

the mounds at the mouth of the Jordan. Minor excavations, according to the discretion of the officer in command, will be made at Ain et Tabigah, Tel Oreimah, the tombs to the north, the mounds of Gennesareth, Abu Shusheh, Mejdal, Ain el Fuliye, Irbid, Tiberias, Kerak, Umm Keis, Kalat et Husn, the ruins at Khersa, and tombs near it, Et Tell, the ruins in the Batiheh, and such other mounds and remains as are found on the borders of the lake.

2. The Eastern shores will be completely surveyed and mapped, and the ruins examined.

3. The remarkable synagogue of Tel Hum, which, if that place be Capernaum, is the synagogue in which our Lord taught (John vi. 59), will be cleared to the foundations; every remaining stone, and every fragment of its broken columns and architecture collected, and care will be taken to prevent further destruction.

4. Whatever additions can be made to the already large store of information in the hands of the Committee as to nomenclature, legends, and traditions will be collected. The geology of the district will be thoroughly examined, especially with reference to the formation of the Jordan valley, and former volcanic disturbances; notes will be taken of the meteorology, the botany, and zoology, of the district; casts will be taken of inscriptions; localities will be photographed; plans will be laid down on a conveniently large scale.

5. As regards the best time for working, the party should be in the field early in December, and work continuously till the end of March, after which field work becomes impossible on account of the growth of thistles and the thick vegetation. The expedition should consist, if possible, of two officers of Royal Engineers, an Arabic scholar, a geologist and naturalist, and two non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers. The whole expense of the expedition should not exceed £2,500. For this comparatively small sum a detailed and scientific examination may be made, and questions which have disturbed the Christian world for centuries may be finally set at rest.

It is sought to raise this amount by a special effort (independently of annual subscriptions).

Promises of donations or cheques may be sent to the Secretary, at the Society's Office, 11 and 12, Charing Cross.

ZION, THE CITY OF DAVID.

WHERE WAS IT? HOW DID JOAB MAKE HIS WAY INTO IT? AND WHO HELPED HIM?

(N.B.—I am indebted to Lieut. Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine" for the annexed plan of Jerusalem. The positions mentioned in this paper correspond with the plan as follows):—

In the Paper	In the Plan
A	is a <i>valley</i> bounding the "Upper City" on the west and south from "Hippicus" to near "Siloam."
B	is a <i>valley</i> bounding Jerusalem on the east, from "Corner Tower" to "Siloam."
C	is the <i>valley</i> marked "Tyropæon V." and extending to Siloam.
D	is the "Upper City."
E	is at "Acra."
F	is at "B (Antonia)."
G	is at the place of letter "H."
Eurogel, or The Virgin's Fount	is at "Gihon."
Araunah's Threshing-floor	is at "A (Temple)."

IN answering these questions we shall use the Bible, and utilise two of Captain Warren's wonderful discoveries at Jerusalem.

Two valleys, A, B, claim to be the Valley of Hinnom; three positions, D, E, F, have been advocated as the site of Zion, the city of David. It is proposed to show that another valley, C, is the true Valley of Hinnom; another position, G, the true city of David; and, lastly, that the "Gutter" was the secret passage above the Virgin's Fount, discovered by Captain Warren, up which Joab climbed with the aid of Araunah.

THE VALLEY (Hebr. GAI) OF HINNOM.

"The border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite, the same is Jerusalem" (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16; Neh. xi. 30).

A. The valley west and south of the upper city, of Josephus, Wady er-Rabâby, has been generally taken to be the Valley of Hinnom. This line puts Jerusalem *entirely* in the tribe Benjamin; but while "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," is reckoned to Benjamin in Josh. xviii. 28, some part of it must have been in Judah, for after the list of its cities (Josh. xv. 63) it is added, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day."^a

Again in Judg. i. 3-8 Judah, contending for *his lot*, comes to Jerusalem and takes (or had taken) it, setting the city on fire, yet still (i. 21) "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." Apart from Josephus's remark that the lower city was taken and the upper was not, these passages alone show that Jerusalem was partly in Benjamin, partly in Judah.

Therefore it is impossible for valley A to be the Valley of Hinnom.

B. The valley (Hebr. Nachal = Brook) of the Kidron is accepted as the Valley of Hinnom (Jerusalem Rec., p. 307) to suit Arabic accounts, and (Jer. xix. 2, Auth. Ver.) *East Gate* as the translation of *Harsith Gate*. To this view is the fatal objection that it sets aside any distinction between "Gai" and "Nachal," by taking the two words to describe the same

valley, while Gesenius under *Gai* observes, "The Hebrews appear to have discriminated between this and several other words usually rendered valley (*Nachal*, *Emek*), for to the same place they *uniformly* apply the same name."

Therefore B is not the Valley of Hinnom.

