th November, 1889, printed

the following communication from an anonymous Jerusalem correspondent: "There are strange rumours afloat about an inscription found at St Stephen's. . . . It is said that the Romanists are anxious to hush up a discovery, as it would damage the credit of the Holy Sepulchre. A person who professes to have seen and read it informs me that its contents are somewhat to the following effect: 'I, Eusebius have desired to be buried in this spot which I believe to be close to the place where the body of my Lord lay'."

Murray's guide for Palestine popularized the association of the inscription with the *Garden Tomb*, and led readers to believe that *two* deacons, Nonnus and Onesimus, had been buried near their Lord" in one tomb quite close to the *Garden Tomb*.

A book called, *Palestine depicted and described*, by G.E. Franklin, contained the following: "Two of these flat gravestones contained inscriptions in Greek, one to Nonnus and one to Onesimus, 'deacons of the Church of the Resurrection buried near my Lord'. These stones have now been let into the ground of the adjoining St Stephen's Church, where they are shown to Catholic pilgrims; but they are not in their original positions, as I witnessed their removal".

In another publication called, *Jésus de Nazareth*, by A. Westphal, the author, who describes himself as a pilgrim, "in spirit and in truth", made himself responsible for the following somewhat inaccurate statement: "These ancient Christian tombs discovered by Conder and the singularly suggestive inscriptions that they bear: 'To Nonnus and Onesimus, deacons of the Church of Witness to the Resurrection of Christ'. There was then in this quarter, from the earliest days of Christianity, a church built as a perpetual testimony to the site of the Resurrection. On another one can be read 'Buried near His Lord'."

In 1924, a learned professor saw the model of the columbarium (already mentioned as having been made some fifteen years earlier by a Danish sculptor). The professor pronounced this object to be a votive sanctuary of Cybele with the column and the tree of Atys; Venus

and Adonis and their symbols were offered as equally adequate alternatives. Following upon this *The Times* newspaper, published on July 24th, 1924, an article headed, "*Garden Tomb. New Jerusalem Discovery. Stone sanctuary and its meaning*". The writer of this article, basing himself on the professor's interpretation, described the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman colony in the time of Hadrian; and the Temple of Venus built upon the Sepulchre of Jesus. He set out the respective claims of the *Garden Tomb* and of the Holy Sepulchre, and associated the mediaeval remains of the tomb with the Roman Temple of the second century. Thereupon the professor wrote to *The Times* (6th September, 1924): "... the . . . stone is not a copy of the Temple of Aphrodite and I think it wrong to connect this stone in any way with an altar belonging to the goddess and still more with any question concerning the situation of the Holy Sepulchre, with which it has nothing whatever to do".

In the course of the article reference was made to the "remarkable discoveries" that accredit the *Garden Tomb*. Among the remarkable discoveries was mentioned, "an early Christian burial ground as one would expect to find near the Tomb of the Resurrection . . . and the ruins of an early church". It was not mentioned that these remains were those of the Byzantine Basilica of St Stephen's. We also read: "In a vault adjoining the tomb two tombstones were unearthed bearing inscriptions (the first) to Nonnus and Onesimus, deacons of the Church of the Resurrection, and (the second) 'buried near my Lord', although the latter inscription, less legible than the other, has been questioned."

The reader will have noticed that, of these five versions of the inscriptions alleged to have been found, no single one agrees with any of the other four; that no inscriptions corresponding to any of these versions had in fact been found; that the words buried near my, his, or their Lord are imaginary.

In addition to the suggestion already quoted, that "the Romanists" were anxious to hush up a discovery, there appeared another, also illustrating an attempt to

throw doubt upon the archaeological integrity of the Dominican authorities of the French School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. This suggestion, contained in a published account of the excavations, was that inscriptions, found in place, were removed but suppressed "by the Latins to whom the place now belongs". As illustrating a similar state of mind the following nonsense is quoted from the same account. "Great quantities of bones were found and carefully preserved in boxes. They many hereafter serve some priestly or churchly purpose when the place and the time have been prepared for their use." (*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1885, p. 226.*) Comment would be superfluous. ☞

The following may be quoted as an example of the ignorance that was common among these lively seekers after new things, of "Romanism", that always played the part, in this comedy, of the arch-bogyman. "Defenders of tradition who regard belief in the holy places as a matter of faith . . ." Needless to say, no one regarded, or regards, this as an article of faith.

Emphatic statements of wholly unsubstantiated opinion were expressed on matters of an archaeological character by individuals whose archaeological qualifications were not apparent. The distinguished soldier already mentioned said: "I have still a strong opinion that we shall find the Constantine Sepulchre is close to St Stephen's Church". (See *Wilson's Golgotha . . . p. 199.*)

There was another individual whose title to be regarded as competent was not evident when he said that the discoveries in this locality all tended to confirm the view that this spot is "without doubt the site of the Crucifixion and of the Holy Sepulchre". (*Quarterly Statement, 1890, p. 125.*)

The pilgrim "in spirit and in truth", describing his disgust with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and arguing against its authenticity, said: "A text has been discovered that removes all doubt on this matter . . . that of St Willibald, one of the earliest pilgrims who have left a description of the journey". (St Willibald, it may be noted, dates from the eighth century.) The following

version is given of what St Willibald said: "There is now he (Willibald) says, a church in this place . . . called . . . Calvary. Calvary was formerly outside Jerusalem. But Helena, when she found the Cross, arranged this place in such a way as to place it in Jerusalem". What St Willibald actually said was, "Et haec (the Church of Calvary) fuit prius extra Jerusalem; sed Helena quando invenit crucem, collocavit illum locum intus intra Jerusalem". Willibald obviously did not mean to imply that Helena transported Calvary or the church, but that she included them in the town, evidently by extending the wall, as Willibald thought. St Willibald's statement was not wholly correct, but the absurdity suggested by the later pilgrim is even less so.

