

"In the first cave the stalagmite floor was reached at a depth of 7 feet, the white dust between it and the rock having a depth of 15 inches, the 7 feet of loam was full of broken pottery. No bones."

W. F. B.

NOTES ON PRÆ-EXILIC JERUSALEM.

WELCOME to Professor Sayce as a fresh gladiator in the arena of Zionic controversy! Equipped with the latest and best weapons from the East, and unimpeded by old prejudices from the West, he has over already battered antagonists every advantage save one. He can hardly know the ground so well as those who have learnt the slippery places by humiliating falls. Time only can show what success he will have with his strange theories, and whether a ferule can avail against Professor Robertson Smith's new net (*i.e.*, his theory that præ-exilic Jerusalem never occupied the south-western hill) and Mr. Sayce's trident, whose three sharp prongs are (1) that the Siloam Tunnel was made by Solomon, (2) that "the upper pool" was the Pool of Siloam, and (3) that a valley or depression formerly ran from the Tyropœon to the Kidron valley, entering the latter a little above the Virgin's Spring, and that the Temple-hill was the city of Jebus.

I will endeavour to break first the prongs and then the net.

1. (*a*) Professor Sayce thinks (1883, p. 211) that the words in the Siloam Inscription "from the spring to *the* pool" show that at the time this was the only pool existing at Jerusalem. He concludes, therefore, that the tunnel must be earlier than the time of Ahaz, as in his reign there existed an *upper* pool (Isa. vii, 3), which implies that there was also a lower one. I answered that in 2 Kings xx, 20, Hezekiah is said to have made *the* pool, although the upper pool existed in the previous reign. There is no reason why a *the* should imply more when engraved on a *rock* than when written on a *roll*. Professor Sayce, however, maintains that my objection has no force, as "there is all the difference in the world" between the two cases.

I find that scholars from four universities decline to endorse his opinion, and one states that he "does not see in the words 'from the spring to the pool' anything to show that this was the only pool in Jerusalem. As far as the words go, they seem to imply only the spring and the pool with which they were occupied."

Thus the inscription cannot be put in as evidence that the tunnel existed before the time of Hezekiah.

(*b*) Professor Sayce also argues that the tunnel cannot have been made by Hezekiah, because "the waters of Shiloah" (*i.e.*, the conduit) are mentioned previously.

If it has *really* been ascertained that the newly-found aqueduct (1883, pp. 106, 211) does not lead from the Virgin's Fount, then I the more cheerfully own my error, as I can make a better point. I conjecture, with the utmost

confidence, that before the Siloam Tunnel was made, the waters of Gihon (Virgin's Fount) *flowed softly* to Siloam along an aqueduct on the eastern side of Ophel (so called), and that excavation in two or three places will certainly find traces of it. The discovery of such an aqueduct, which obviously would be more ancient than the tunnel, would at once destroy the argument which Mr. Sayce draws from "the waters of Shiloah."

When careful search has failed to find this aqueduct, then I shall be glad to admit the overwhelming weight of (b).

(c) In opposition to my claim (p. 106) that the tunnel is the work of Hezekiah, referred to in 2 Kings xx, 20, it is added (p. 211): "Moreover, the word translated *conduit* is תעלה, which is not the same as the נקבה, or *tunnel*, of the inscription."

What Mr. Sayce means by this objection I fail to comprehend, as on page 215 he observes, "The upper pool, consequently, must be the Pool of Siloam, and *the conduit the tunnel* which conducts the water into it." If in Isaiah vii, 3 the *conduit* may apply to the tunnel (or נקבה of the inscription), why may not the *conduit* (the same Hebrew word) of 2 Kings xx, 20 also apply to the same tunnel? I claim now to have broken prong 1, or at any rate to have reversed its point.

2. Mr. Sayce further thinks that the (upper) Pool of Siloam must be referred to in the words (Isa. vii, 3) "the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field." He adds that "the topography of Jerusalem makes it clear that the fuller's field could have been only at the southern entrance into the Tyropœon valley, where water for fulling could be obtained from the Kidron and En-rogel, the modern Btr Eyyûb, as well as a strip of level ground. This is fully confirmed by the name Enrogel, *the fuller's fountain*." To this I must also object that—

(a) Water was at hand elsewhere, near Jerusalem, as Mr. Sayce himself witnesses. On page 214 he puts "the gathering place," or tank, for the water of the old pool near the valley-gate (as marked on his plan). But for a pool to have been "old" in Hezekiah's time, it must at least have existed in that of Ahaz, and it must have been (so far as I can see) further up the valley, *i.e.*, at a higher level than the Pool of Siloam. Thus the south-eastern side of Jerusalem was not the only place for getting water.