C. The valley running through the city, called, in part at least, by Josephus the Tyropœon Valley, passing through the Pool of Siloam (so called), and now to a great extent filled up; as discovered by Captain Warren.

As there are no other valleys, either A or B or C must be the valley required. It has been demonstrated that neither A nor B is such.

Therefore C is the Valley of Hinnom.

If this identification be *not correct*, then the valleys of Jerusalem are in a state of inextricable confusion; but for it to be *satisfactory* it must rest, not on the faults of A and B, but on the merits of C, which are as follows. We have—

1. Just the boundary required between the two tribes, giving the south-west hill and one side of the valley to Judah.

2. A valley of a character suiting the name (*Gai*) ravine.

3. Possibly a link of connection between the "valley gate" (Old Test.) and Gennath Gate (Jos. Wars, v. 4. 2), taking the "Gai" to bend towards the Jaffa Gate.

Gennath = (P) Ge-hennath Gate = Gate of the Valley of Hinnom = Valley Gate (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13; iii. 13).

4. Jer. xix. 2 in our favour, translating *Harsith* gate either (Targum) *Dung* gate, or (Thrupp) *Pottery* gate, or even *East* gate (A.V.).

Thus the apparently mysterious silence of the Bible about the great central valley is simply explained by its identification with the Valley of Hinnom.

But what becomes of the west and south valley? Is it not almost as mysterious that it, too, should not be named in the Bible? Most opportunely Jer. xxxi. 38-40 gives us just what we want. Here, obviously, a circuit is described round the city. In this the Valley of Hinnom, of course, could have no place, and so it is not found; but the west and south valley occurs in the words, "the whole valley of the dead bodies," where *valley* is not (Hebr.) *Gai* or *Nachal*, but *Emek* (LXX., *κοιλὰς*, and A. V., often *Dale*).

With what wonderful precision is the Bible now seen to speak, when we treat it on the reasonable principle that the same name is never given to any but the same valley—*i.e.*, when we accept as an axiom, in regard to Jerusalem, that *Nachal* = Eastern valley; *Gai* = Central valley; *Emek* = West and South valley.

This distinction has not been just invented to suit a new theory, though it suits exactly the topography of Jerusalem. Gesenius long since noticed it, Lewin approved of it, Williams "had misgivings" in disregarding it. We only insist on its *rigid* application, confident that it is the *key* to Jerusalem.

Armed, now, with Gesenius's canon, we rush fearlessly into the valleys, exploding errors and blowing away difficulties right and left.

Gai.—They bury Adonibezek *in the earth* (γῆ ἔδαρτος., Jos. Ant., v. 2. 2). As LXX. (Josh xv. 8) has γῆς Ῥαφαείν, apparently for *Gai*, by error for Emek Rephaim, so Josephus may mean that Adonibezek was buried in the *Gai*, doubtless the burying-place of the early kings of Jebus, as afterwards of the kings of Judah.

Emek.—(1) Absalom's pillar (2 Sam. xviii. 18) was in the *king's dale* (*Emek*). Josephus adds, two furlongs from Jerusalem, which suits well Wady er-Rababy.

(2) The king of Sodom, Melchizedec, and Abram, met at the valley of Shaveh, which is the *king's dale* (*Emek*, again). As the great north road passed near Jebus, it is reasonable to accept the opinion of Josephus, and to identify the Valley of Shaveh with this Emek (Jer. xxxi. 40).

(3) The Valley (*Emek*) of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 2, 12) or decision (*id.* 14). Thrupp (p. 214) says "the allusion to the winepresses points to where the king's winepresses stood (south-east of Jerusalem), and the metaphor of the harvest conducts us further westward to the cornfields of the Plain of the Rephaim," and so concludes that the ravine of the Kidron cannot be exclusively intended. We may assert that the valley intended is no other than the "*Emek*" or the *King's Dale*, whose eastern and western limits are thus exactly marked by Joel.

(4) Isa. xxii. 1-7 possibly may not refer to Jerusalem (Spk. Comment.). Our *key*, however, passes smoothly the two wards "valley (*gai*) of vision" and "the choice of thy (*emek*) valleys"—*e.g.*, the *King's Dale* and the valley of Rephaim.

(5) Jer. xxi. 13 (commonly applied to Jerusalem), "I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley (*emek*) and rock (*tzur*) of the plain (*mishor*)," &c. "But," an objector says, "the inhabitants of Jerusalem never dwelt in the *emek*, and the *mishor* is an expression only used of the upland downs east of the Jordan. Your *key* won't move now." That is bad. But patience! We have found another near Og's iron bedstead, and it turns beautifully. (See note on Rabbah.)