Thus it happened that a great fog, compounded of inventions, prejudice, ignorance, and inaccuracy was produced. Among the ingredients of this fog we must, it seems, include a *quantum sufficit* of that same slanderous hostility to the Church, as was shown by the opponents of the traditional Calvary and Holy Sepulchre, when they ascribed the basest motives to Constantine the Great and to the then Bishop of Jerusalem.

In the great fog created by these methods, large numbers of unsuspecting people, and even of people of whose critical sense more might reasonably have been expected, were misled into believing that the *Garden Tomb* was really the tomb in which Jesus had been laid and whence He rose from the dead.

A seventeenth century writer alludes to those befogged western heretics (nebulones Occidentales haereticos) who argued that the traditional tomb could not be the true one . . . but the subject of fogs and the befogged is too big a one to pursue further.

### III

DIRECT attack on the traditional sites has failed no less than the attempts to establish a new Calvary and Holy Sepulchre. Since this subject is bound up with the

manner in which the city developed, it is necessary shortly to describe the main phases of that development up to the time of Our Lord.

Of the hills that have played a part in this development, the earliest to be occupied was the hill of Ophel. Here was the small settlement of the Jebusites. The shape of the ridge they occupied is in plan like that of a wedge with its point to the south. The two long sides of the wedge are bordered by deep valleys that converge from a northerly direction and meet at its point (Fig. 1).

The eastern valley is the valley of the Kedron, and the western, the Tyropoeon valley. These two valleys provided the settlement with a natural fosse that enclosed the whole circuit of the defensive wall except for a short length across the blunt end of the wedge to the north. To render that length of walling secure an artificial fosse was cut across the hill from east to west. This little city began to expand soon after David's conquest. Northwards it expanded so as to include what became the Temple Area. That expansion necessitated filling in the artificial fosse, and the cutting of another further north, between the head of the Tyropoeon valley and the ravine of St Anne, which runs from a north-westerly direction into the valley of the Kedron. The latter, at a point a little south of its junction with the Tyropoeon valley, is met by a third great valley, the valley of Hinnom. From the point of meeting, the valley of Hinnom ascends westwards; it then gradually turns northwards until at a point west of the Jaffa Gate, it turns again westwards.


The high ground to the north of the Jaffa Gate is divided from the rise (where the citadel is) to the south of it, by a dip or neck that runs westwards to the Hinnom valley, and eastwards towards the head of a lateral ravine. This ravine has been called the Palace Ravine, because at the head of it stood Herod's palace, where the citadel now stands. From its head it descends eastwards to the Tyropoeon valley. The area bounded to the north by this ravine; to the west and south by the valley of Hinnom; to the east by the hill of Ophel, was the site of the western extension of the city. Round this extension a wall,

usually referred to as the "first wall" was built during an early phase of the Jewish monarchy.

There was a strong place at the north-west corner of the northern extension and another at the north-west corner of the westward extension.

Later (some seven centuries B. C.) a further extension, necessarily northwards, was made. No one questions that the wall protecting this extension ran between the Hananeel fortress, at the north-west corner of the Temple Area, and the Tower of the Furnaces, a strong bastion which, after the post-exilian restoration under Nehemiah, protected the extreme north-western angle of the town. Nor is it doubted that, under Herod the Great, the course of the wall remained unaltered, or that Herod replaced Hananeel by the Antonia Tower, and the Tower of the Furnaces by a Royal Palace. It is also agreed that this wall is the wall that Josephus called the "second wall". He states that it started from the gate called Gennath, which belonged to the first wall, and, enclosing only the northern quarter, went up to Antonia.

The position of the gate Gennath is unknown; but it must have been either at, or towards, the western end of that section of the first wall which ran westwards from the Temple wall to the Tower of the Furnaces.

The high land lying north-west of the Jaffa Gate falls, in an easterly direction, towards the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. When the eastward slope has reached a point just west of the Church it becomes more gradual and results in the formation of a spur, or promontory, projecting eastwards. The southern slopes of this promontory form the northern bank of the Palace Ravine; while its eastern slopes form the western bank of the northern portion of the Tyropoeon valley. Thus the -shaped depression (that lay in the angle formed by the junction of the northern length of the "first wall" with the western wall of the Temple Area), was, in its east-west section, bounded, on the west, by the high ground at the head of the Palace Ravine; and on the north, by the promontory; while, in its north-south section, it was bounded on the west by the promontory. The

top of this promontory is about 120 metres wide from north to south and forms a flattish esplanade that, for about 200 metres from west to east, has only a slight easterly slope. The purpose of the new, or "second wall", was to protect the population that had settled north of the first wall and consequently in the  $\perp$ -shaped depression above described. The question arises whether the extramural settlement, or "second town", extended over any of the high land north of this depression.

The configuration of the land considered together with the description by Josephus, who says that the wall went "up to Antonia", shows, as Sir Charles Wilson pointed out in his "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre" that the wall ran straight up from the Tyropoeon valley to Antonia, and that it did not take a wide sweep to the north, or follow, in part, the course of the present wall and then come down over the ridge of Bezetha to the Antonia. We may conclude then, that the northern limit of the new settlement was somewhere south of the present wall.