Besides this an old aqueduct (*Quarterly Statement*, 1872, p. 48) exists east of the Damascus gate, which must have carried water to (or from) some pool. Thus far north of the Pool of Siloam we have, according to Mr. Sayce, a *pool* and, as discovery has shown, also a *conduit*.

(b) The word "field" (*sadeh*) has a wide meaning. It is used for "the open country," in contrast to "the city," and so would be as applicable to the ground near the Damascus gate as to the level ground towards En-rogel.

(c) En-rogel strictly means "the spring of the foot," which is not the same as "fuller." As the feet were used in fulling, the Targum explains the name as meaning "the fuller's spring," but another interpretation has been given, and the foot was also used in irrigation. And why should the

occupants of the castle of Zion send their washing all the way to En-rogel, when they could have it done quite as well at home at the Virgin's Fount, like the modern dandy of Kefr Silwân? ("Jer. Rec.," p. 243). Josephus further puts "the fuller's monument" on the east of the Damascus gate.

As, therefore, far north of the Pool of Siloam there was *water*, and a *pool*, and a *conduit*, and a *drying ground*, and a *fuller's monument*, I cannot admit that Mr. Sayce has shown that "the fuller's field adjoined the Bir Eyyûb," and that "the upper pool, consequently, must be the Pool of Siloam." On the contrary, I have shown that there was a far more suitable spot on the north side of Jerusalem, where Rab-shakeh would be much more likely to deliver his message, instead of down at the south-eastern corner of the city.

Again, according to Mr. Sayce's theory (p. 214), Hezekiah made a tank "for the water of the old pool" in the Tyropœon higher up than the Pool of Siloam, and though he does not state where he thinks "the old pool was," still (as it seems to me) it could not be identical with the Pool of Siloam. As, therefore, we have "the old pool" at a higher level than the Pool of Siloam, the former would more suitably be called the upper pool than the latter. I claim, therefore, to have broken or completely bent prong 2, even if his position for the *tank* be right.

3. Mr. Sayce thinks that there was a valley between the City of David on Ophel (so called), and Mount Moriah, and that on the latter (*i.e.*, the Temple-hill) stood "the city of Jebus." If the German explorers have really ascertained the existence of such a valley across the ridge, and not merely a depression on the backbone of the ridge, as observed by Colonel Warren ("Jer. Rec.," p. 291), then I welcome the discovery as giving the northern limit of the City of David. I observe, however, on page 194, that Captain Conder, who ought to be as well informed on the subject as Mr. Sayce, seems to be strongly opposed to the existence of such a valley. To the second point I would object—

(a) That in putting the City of Jebus on Moriah, Mr. Sayce places Araunah's threshing-floor *within* the city, while the custom seems for such spots to have been outside the walls.

(b) That while Mr. Sayce, in 2 Samuel v, 8, substitutes "temple" for "house" in Authorised Version, others do not think that the Temple is at all referred to, and Kennicott translates the words, "because the blind and the lame said, He shall not come into the house." Thus I cannot allow that the passage implies that "the Jebusites, whose city was stormed, inhabited the higher Temple-hill."

(c) In applying 2 Samuel v, 8 to the city of Jebus, and not to the castle of Zion (1878, p. 130), Mr. Sayce seems to me to have fallen into the popular error which three years ago I found had already been pointed out by "E. F." on "The Book of Psalms." The Biblical account (Sam. and Chron.) speaks only of *one* place being taken (not of *two*, as commonly supposed), *viz.*, the castle of Zion. In 2 Samuel v, 6, the Jebusites, confident in the impregnability of their castle, taunted David. In verse 7 David takes the castle. In verse 8 the sense is clearer if we read "for" instead of

“And.” “On that day” I take to mean, not on the day of the assault, but (as the Hebrew narrative frequently goes back) on the day that the Jebusites and the blind and the lame taunted David.

(d) As I have pointed out that there is full reason for supposing that Araunah betrayed Zion by helping Joab up “the gutter,” or rocky shaft above the Virgin’s Fount, I cannot admit that his threshing-floor on Moriah allows us to infer that the Jebusites still continued to live on the higher hill of Moriah (p. 214), or, indeed, that they ever lived there at all.

Thus I claimed to have turned the point of prong 3, and the trident becomes a useless weapon.