Nachal (1), Jer. xxxi. 40. "All the fields (Hebr. Sademoth) unto the brook (*Nachal*) Kidron." This reading, compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 4, *fields* as distinguished from *brook* (*id.* 12) suggests that the proper name of the valley from (near) the Virgin's Fountain southwards, was not *Nachal* but *Sademoth*; and therefore possibly the *king's pool* (Neh. ii. 14) was (or was near) the Virgin's Fountain, from which point he went up by the *brook*.

(2) "Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 4) stopped the *brook* (*Nachal*) that ran (Heb. *overflowed*) through the midst of the land."

What he stopped was doubtless the Virgin's Fountain (*i.e.*, *Enrogel*), from which the stream issuing might well, on account of its irregular action, be said to *overflow*; for this word would exactly describe its character.

(3) "Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) built a wall without the city of

David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley" (Nachal). The importance of this passage cannot be overrated. Here the mention of *Nachal* fixes the wall on the east side of Jerusalem, and not on the west, which I wrongly adopted in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 203. Next, the mention of *Gihon* (a descriptive word = *fountain-head*) fixes the particular part of the Kidron ravine, viz., near the *Virgin's Fountain*, which, being the only spring in the Nachal, must be the one alluded to under the title of *Gihon*. This passage at once sweeps us right into the question of the true site of Zion, the city of David; for here a wall built on the west side of the Virgin's Fount was outside the city of David—i.e., the Virgin's Fount was on the east side of Zion. But again the company (Neh. xii. 37, *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 199), about to enter the temple from the south, ascends the Ophel hill (so called) by "the stairs that go down from the city of David." This gives us further its west or south-west boundary. On the north we have as a limit Araunah's threshing-floor, afterwards the site of Solomon's temple.

Thus, begirt on every side, Zion falls, a second Sedan, and another great enigma is solved, for we see that *the city of David* stood on the eastern hill, on its southern part, commonly called Ophel (G), having the Virgin's Fountain (i.e., Enrogel or Gihon in the Nachal) at its eastern base.

So strange will this position for Zion seem, that I must quote the words of Capt. Warren, who, fixing his Zion at E, says (Jer. Rec., p. 304), "The principal difficulty I find—but this is common to all theories—is that in the book of Nehemiah the city of David, the house of David, and the sepulchre of David all appear to be on the south-east side of the hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fount or Enrogel, and yet such a position for Zion appears at first sight to be out of the question." Since, however, 2 Chron. corroborates Nehemiah, it is best at once candidly to own that what the Bible here seems to say, it really says.

But if more Biblical evidence is wanted, here it is. Ophel (lit., *the Ophel*), in reference to Jerusalem, means always the hill or locality south or south-east of the temple. An apparent exception has been Micah iv. 8, "Thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold (*Ophel*) of the daughter of Zion." Place Zion at D, E, or F, and what has Ophel to do with it? But *with Zion at G*, as required by Chronicles and Nehemiah, the connection could not be closer, and the uniform use of the word is preserved.

As the south part of the eastern ridge formed the stronghold of Zion, it is obvious that the higher portion to the north, the site of the temple, might naturally be called *Mount Zion*.

So far as I know, Josephus never mentions *Zion*, and only once *the city of David* (Ant. vii. 3. 2). 1 Maccabees (a trustworthy authority) mentions *Mount Zion* as the site of the temple or sanctuary, but never *Zion*, for it uses instead the term *the city of David*.

In the historical passages of the Bible *Zion* = *Stronghold of Zion* = *City of David*, or G, south of the temple, while *Mount Zion* never occurs.

In the poetical and prophetic passages both *Zion* and *Mount Zion* seem to have at times a wider meaning, but not always; e.g.—

(1) Micah iii. 12, "Zion shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." Here it seems to me that *Zion* is simply the *city of David*.

(2) Psa. xlviii. 2, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is *Mount Zion*, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King."

What does this mean geographically?

Compare Isa. xiv. 13, "I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation (i.e., *Mount Zion*) in the sides of the north," and Ezekiel xl. 2, "He set me upon a very high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city on the south."

Lightfoot (Chor. 22) renders it, "The joy of the whole earth is *Mount Zion*, on the north side." He quotes Aben Ezra, "Mount Zion is on the north side of Jerusalem;" Lyranus, "Mount Zion is in the north part of Jerusalem." On Ezekiel he quotes Kimchi, "The temple was to be built on a mountain, as before, and the city of Jerusalem is near it on the south;" and Lyranus again, "The temple was in the north part, but the city in the south part." Lightfoot then adds, "Behold! reader, *Zion* on the north part in the *Psalms*, and the city on the south part in the *Prophet!*" On his map, however, he places *Mount Zion* at E.