There is no archaeological evidence of any important wall north of a line drawn east and west from the point marked A on the attached plan (Fig. I). Therefore there is no archaeological justification for contending that the settlement extended north of that line. On that line only three fragments of masonry have been observed. They are shown at B, C, and D.

The other fragments of masonry that have been observed are in the positions marked at E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, and N. These ten fragments lie either to the south or to the east of the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

The suggestion that the gate at O is the gate Gennath, is untenable. This gate is a Roman structure.

If the fragments M, N are, however, part of the "second wall" that started from this gate, the course of that wall would have excluded the site of the Holy Sepulchre. There remain for consideration the other fragments. Of these there is one, B, the position of which would, if it belongs to the ancient city wall, indicate the inclusion of the site within the wall. There are three fragments C, D, I, which, if their position alone is taken into account, could

belong equally well, either to a wall that included, or to one that excluded the site. And there are seven fragments which, if belonging to the old wall, would indicate the exclusion of the site.

The fragment B is probably of Hadrian's time. The fragments M, N, are, almost certainly, mediaeval.

The archaeological remains so far referred to, clearly do not justify the conclusion that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was within the city. If any conclusion is to be drawn from these fragments of masonry, it is that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was excluded. This conclusion is further supported by the presence of extensive rock cuttings, P, Q (Fig. I) to the east and south of the church and to the presence of the fragments of walling built on the southern and eastern edges of these cuttings which are themselves of a nature, of a depth, width, and length, that we should not expect to find except in a cutting that formed part of the fosse of the city wall.

According, therefore, to the most probable interpretation of the evidence, such as it is, the wall, having started at the gate Gennath (somewhere near the citadel end of the first wall), ran northwards, then eastwards, then northwards, then eastwards again down the slopes of the Tyropoen valley and up to the Antonia. Nor should we expect any other trace, bearing in mind the purpose of the wall, the configuration of the ground, and the description by Josephus.

That description, however, provides little more than a rather vague indication of the wall's point of departure, since we do not know precisely the position of the gate Gennath. Nor does it give more than the general direction of the wall; though its end is more precisely fixed at the Antonia Fortress. Such a description, though useful, is hardly enough for fixing the exact trace of the wall.

But, as has been pointed out by the Reverend Père H. Vincent, O. P., of the French Archaeological School in Jerusalem, this description does not constitute the whole material available for the study of this question.

From incidents in the siege by Titus we learn that, somewhere near the middle of its course, the wall changed

direction — a change that compromised its strength when attacked by the new Roman engines of war. In spite of the massive tower that protected this re-entrant, it took the ram but a few days to effect the breach. In this same zone we know also that the wall was described by Nehemiah as having bordered the *Place*. This *Place* is identified by Père Vincent, O. P., with the flattish area (the only one for the existence of which we have any evidence), forming the top of the promontory. This prominent platform is the most favourable site for the passage of a line of wall running from Herod's Palace to the Antonia Fortress. For it offers opportunities for effecting the necessary change of direction and for the measures needed for the protection of a line of defence against such methods of attack as were in use when the wall was first laid out.

Reference has already been made to the fosse-like rock-cuttings that are known east and south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. To the south the cutting has a mean depth of ten metres; the northern face of this cutting has, at a later period, been subjected to quarrying operations, R (Fig. I), that have destroyed its original line; but its opposite, or southern face, is uninjured; it is straight, vertical, and provided with several oblong projections. Crowning its inner face are the remains of walling which is built of large dressed blocks with drafted edges, some of them intact and still in their original positions upon a foundation of rock, others torn away and broken. In the section that runs northwards the existence of a fosse is suggested by the series of reservoirs north and south of the crypt of St Helena; while the existence of the wall is testified by finely dressed masonry, the blocks of which are identical in character with those found in the southern section of the line.

In the Russian Establishment known as the Hospice of Alexander, there is an ancient threshold of massive slabs set on the rock, J. This threshold has no relationship either with the neighbouring Constantinian doorways nor with the colonnaded street that ran, north and south, through the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina. It is part

and parcel of the scheme of construction represented by the fosse and by the foundations of the ancient wall already referred to. This threshold formed part of a town gateway that had the usual right-angle turn.

To the north of this gate are remains of a great tower, K (Fig. I), if not a fortress, covering at one and the same time the entrance to the city, a conveniently situated "place-d'armes", and the change of direction. "Is it necessary here to recall the celebrated intermediate tower in the second wall of Josephus, a structure that served as the Residence of the Persian Governor in the time of Nehemiah, and, adjacent to it, the Gate of Ephraim or of the New Quarter, and the Place in front of this Gate? One by one these elements are seen to harmonize both with the contours of the ground and with remains, of which the original nature now becomes clear. . . ." (Authenticité des Lieux Saints, by R.P. Hugues Vincent.)

The outside limits, then, beyond which it is, on the basis afforded by the available evidence, more than unlikely that the wall should have extended, exclude from the perimeter of the city in the time of Our Lord the area comprised in the western two-thirds of the flattish esplanade or platform that forms the top of the promontory lying north of the Palace Ravine. That area includes Calvary and its neighbourhood.

#### IV

IN order to find a reason why the place of the Crucifixion was called Golgotha (the place of the skull) it is unnecessary to have recourse to the fantastic suggestion that it occupied the position and reproduced the outline of the skull of some imaginary skeleton, of which the parts, neck, back-bone, pelvis, legs, etc., may be imaginéd to be represented by other features that characterize the city; nor to the legend known to Origen and often referred to (as, for example, by St Jerome) that there was the tomb of Adam, his skull regenerated by contact with the foot of the Saviour's Cross; nor lastly to the interpretation

preferred by St Jerome and based upon the unsupported hypothesis that the spot was the official place for carrying out death sentences under the Roman administration, and gained its name from the skulls that, as he supposed, must have here been scattered.