It still remains for me to break the net. I am glad to agree with Professors Robertson Smith and Sayce that Zion was solely on Ophel (so called), and that the Tyropœon was the Valley of Hinnom; only I take the former to have been merely a part of the latter, and the latter to have reached towards the Jaffa gate, and not northwards towards the Damascus gate. I cannot, however, admit that præ-exilic Jerusalem did not occupy the upper hill of Josephus. Professor Robertson Smith’s arguments for his theory (those of Professor Sayce I do not find) are given in the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” under *Jerusalem*, to the following effect:—

(1) If the upper city was enclosed by Nehemiah, then no account is given of the defences for nearly half a mile, from the dung-gate (near the Protestant school) to the fountain-gate, near Siloam. But I have pointed out the reason in *Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 178. As no one would ever think of attacking Jerusalem on this south side, it would have been labour lost here to throw down its fortifications. Perhaps, too, the rock was scarped to a great height.

(2) He urges that Nehemiah implies that the fountain-gate was near the dung-gate, and that in chapter xii the procession which went to the dung-gate is immediately afterwards found at the fountain-gate. But I cannot admit that “Then I went on to the gate of the fountain” (ii, 14) implies that it was *near* the dung-gate; I should rather say the reverse, and next, as there seems to have been no gate between the two, it is difficult to see why anything should be mentioned between them.

(3) He says, “It is hardly possible that so important a part of the circuit should be twice omitted, and the vast lacuna disappears at once if we suppose that the upper city of Josephus was not enclosed by Nehemiah.” But if the western wall was so slightly injured that one party (iii, 13) could repair the valley-gate and *a thousand cubits* on the wall to the dung-gate, it is very likely that the still more strongly situated southern wall would need no repairs, and therefore would not be mentioned in either case.

(4) It would have been folly in Nehemiah to enclose a much vaster or less defensible circuit, when the inhabitants were so few that it was necessary to draft a tenth of the whole people into the capital” (Neh. xi, 1). But it seems to me that it would have been far greater folly in Nehemiah if he had not built the city on the line of the old wall, when he had the authority for so doing; and as for the vast area, it agrees exactly with the

Biblical notice (vii, 4): "Now the city was large and great; but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded."

(5) Once more, by placing the valley-gate quite near the Temple we understand how it was in this neighbourhood that the second procession in Nehemiah began its course. The "how" is not clear to me, but I do see that in such a case one party must have marched a very much longer distance than the other, which seems to me an improbable arrangement.

(6) When Professor Sayce excludes the upper hill from præ-exilic Jerusalem, he has also to face the arguments about the area of the Holy City which Captain Conder has erroneously urged against me (p. 195).

(7) He has also to account for the meaning of the old arch anterior to, but on the line of, Robinson's arch, and to explain why it should have been erected at a point far outside the walls of his Jerusalem ("Jer. Rec.," p. 110).

Having answered all the arguments offered on this point, I claim that Nehemiah enclosed the upper city.

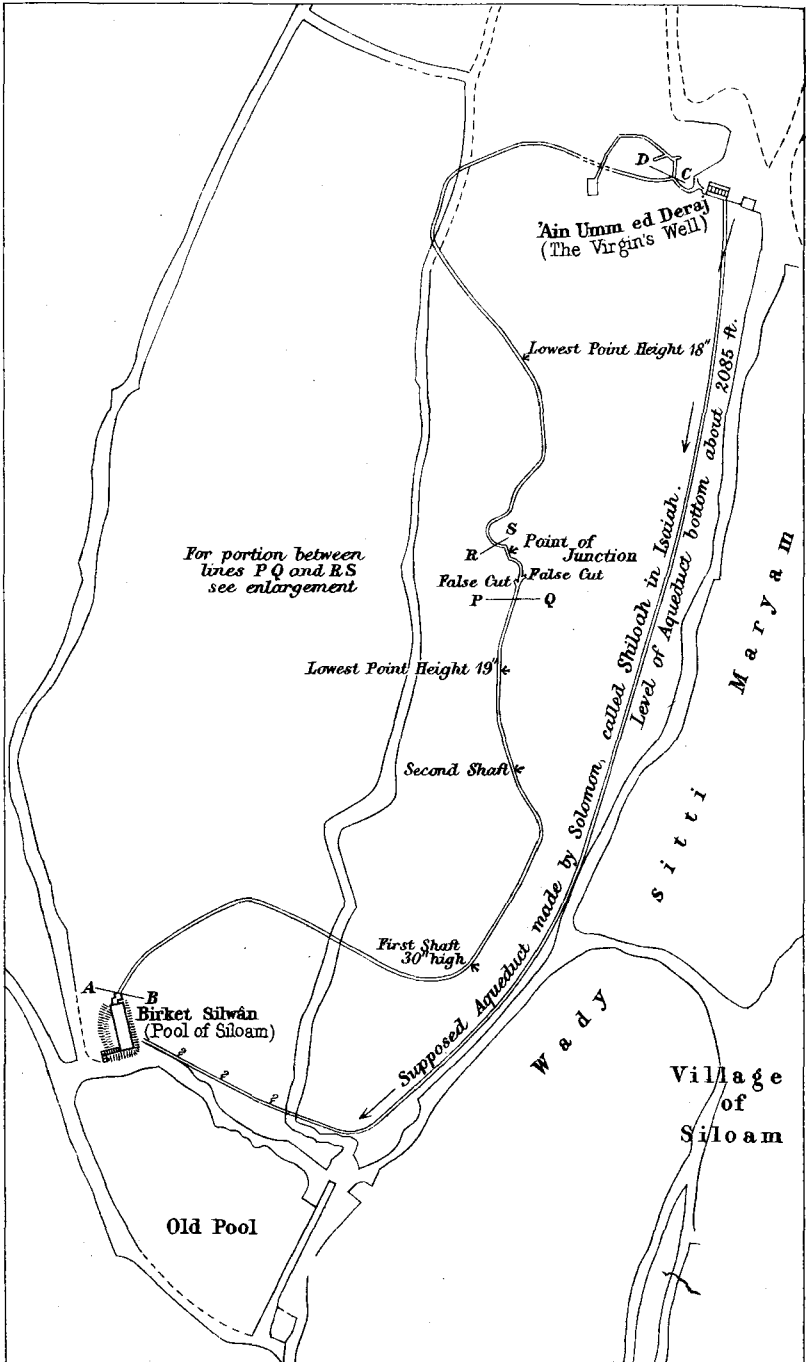
Therefore the net also is broken, and as the trident is useless, it is now open to me to turn *secutor* and pursue my antagonist to the very gates of Jerusalem.