Thrupp (p. 12) says, "Mr. Fergusson, following the Rabbies and Lightfoot, places *Zion* north of the temple (!)" Here is a strange error; but it does not belong to the Rabbies and Lightfoot, for they (as we have seen) place *Mount Zion* or the temple on the north of the city, which makes all the difference between right and wrong. Thus the old translation of Psa. xlviii. 2 exactly suits the position of the city of David at G, as proved above. The three rival sites, D, E, F, are all disqualified from being *Zion* by the evidence produced from the Bible, especially by 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, since it would have been trifling and useless to have described a wall just west of Enrogel, as being outside the city of David, if the latter had been at D, E, or F, but with *Zion* at G the precision of the passage is perfect.

Some writers, however, adopt a combination. For instance, F is extended southwards to take in part or whole of G. But the interposition of the temple between F and G is fatal to the notion that, in the time of David, both F and G were in the city of David, while an intermediate spot, the future site of the temple, was exterior to it.

Others prefer following Josephus, who says David named Jerusalem the city of David, and so they give the title of *Zion, the city of David*, to all four, D, E, F, G.

Josephus is not to be blindly followed, being at-times inconsistent with himself. He ventures to say (Ant. vi. 12. 3) that the cave of Adullam was near the city of Adullam, and that the exploit of drawing water from the well of Bethlehem took place when David was at Jerusalem, although it is stated (2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 14; 1 Chron. xi. 15, 16) that the three captains "went to David, to the cave of Adullam, and

David was then in the hold." Josephus has no claim to settle the question before us.

All the Biblical evidence that I know of, which at all helps us to fix the position of Zion, the city of David, requires it to be at G. 1 Maccabees entirely agrees with the Bible. So does Josephus, except on those points in which he differs from 1 Maccabees. It has been commonly thought that in the topography of Jerusalem we might elucidate the Bible by Josephus; the truth is, we have to elucidate Josephus by the Bible. His evidence and that of 1 Maccabees is given below. (See "Acra.")

THE GUTTER (Heb. TZINNOR).

The only reason for building the fortress of the Jebusites on the comparatively weak hill, G, was, so far as I can discover, because the spring called Enrogel was at its foot. Just eleven years ago Captain Warren discovered a secret passage cut in the rock and leading down to the spring from the hill above, evidently made to enable the inhabitants in ancient times to draw water without having to come out of the city. The passage is described in Jer. Rec., p. 251. (See illustration.)

The capture of the fortress is thus described in the Bible:—

2 Sam. v. 8. "David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain."

1 Chron. xi. 6. "David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruah went first up, and was chief."

Tzinnor has for centuries been another *cruz*. Recently, when the topography of Jerusalem has been more studied, to get a meaning out of the expression, the word by one has been translated precipice—"the cliff or portcullis which Joab climbed;" by another the *ravine*, by which the stronghold was begirt. The word only occurs in two places: here, translated (A.V.) gutter, and Psa. xlii. 7 *waterspouts*, *fistulæ* (Vulg.). Vatablus renders it *canales*; Junius, *emissarium*; Poole, *tubus aquæ*; Bochart, *alveus*; Patrick, "Whosoever cuts off their pipes of water; or their cisterns into which the water fell." The Speaker's Commentary, "The *watercourse*—the only access to the citadel was where the water had worn a channel—some understand a *subterranean* channel."

On this point, however, the intuition of Kennicott is perfectly marvellous. He observes: "Most interpreters agree in making the word signify something *hollow*, and in applying it to water—so we have in Josephus (Ant. vii. 3.1) *διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων*—subterraneous cavities. Jebus was taken by a stratagem." He cites a similar occurrence from Polybius: "Rabatamana, a city of Arabia, could not be taken, till a prisoner showed the besiegers a subterraneous passage, through which the besieged came down for water." He adds, "This fortress of the Jebusites seems to have been circumstanced like Rabatamana, in having

also a subterraneous passage." Accordingly, he gives this as an amended translation :

"David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, and *through the subterraneous passage* reacheth the lame and blind."

Hence the conclusion is irresistible that the secret passage leading from the hill of Ophel to the Virgin's Fount is none other than the long-lost Tzinnor which Joab gallantly scaled on the way to fame.

Captain Warren's account of his own ascent is enough to convince us that it is extremely improbable, or rather impossible, that Joab ever climbed the rocky shaft without aid from within.

Both David and Joab were extremely fertile in artifices, and with the story of Rahab and Bethel in mind, we might well expect a helping hand would be found among the Jebusites and a large *bakhshish* given in return. Some one must have betrayed Jebus, and the preservation of Araunah after its capture, and his subsequent possession of great wealth, create an overwhelming suspicion that he was the man. England is prejudiced in his favour. Let some one at El Kuds decide.

The simplest explanation of one Hebrew word, followed by one of Captain Warren's remarkable discoveries, has enabled us to understand a most obscure passage in the Old Testament, and after 3,000 years to trace the very track by which the adventurous Joab gained entrance to Zion.

Who will say that the Palestine Exploration Fund has not done good work? Who will question about the Bible being the most accurate and truthful of all books?