A more probable, as well as a simpler explanation than any of those is, that the word "Golgotha" is a place-name applied to a locality that had a quality of prominence or extension comparable to that possessed by a skull or head in relation to the rest of the body.

Some years ago when the authorities of the French Archaeological School were engaged in surveying this quarter, one of their better informed native assistants (an old liberated slave who had spent his life in the city) chanced one day to refer to Calvary and its neighbourhoods as the "Râs", that is to say, the Head. He thought it necessary to excuse himself for not having used the name current among the learned, and to justify his own appellation on the ground that among "children of the city" it was customary to employ it. Applied to such a site, this term "Râs" corresponds exactly with Golgotha, "the Skull" of the Gospels.

If we try to reconstitute the appearance of this area in the time of our Lord, it would seem that anyone who left the city by the gate and road that led westwards at this point would have seen on his right hand by the side of the road a small mound and a dip in the ground to the west of it. From this dip he would have noticed that the land began to rise more steeply to the west. In the westward rise and some forty metres west by north-west of the mound was the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, its entrance facing east. A short distance away were other tombs. He would have observed that the neighbourhood consisted of plots of land, shaded by a few trees, olives and other, and used for growing vegetables, just as we can now see such plots as well as places of burial just outside the walls of Jerusalem.

The character of tombs of that period is known. Such a tomb as the one that Joseph of Arimathea had cut for himself would be designed on a plan that provided an

atrium, or open forecourt, a vestibule, and a sepulchral chamber. These were the essential elements. The size, the details, and the elaboration of any tomb varied according to circumstances, such as the conditions imposed by the nature of the site, and the amount of money available. The most convenient and economical site was a sloping one, for such a site involved the cutting away of a smaller mass of rock than would a flat one for the purpose of providing a vertical face in front of the atrium in which to cut an entrance of sufficient height into the vestibule. The height of the vertical face was kept as low as was consistent with that purpose. Access to the atrium was gained by a few steps leading down to it from the ground level. The entrance to the vestibule was but of small dimensions and was closed with a disk of stone set in a groove cut in the rock. In the back wall of the vestibule was another doorway, usually very low and giving access to the burial chamber. The latter was oblong in shape and in one of its long sides was a niche superimposed by an arch; under the arch was a stone bench for the reception of the corpse.

The guard was doubtless posted in the atrium. From that position they could ensure that no one rolled the stone away and entered the tomb.

The holy women at first seem only to have entered the vestibule, whence they fled in trembling and fear after hearing from the angel that Jesus had risen.

Peter and John seem to have gone into the inner chamber. It was there on the stone bench under that arch that the body had been laid, and it was there that Peter saw the linen clothes lying and the napkin that had been about His head, not lying with the linen clothes, but apart, wrapped up into one place (John xx, 6 ff). Mary, who remained after the departure of the disciples, still convinced that the body of her Lord had been stolen, and weeping outside stooping down looked through the small entrance that divided the vestibule from the inner chamber and saw in the latter the two angels in white, one at each end of the stone bench upon which the body of Jesus had been laid (John xv, 11 and 12).

Of the original Sepulchre very little remains. The preservation only of the inner chamber was considered by Constantine's architects to be essential. The atrium and the vestibule were sacrificed doubtless for architectural reasons. What small remnants of rock still remain are all that have survived the attacks of enemies and the destructive efforts of relic hunters.

It is, perhaps, worth while here to include a reference to the suggestion that the "cult of the Holy Places" (Calvary and the Sepulchre) and the construction on their site, by Constantine, of monuments in honour of events that there took place, were no more than the outcome of a plagiarism of an old pagan cult that was popular in Aelia Capitolina.

This suggestion was advanced under cover of much erudition. Golgi (in Cyprus) and the goddess associated with that place (which was one of the chief sanctuaries of the oriental Venus) were both invoked as elements likely to be useful for the purpose in view. The Temple of Venus, that stood in Hadrian's Capitol over the site of Golgotha, derived its existence from the cult of the goddess of Golgi, which had been practised in more ancient times at that place. The Hebrew-Aramaic place-name of Golgotha was thus explained, albeit in a manner that is far-fetched rather than convincing. The Sepulchre of Our Lord had, similarly, been a primordial cenotaph of Adonis.

In support of all this, Canaanitish survivals, the religious syncretism of Roman times, the ambitions of the painted pagan (i.e. Constantine), the suggested connivance of the Church, were called in to make their contribution to the argument.

Nor was this all. A passage was discovered in Eusebius which provided clear evidence in favour of the existence here of a primordial cenotaph to Adonis. This passage consists of a statement that, when the rubbish, under which Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre had been buried was removed, the "Cavern of Salvation" was brought to light. This expression, "Cavern of Salvation", smacked strongly of the language of the mystagogues and of Adonis

rites; no Christian could have thought of calling the Saviour's tomb a cavern; this term, unknown in the Scriptures, was never met in Christian literature prior to Eusebius; Eusebius, in using this expression, did so under the unconscious influence of popular usage, without taking into account its religious bearing; the use made of the word cave (spelunca) by the fourth century pilgrim, Etheria, proved that this traditional expression survived the erection by Constantine of his monuments on this site.

These suggestions have been answered as follows: No devotees of "Canaanite divinities" are to be found either in the Apostolic circle, or in the first generation of Christians or in the ephemeral Jerusalem of Bar Kokhba. Moreover, if the religious syncretism of the second century introduced into Aelia a few traces of the worship of Adonis, it was certainly not into the Capitol that this worship was brought. However general may have been the use in the Roman period of such expressions as "sacred cave" or "salvation", it does not follow that a Christian writer should not have used them in their normal sense without any occult signification. In view of the form in which the Sepulchre presented itself in the Constantinian monument no one can be surprised that Etheria called it a cave. In using the terms that they did, both Eusebius and Etheria were but employing a manner of expression already established by custom (notably among the Aramaeans of Palmyra) to signify a tomb cut in the rock as well as a natural cave transformed into a sepulchre in the same manner as the Bible itself testifies in regard to the cave of Macpelah.

Nor is it true that the term, cave or cavern, was never, in the whole course of Christian literature, prior to Eusebius, used to designate the Sepulchre of Jesus; for this very word is used in the recovered fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews instead of the monument "hewed out" in a rock or stone, as in the Canonical Gospels.

The attribution to Constantine of the opinions alleged to have been his is gratuitous. The suggestion of

connivance by the Church in Jerusalem belongs to a now discredited fashion of thought.

This particular attack on the sites, though made with every appearance of learning, was not, in its essential character, different from others. For it was based, not so much on proved facts, as upon guesswork, a method that has played so large a part in the attacks on the Holy Sepulchre.

## V

THERE remains the question of tradition. It is impossible, as has been affirmed, that there should have survived a continuous tradition from the time of the Crucifixion to the time of Constantine?

That the earliest Christians were not, as has often been suggested, so entirely unlike ourselves as to take no interest in exactly noticing and remembering a place where events of outstanding importance had occurred, is sufficiently clear from the Gospel accounts of the Passion. The writers of these accounts did not merely record the bare fact that Jesus was crucified. They clearly stated where he was crucified. Their statement was in every way sufficiently precise to enable anyone to find the place. They recorded that he was crucified at a place called at that time Golgotha; that this place was near the city and outside the gate, the gate, that is to say, which as everyone was aware, was associated with that well-known place. The position of the tomb in which Jesus was laid was described as near to the place of crucifixion. Everyone would have known which tomb it was, for it was the one that a well-known member of the Sanhedrin had cut for himself. In recording these mundane details they acted just as any other normal human beings would have acted. They doubtless supposed that their successors would be as keenly interested as they were themselves in knowing where the tremendous events they described had happened. They knew that future generations would desire to visit these places in order to gain the satisfaction and the advantages that fall to normal human beings who,

following a natural instinct, use material memorials for the purpose of keeping alive memories that are precious to them. They knew that Jesus Himself had made use of the sensible to convey the spiritual. They were aware, as we are aware, that the spirit is stimulated through the senses. These writers of the Gospels would have regarded it, no less than normal people must still regard it, as folly to suggest that carefully to note the sites, as they noted them, was contrary to the spirit of the Gospels they themselves wrote, and to suggest that, in so doing, they were acting in a manner that was out of harmony with the teaching of Jesus as recorded by one of them (John iv, 21 ff). They, like normally intelligent and healthy humanity in subsequent ages, including our own, would not have confounded two distinct orders of ideas, on the one hand the veneration of a site associated with events of transcendent importance, and on the other its superstitious adoration.

Men have always remembered the sites of great victories. On such sites they erect monuments in commemoration of the dead and the deeds they did. Why, then, should they not also remember the site of the greatest victory of all?

Of those who witnessed the crucifixion in A. D. 33, many were still alive a few years later when Herod Agrippa built the wall (known as the third wall) that enclosed within the circuit of the city both Calvary and the Sepulchre. Since tombs were regarded as unclean (and the Holy Sepulchre was not the only tomb in the neighbourhood) no buildings were here erected. During the thirty years between the crucifixion and the martyrdom of James, "brother of the Lord" and leader of the Christian community, the neighbourhood of Calvary remained unaltered and unoccupied; and the Tomb and the mound were silent but eloquent reminders for all of that generation who happened to pass by them. James was succeeded by Simeon, son of Cleophas and cousin of Jesus. It was Simeon who, in the year 66, and in consequence of the Jewish revolt against the Roman Power, conducted the Christian community across the Jordan. Simeon, even

if he did not himself witness the crucifixion, would have known from James exactly where it occurred, and must himself often have seen both Calvary and the Sepulchre. Such a sight was not one that he or any of his companions would easily have forgotten during their exile across the Jordan.

The destruction of the city by Titus was not followed by an abrupt, complete, and prolonged break with its former inhabitants. The presence of the tenth Legion (Fretensis), camped on the ruins of the city, offered opportunities that the humbler elements at least must have taken, of gaining some sort of poor livelihood on the sites of their former homes. Even were there no documentary evidence suggesting that the repopulation of the site and some reconstruction on a modest scale began soon after the siege, such repopulation and reconstruction would obviously enough have occurred by reason of the ineradicable instinct that takes men back to their native place however apparently uninhabitable it may have been made. That instinct did not, in point of fact, fail to bring a Jewish population back to what remained of their Capital and of their Sanctuary. Nor was the absence of the Christians long enough to have blotted out the recollection of their venerated sites. When they returned they were led back by the same Simeon who had taken them across the Jordan. Calvary and the Sepulchre, situated in a neighbourhood that had never been encumbered by buildings, had not, naturally, been affected by the siege operations in any way that would have made it impossible to recognise them. When therefore the Christians returned to form in Jerusalem the relatively prosperous "Church of Christ" that was born of Judaism and of which every bishop is known till the siege by Hadrian in 135, they had no difficulty in finding the sites that were dear to them.