ACRA.

According to 1 Macc. i. 33, the city of David being rebuilt became the Acra, the adjacent temple site being therein called Mount Zion.

Afterwards, in Josephus, Acra (ἄκρα) seems to have been used as the name of all that part of Jerusalem which was south of the temple; and of that *alone*, for I am not aware of a satisfactory proof that any part of Jerusalem north of the upper city and west of the temple is ever referred to by Josephus as Acra or *the lower city*. He rather calls it the suburb = Parbar. (Ant. xv. 11. 5.)

The famous passage in Wars v. 4. 1 seems to be easily explained by this position of Acra, which thus has a *deep valley* on the outside.

The Tyropœon Valley seems to me to extend from about Robinson's arch southwards, dividing the eastern hill from Acra as defined above. The temple is on the third hill, "*naturally lower than Acra*" (see below), which hill was parted by a broad valley, not from Acra, but from the upper city = the other city, Ant. xv. 11. 5, in about the line of Wilson's Arch.

So far as I can see this is the theory of Olshausen (Thrupp, p. 403), and it is not to be "*easily overthrown*."

The lowering of Acra named by Josephus has been a *cruz*. In the passage above it does not seem to me that the filling up of the

Asmonean Valley has necessarily anything to do with the levelling of Acra. As to the latter, so different is the account of Josephus from that in the Maccab. that we are at liberty, if not bound, to reject both his statements, (1) that Acra was lowered—an exploit of which 1 Maccab. knows nothing. Indeed it is stated (xiv. 37) that Simon “placed Jews therein and fortified it (*Acra*) for the safety of the country and the city,” and three years after, when, according to Josephus, the Acra had been levelled, Antiochus (xv. 28) alleged against the Jews, “Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the *tower* (*ἄκρα*) that is in Jerusalem.” It is not said in reply that the *tower* (*i.e.*, *Acra*) had been razed. And (2) that Acra was naturally higher than the temple hill, as inconsistent with such passages as 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, &c., and contrary to 1 Macc. vii. 32, 33; for Nicanor having fled into the city of David, afterwards went *up* (*ἀνέβη*) to Mount Sion. Josephus, on the contrary (Ant. xii. 10. 4), says “he went *down* from the citadel unto the temple” (*ἀντὶ κατέβη ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*). The passage is evidently both corrupt and wrong, yet it is used to show that the upper city or market-place was called Acra (Thrupp, p. 56), and also that the Acra was *above* the temple, and therefore to the *north* of it (Lewin, p. 325).

Though the northern position for the Maccab. Acra has been fixed upon to suit the statements of Josephus, who says that the Acra was higher than the temple, it fails to satisfy two other of his statements, (1) that “the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now that the Acra, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished;” and (2) that “the Asmonæans levelled the summit of Acre and reduced its elevation, in order that the temple might be seen above it in this direction.”

Williams, taking no account of Ophel, states, “any site for Acra is *higher* than the temple site;” and the (E) position for Acra required no levelling for the latter reason, since the ridge slopes eastwards.

Only the *southern* position for Acra satisfies these two statements.

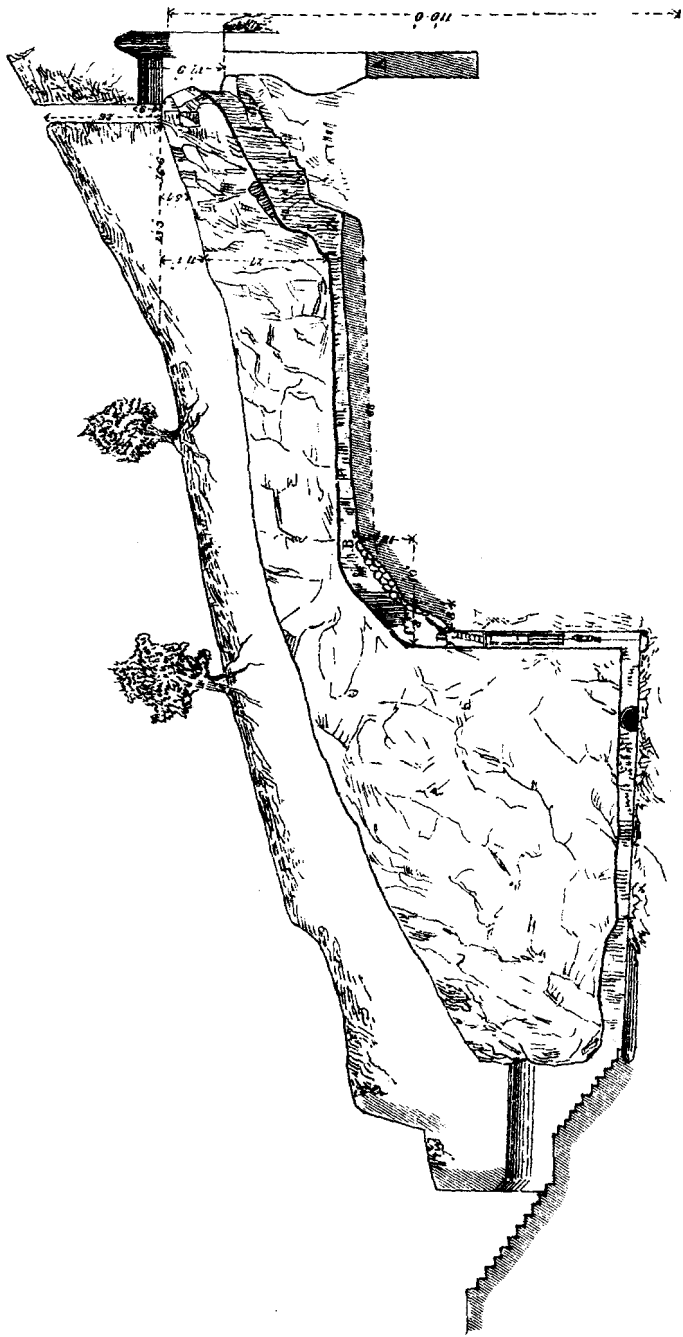
Possibly some little levelling may have taken place south of cisterns 7 and 8 on plan, Jer. Rec., opp. p. 8.

Further, Josephus seems to me to have been misunderstood by (1) its being overlooked, that “upper” and “lower” are only relative terms, and (2) by its being assumed accordingly that *lower city* throughout his writings must mean the same place.

(a) In Ant. v. 2. 2 the city of David is spoken of as *ἡ κατώτερη πόλις*; the city below, in the Valley of Hinnom, as *ἡ κάτω*.

(b) In Ant. vii. 3. 1, the city of David becomes *ἡ ἄκρα* (a term it retained till the time of Josephus); and the other part he names as before.

(c) Wars v. 4. 1. He divides the city into two parts, built on hills of different altitude, and so naturally calls one the upper city and the other the lower city. When he speaks now of the loftier south-west hill, he calls it *ἡ ἄνω πόλις* (adding that David called it *φρούριον*)—and the city of David being in comparison lower—he now calls *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. It



ROCK-CUT PASSAGE ABOVE VIRGIN'S FOUNT.

will be observed that while he applies the name *ἄκρα* to the upper city of David's siege, he tells us that David called the city which he subsequently built on the south-west hill, not *ἄκρα*; but *φρούριον*. *ἄκρα* is a fixed term, the *lower city* a variable term.

VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN.

(1) There is overwhelming evidence that the Virgin's Fountain is the *Enrogel* of Joshua. Biblical Dict., Ganneau, *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, p. 251.

(2) In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 it is *Gihon* in the Nachal.

(3) In Isa. viii. 6 it is the *waters of Shiloah* that go softly. Thrupp, arguing for another object, says (p. 140), "The water of Siloah could not with any propriety have been used as a symbol of the house of David had the fountain not been situate within the city." The stream, however, flowed from Zion, and by help of the Tzinnor, "it was the property of the city in the event of a siege," words applied by Thrupp to *his* fountain of Siloah.

As it watered the king's garden which was in the Nachal (Song of Sol. vi. 11), the stream might easily have been dammed up so as to make—

(4) *The king's pool* (Neh. ii. 14), or Solomon's Pool (Jos. W. v. 4. 2), unless the Fountain itself was so called.

As Adonijah was feasting near Enrogel, the Gihon of 1 Kings i. 33 could not be Gihon (2). Indeed, Thrupp says a more accurate rendering is, "Bring him *down*, and then lead him *up* to *Gihon*," which would exclude Gihon (2) as the scene of Solomon's anointing, but would allow of a position either north or (as I think) west of Zion, near the Valley Gate, at the *Dragon's Spring*, possibly near the position of the Serpent's Pool of Josephus, and the Fons Sion of Marinus Sanutus (Jer. Rec., p. 29).

May not the identity of Gihon (2) with Siloah (3) have led the Chaldaic Paraphrast, confusing the two Gihons, to translate Gihon by Siloah in 1 Kings i. 33 and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, and the Mishna to call Siloah, Gihon?

(5) The old pool (Isa. xxii. 11) or, at any rate, one just below in the Nachal.

(6) The brook that *overflowed* (2 Chron. xxxii. 4).

(7) Supposing *Joab's Well* to be a genuine name, we must allow that it deserved to be attached to Enrogel after his great exploit there.

SILOAH, SILOAM.

A thread of error may, I think, have been woven into the argument (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 199) through the assumption that "the Pool of Siloah is admitted to be the Pool of Siloam, so considered now." Thrupp endeavours to prove that the Pool and Fountain of Siloam were within the city.