Among those of the generation that succeeded Simeon (who was martyred by Trajan in 107) was Narcissus, a Graeco-Roman, born in Palestine about the year 96. He became bishop about the year 190. He was thus some forty years old when, subsequent to the second

Jewish revolt, Jerusalem, after suffering an even more radical destruction, was transformed by Hadrian in 135 into a Roman city of the colonial type.

The new city was approximately rectangular in plan. The rectangle measured some 950 metres from north to south and 600 metres from west to east. It was situated on the western portion of the old city. The Temple area was excluded from its perimeter. The intersection of the main artery with the cross roads occurred on the Calvary platform which thus became the site for the Forum and the Capitol. Considerations arising from the nature of the ground and from the necessity of attaining the required symmetry, doubtless dictated the choice of the sites both of the city and of its Capitol. The construction of the Capitol made it necessary to fill in the surface fold which separated the Sepulchre from Calvary, and, in order to gain the required space, to extend the natural esplanade of the "Râs". No site could be more suitable for the new Capitol than this prominent platform.

Taken literally, the later testimony of Christian writers would lead us to believe that the choice of this site was decreed by the Emperor himself and that the object was completely to do away with the two sanctuaries that were so precious to the followers of the religion of Christ. Eusebius, for example, in the "Life of Constantine" (iii, 25) refers to "the whole race of demons striving by every means to bury in obscurity and forgetfulness this divine monument of immortality"; and continues that with great supply of labour "these impious men" . . . bring "earth and cover in the whole place". Then, "the filling having reached a certain height, they cover it with paving and thus hide the divine cave. . . They then ordain above the terrace a real tomb for souls. . . by building to an impure demon the dark haunt of Aphrodite". And St. Jerome, "since the time of Hadrian till the reign of Constantine, during about 180 years, there were adored on the site of the Resurrection, the idol Jupiter, and on the rock of the Cross, the marble statue of Venus, put up by the pagans. The conviction of the persecutors was that they would take from us our Faith

in the Resurrection, and the Cross, if they profaned the Holy Places by idols”.

But the importance, in the time of Hadrian, of the Christian community, was not of a nature likely to have troubled the Roman authorities. Nor is it probable that the burying of Calvary and the Sepulchre were due to any other consideration than the necessity of adapting the site to the new requirements.

Access to Aelia Capitolina was forbidden both to Jews and to Christians of Jewish birth. But it is improbable that the decrees succeeded in setting up an impassable barrier. Such decrees never do. In any event they did not apply to Christians of Graeco-Roman origin, such as Narcissus; or, if in principle they did apply to them, they were not enforced with the same severity. The progress of the Gospel had been so rapid among Graeco-Romans that we need have no hesitation in affirming the early establishment in Aelia of a church of Graeco-Roman membership. This church remained of course in communion with the Judaeo-Christian community of Palestine and inherited from that body the whole of their traditions. Bishop Narcissus was the link between the original Judaeo-Christian community and the Church of Graeco-Roman membership established in Aelia Capitolina. He was, too, the contemporary of the Judaeo-Christian, Hegesippus, whose “Memoirs,” written about 180 and in parts transcribed by Eusebius, embodied the records of preceding generations back to Apostolic times. Narcissus was thus fully equipped for keeping alive the memory of the Holy Places; and the church in Aelia had no difficulty in preserving a knowledge of their position.

Even prior to the episcopacy of Narcissus, illustrious pilgrims were coming to Palestine to find places associated with the Saviour. Under Narcissus' successor, Alexander (213-251), the attraction of the Holy Places became still more evident. The formation of a library by Alexander in Aelia; the collection of books and manuscripts by Origen at Caesarea; and the established practice of pilgrimage, all indicate a prospering church with a membership that was intelligent, inquiring, and deeply interested

in the Holy Places. When therefore Constantine decided architecturally to glorify the latter, we are entitled to conclude that there were in his time inheritors of traditions, dating back to Apostolic days, that had been passed on by the church in Aelia and by generations of distinguished pilgrims; that, from these traditions, the contemporaries of Constantine knew that Calvary and the Sepulchre would be found if Hadrian's Capitol were demolished and if excavations were carried down to rock level; and lastly that, having done so, there was no difficulty in identifying Calvary and the Sepulchre.

## VI

EXCEPT among those who are prepared to reject evidence, however conclusive, unless it accords with their prejudices, there can now be no one who doubts that the present Rotunda, which stands over the Sepulchre, is built upon the same site as that upon which Constantine erected his Anastasis; and that it stands, to a large extent, on the remains of his construction.

It is equally certain that the rock now to be seen in the Calvary Chapel was part of the mound the nature and the position of which, relatively to the Sepulchre, were important factors in the architectural problem that faced the architects of Constantine.

That problem was not an easy one to solve. Calvary, as those architects found it, was a rocky mound; west of it there was a dip in the land, and west of that dip the ground rose more steeply towards the west. The Sepulchre was situated in that rise, not, however, due west of Calvary but a little to the north of west.

They decided to isolate the Sepulchre from the non-essential rock that surrounded it. They quarried away (Fig. 2) all that unwanted rock to a level a little lower than that of the Sepulchre's floor, and over a surrounding area sufficiently extensive to provide a levelled space upon which to erect the enclosing walls of the Anastasis, which was given the circular form that it has since retained.

The mound of Calvary, also, was brought to a suitable shape by cutting away the superfluous rock that formed its slopes. This operation was carried out for the obvious architectural purpose of emphasizing and of bringing into relief this second essential feature of the site; a feature that necessarily had to be reduced to some precise architectural form before it could take its place in, and be made to accord suitably with, the architectural lay-out of its surroundings.

This *crucis rupes*, or Rock of the Cross, was enclosed in a grille. It stood as a separate monument, necessarily outside the major axis (which ran east and west) of the

LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH CALVARY  
AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

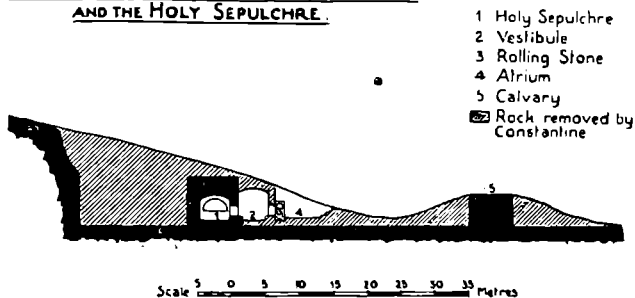


Fig. 2

whole architectural conception, and on the southern side of a colonnaded court constructed to the east of the Anastasis, or Shrine of the Resurrection. East of this court, a great Basilica or Martyrium was built, with its main entrance to the east, where access was provided through a colonnaded atrium or forecourt, reached from the main street that ran north and south through the city. The floor level of the Anastasis was determined by that of the Sepulchre; the level of the court to the east of it was probably a little lower. The top of the Calvary Rock was about four metres higher than the paving of the court and of the Martyrium, dedicated to the martyrdom of the Saviour.

The church we see to-day is the latest successor to a line that goes back for sixteen centuries. It was sixteen centuries ago that it first became possible for Christians to give adequate architectural expression to their natural veneration for these sites (which, indeed, they had not been able even to see since the year 135), and to their conviction that it was proper and necessary that monuments in their honour should stand here. That conviction has remained firmly rooted in the minds of Christians for more than fifty generations; so firmly, that it has always succeeded in remanifesting itself, in some sort of architectural form, even after the worst disasters due to natural causes, as well as after the most savage demolitions, due to religious animosity and fanaticism.

Thus, that conviction has always proved indestructible; and it has never been possible entirely to thwart the act of giving some sort of architectural expression to the desire it has always generated, though the splendour or poverty of the expression had varied, of course, with varying political and economic conditions.

Under Constantine the Great, the wealth and the technical skill of a great empire were available for the provision of craftsmen either from the west or from the east. After the destruction of Constantine's work by the Persians in 615, the financial difficulties that faced the then Patriarch, Modestus, were considerable, and the funds available did not allow a reconstruction on a scale of anything like the same grandeur, though carried out on the same general lines as those followed by Constantine.

Conditions in no way improved when the country passed, a few years later, under Moslem rule. In the eighth century (746) a great earthquake increased accumulated dilapidations. The local Christian community already impoverished by taxation and other exactions were unable themselves to supply the funds needed for reconstruction. In the ninth century conditions were improved by the protectorate established by Charlemagne by arrangement with the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad. Considerable sums reached Palestine from abroad and the country enjoyed a period of prosperity unknown since

the time of Justinian. Throughout the remainder of the ninth century conditions continued to be favourable, and maintenance was made possible by subscriptions from abroad.

In the tenth century, a new period of trouble began. The power of the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad had already, in the ninth century, declined. The real control had passed into the hands of a military bodyguard of Turkish origin. The former unity of the Moslem empire was broken. A rival (Fatimid) Caliphate was established in northern Africa. The lack of unified and effective control brought disorders to Islam. In the tenth century the Karmathians made an inroad into Palestine; they also made the pilgrim routes to Meccà dangerous. The numbers of Moslems pilgrims to Jerusalem increased. The conditions of anarchy reacted in a manner unfavourable for Christians in Jerusalem. In 935 a mosque was built on the site formerly occupied by the Constantinian atrium of the church. In 938 riots occurred on Palm Sunday, and fire and pillage damaged the Holy Sepulchre. The successes of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, the peace he concluded in 967 with the Fatimid Caliph in Africa against the Ikshidite Turks in Egypt (who also held Palestine and Southern Syria) exasperated the local Moslems who, helped by the Jews, set fire to the Anastasis and burnt the Patriarch John. A generation later, when the Fatimids had extended their power to Egypt and to Palestine, the church was destroyed (1009) by the eccentric Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim. Between 1027 and 1048 conditions again improved owing to a sort of protectorate established by the Byzantine Emperors. In 1048, in the time of Constantine Monomach, the church was rebuilt. It was this church, as rebuilt by Constantine Monomach, that met the eyes of the Crusaders when they captured Jerusalem in 1099.

They found the Holy Sepulchre surrounded by a circular structure consisting of a series of four groups of three columns each, and of three groups of piers of two piers each. This circular colonnade was surrounded, on the western half, by an ambulatory, the outer wall of which

contained three apses, while an apsed presbyterium or choir-like place for the clergy and the principal altar faced the Sepulchre to the east. East of this was a court on the southern side of which stood the Calvary Rock (standing to the height "of a lance") and the Chapel of Adam. To the south of the court was the Parvis, and, to the west of the latter, the Chapel of St John; the Baptistery, or Chapel of the Holy Trinity, and the Chapel of St James. North of the Holy Sepulchre was the Chapel of St Mary. The omphalos indicating the centre of the world (still seen in the present Basilica) was in the court east of the Presbyterium apse. Under the ruins of Constantine's Basilica was the crypt of St Helena.