On the assumption that one place only is referred to as Siloah or

Siloam in the Bible and Josephus, I still hold to the traditional site. But it seems to me that there are weighty reasons for concluding that three different places are thus alluded to :

1. The waters of Shiloah (Is. viii. 6). The whole import of the passage appears to me to make this the Virgin's Fount = (probably) the Pool of Siloam (John ix.).

2. The Fountain of Siloam (Josephus) = that so called now, the name passing down with water from (1).

3. The Pool of Siloah (Neh. iii. 15) = a pool within the city, near Robinson's Arch.

The fact that the present Pool of Siloam is just below the level of the aqueduct from the Virgin's Fount seems to make it certain (as suggested by Lieut. Conder) that both were made at the same time—*i.e.*, by Hezekiah.

This, therefore, is the pool that was made between the two walls (Neh. iii. 16; Isaiah xxii. 11; ditch=pool). But to have made this pool with the large one existing just below would have been labour lost. Therefore it seems neither of these was the Pool of Siloah (Neh.), which must accordingly be looked for elsewhere.

Lightfoot (Chron. 345) asserts that there is a distinction in the Hebrew between Siloah (Neh.) and Shiloah (Isa.), so slight, indeed, that previously he had overlooked it, but that it is recognised in the LXX. by their different translations.

This distinction seems also to be preserved in Josephus. He calls the fountain of Siloam *σιλωάμ*, but in one passage he uses the word *σιλοά*. He says (W. ii., 16. 2), "The Jews persuaded Neopolitanus to walk round the city as far as Siloam (*μέχρι τοῦ Σιλοά*). So he walked round and then *went up to the temple*."

Eccclus. xlviii. 17. "Ezekias fortified his city and brought in water into the midst thereof." Thrupp (101) reads *εἰσήγαγεν εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν ῥῶγ*, and adds *ῥῶγ* may be another form for *ῥιῶν*. Alex. MS. reads (as Eng. V.) not *ῥῶγ* but *ῥῆαρ*.

The Mishna say, "Now Siloam was in the midst of the city."

The position of the present (so-called) Pool of Siloam hardly suits these passages, but the former existence of a pool (called Siloah, Neh. *σιλοά* Jos.) in the Valley of Hinnom somewhere near Robinson's arch would very well suit the walk of Neopolitanus and do away with certain difficulties.

It may be the lower pool (Isa. xxii. 9), formed by the junction of waters brought down the valleys running from the Damascus and Jaffa gates—

(a) By a conduit from the north ;

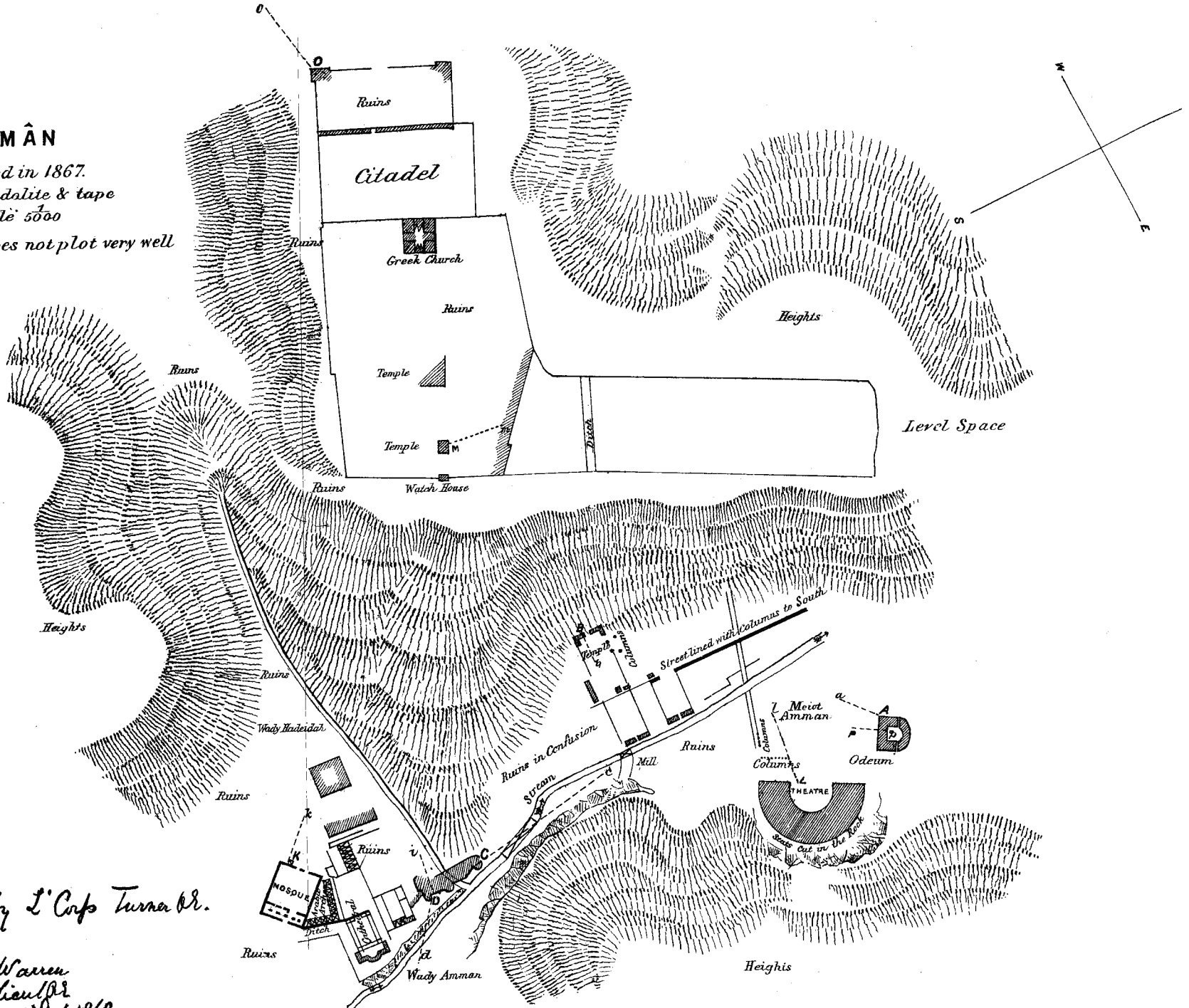
(b) By a conduit from the upper outlet of Gihon. "Hezekiah brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). The present Pool of Siloam cannot so well be said to be on the west side of the city of David, as on the south.