The Crusaders built their Basilica (the building that still stands in spite of eight centuries of neglect and many acts of vandalism) west of the Rotunda to which they connected it by a triumphal arch. They designed their church so as to include Calvary and to cover under one roof both the Rock and the area formerly occupied by the court to the east of the Rotunda.

The plan of this church is to be regarded as a whole; the Rotunda and its annexed Basilica, or "Chorus Minorum", forming part of a conception wherein the Rotunda takes the place normally occupied by the nave of a Cathedral. Immediately east of the Rotunda, or nave, is the transept, in the southern arm of which is the main entrance. The middle bay of the transept is covered by a dome. East of the latter is the Choir with an apsidal eastern end and an ambulatory round it, and connected with aisles to the north and south of the Choir. The Calvary Rock is situated in the Chapel south of the southern aisle and immediately to the east of the main transeptal entrance.

Since its erection the Crusaders' church has suffered from earthquakes, from fire, from neglect, and, more damaging than all of these, from certain works carried out in 1810, a period when, owing to the Napoleonic wars, the French protectorate which had started with Charlemagne was not sufficiently effective to prevent damage to the church.

The effect of these works was to make it as difficult as possible, short of complete demolition of the Crusaders' building, to recognize that it is a Frank church of the twelfth century.

It was the occurrence of a serious fire that provided the occasion for this act of disfigurement and for the destruction of the tombs of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem who were buried in this church.

In consequence of all this and of the incongruous methods adopted for furnishing this church, its exceptionally fine character is obscured. But it is still possible to gain some appreciation of the architectural ingenuity, of the constructional skill, and of the perfection of workmanship in matters of detail, that were shown by the original builders. So much is still recoverable, that, were it possible to remove the plaster botching which conceals much admirable detail, carefully to repair all that is left and is now concealed of the original work, and to reopen windows now for the most part blocked up; a considerable measure of its former beauty and character could be given back to the church.

What was done to this church in 1810 in detracting from its character may be compared to what detraction achieves when employed against the character of individuals. It has made the church appear to be other than it is. It has created a misleading impression of the essential character and consequently of the architectural importance and value of this church. But, in this matter of detraction, the present church has fared no worse than have both men and events connected with this site and with its monuments, for several centuries and even to this day.

Sometimes attacks have proceeded from the mouths of the learned and have been launched with all the prestige popularly attached to a reputation for knowledge. Sometimes they have taken the more obviously comic line adopted by those to whom tradition was distasteful especially when it related to Scriptural sites, and who relied on methods of intuition and of misrepresentation of established facts, for the purpose both of proving

the non-authentic character of the traditional sites and of establishing as more likely to be authentic some other site that appealed to their sentiments, satisfied their prejudices, and had been identified by guesswork.

But none of the efforts made to decry ancient traditions and to deride ancient usages have succeeded, either in shaking the validity of ancient tradition or in uprooting from the minds of men the natural and normal instinct to venerate these venerable sites. Nor have they eradicated the age-long conviction that there should here stand a monument in their honour. No building, built eight centuries ago, and that has suffered the neglect and the treatment to which the present church has been subjected, can reasonably be expected to show no signs that its days may be numbered.

Should the present building collapse, or should it, like its predecessors, be destroyed, it cannot be doubted that another would, in due time, rise from the ruins, once more to make manifest the veneration in which men must always hold the sites of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Our Lord.

## NOTES

Those who desire a fuller knowledge are recommended to consult the following works:

- (1) Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire; par Les R. P. Hugues Vincent et F. M. Abel des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, Editeur, Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1914-1922.
- (2) L'Authenticité des Lieux Saints, par R. P. Hugues Vincent des Frères Prêcheurs, Correspondant de l'Institut, Librairie Lecoffre. J. Gabalda et Fils. Editeurs. 1932.
- (3) The Garden Tomb, Histoire d'un Mythe. Same author and publisher. 1925.

No. 1 is a fully documented and highly detailed work containing many illustrations, plans, photographs, etc.

N. 2 gives in short and popular form some of the main conclusions resulting from the researches described in No. 1.

N. 3 is an entertaining as well as a learned account of an episode that was, even for Jerusalem, exceptionally strange and diverting. The identification of the *Garden Tomb* with the Sepulchre of Our Lord is, happily, not one for which any archaeologist, English or other, bears any responsibility. That responsibility lies with those publicists whose preoccupation with voicing likes and dislikes was of too absorbing a character to allow them to give much attention to facts.

That the custom of issuing mischievous or misleading statements about archaeological discoveries is not yet

abandoned, is well known. As recently as last year, excavations conducted on the site of the former atrium of the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem were represented, in the Press of two Continents, as having resulted in discrediting the authenticity of the Cave of the Nativity. Though wholly false, many believed the allegation to be true, for no better reason, presumably, than that it had appeared in the "newspapers".

It is unlikely that this habit of spreading false news will cease so long as there is a section of the public not unwilling to believe anything, provided that it accords with established prejudice or satisfies a craving for the marvellous or the sensational.

These conditions offer opportunities for profit and for propaganda too obvious to be missed.

There are, however, indications that an intelligent interest in the Holy Places is growing and Pilgrimages are increasing in numbers and in frequency.

Another favourable development is that research has done much to undermine the tendency to discredit the value of tradition.

"He that trusteth to lies feedeth the winds; and the same runneth after birds that fly away." (Proverbs 4.)