(2) It enables us to place the sepulchres of David in the position

AMMÂN

Surveyed in 1867.
with theodolite & tape
Scale 5000

The Citadel does not plot very well



Traced by Lt. Col. Turner R.E.

Charles Warren
Lieut. R.E.
1 Dec. 1868

approved by Major Wilson, not so far down in the Valley of Hinnom as we must do if the present Siloam is Siloah.

(3) We may also draw the line of the wall of Nehemiah (as proposed by Lieut. Conder) *across* Ophel, if such be necessary, instead of bringing it down to the present Siloam.

This doubt as to the exact position of the Pool of Siloah (Neh.) of course unsettles the position I endeavoured to fix for the sepulchres of David. Thrupp (p. 164) just notices a legend placing the tomb of the kings near the fountain of Siloam.

THE TWO WALLS.

1. As the wall (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) was an additional wall in the Kidron Valley, the words of Josephus, *διὰ καρτερῆς φάραγγος*, might be applied to this part, and so on this side Zedekiah may have escaped.

2. Or, since the ditch or pool of Hezekiah (Isa. xxii. 11) might have to be defended by a new fortification, two walls—the forerunners of the *long walls* of Athens—may have been run down to the present Pool of Siloam, and between them the escape made.

3. Or, since the diverting of the waters of Enrogel would prevent the easy irrigation of the king's gardens in the Nachal, fresh gardens may have been made in the Valley of Hinnom and Tophet, use being made of the water from the lower pool (that of Siloah), placed as above (3). The escape might then have been made by the fountain gate and through these gardens.

W. F. BIRCH.

RABBAH OF THE CHILDREN OF AMMON.

THE Rabatamana of Polybius, afterwards Philadelphia, now Amman, deserves special notice.

A. It was situated in the *plain* (*mishor*) east of the Jordan, and consisted of two parts, the city and the citadel. "The city lay in two narrow *valleys*; these uniting become one, which has a good supply of water and pools large and deep enough for a swim" (Q. S., 1872, p. 65).

See Jer. xlix. 3, 4. "Cry, ye daughters of Rabbah. . . . Wherefore gloriest thou in the *valleys*, thy flowing *valley*" (*emek*, in each case).

Crowning the *height* (? = Hebr. TZUR = rock) on the north-west, the shoulder between the two *valleys*, rose the citadel, holding a commanding position over these *valleys* (= *emek*), and the country round (= *mishor*)," *id.* 65.

How perfectly do these characteristics suit Jer. xxi. 13, 14 (*emek* 5, above). Our *key* fits exactly, and makes it certain that the prophet refers to Rabbah. Besides (Jer. xxi. 13), "Who shall come down to us?" is the very question repeated (Jer. xlix. 4), "Who shall come unto me?" and the king of Babylon was advancing against both Rabbah and Jerusalem (Ezek. xxi. 20, 21) though he took the latter first.

Jeremiah prophesies (xxi. 12-14) that the gate of mercy was still open to Jerusalem, but not to Rabbah.