"The gate of Ephraim" = "the gate of the Potteries," according to Professor Sayce's plan; but on page 218 he says, "the gate of the potteries seems to be the valley-gate," and on his plan "the valley-gate" is placed at the western exit of the (supposed?) valley which separated Zion from Moriah; and lastly, on page 218 it is said that "the fish-gate was at the western exit of the (same) valley." Surely some explanation is needed here, as, according to Nehemiah iii and xii, the Fish, Ephraim, and Valley gates were three distinct gates.

On page 214 Mr. Sayce says that here "through the gate between the two walls (probably the potteries' gate) Zedekiah fled along the valley of the son of Hinnom . . . past Enrogel and Marsaba" (!). Surely when "the Chaldeans were by the city round about," it is incredible that the Jewish king would begin his flight by half a mile's pleasure trip outside the city walls under the nose of the enemy posted (according to Mr. Sayce) on the upper hill; and next, that he should go past Marsaba, miles out of his way, is still more startling. Here the *retarius* seems to get entangled in his own net, and to be caught romancing by the *mirmillo*. For what is the authority for this last statement? Not the Bible nor Josephus. If my old friend Herodotus, I will believe it; but it looks more like a dragoon's answer to a leading question. Perhaps Mr. Sayce did not revise his papers.

But I see the *Editor's* thumb is coming down, so I must be quick with one more blow, or my pet theory will go unavenged.

Of my lucubrations on Jerusalem the one that would most interest the general reader, I take to be that which shows that the shaft discovered by Colonel Warren at the Virgin's Fount was the scene of Araunah's treachery in connection with Joab's ascent of "the gutter." And now Mr. Sayce (p. 211) says that the rock-cut shaft and passages are of "later" date than



the Siloam Tunnel, and were made by Hezekiah. Thus in self-defence I must offer the most uncompromising resistance to his *dictum*, as I had rather lose all the points named above than this last one by itself.

(a) Colonel Warren's plan (No. 18) states that the passage to the vertical shaft is in a line with that from the Virgin's Fount, while the tunnel to Siloam is marked as turning off at an angle. From this he concludes that the passage to the shaft was made before the tunnel.

(b) Mr. Sayce (p. 211) says, "This second tunnel—*i.e.*, the one to the vertical shaft (or *A*)—is in connection with the Siloam one, a perpendicular shaft (or *B*), descending to the latter below the vaulted chamber, and appears therefore to be of later origin." Here he is under some misapprehension; as *A*, which descends to the water, is *not* under the vaulted chamber, and *B*, which is so, was found partly filled up and was never explored.

Colonel Warren, however, conjectures that as the rock-cut passages and *A* would be inconvenient for drawing water, at some later date *B* was excavated to the level of the water in the Siloam Tunnel, though it does not seem actually to descend into it. *B*, no doubt, is later than either the Siloam Tunnel or *A*, but this does not at all prove that *A* is of later date than the Siloam Tunnel itself.

(c) Mr. Sayce appears to think that Solomon made the Siloam Tunnel in order that his capital might not have to depend upon rain-water in time of siege. It is, however, not complimentary to his surpassing wisdom to maintain that he executed a work of such enormous magnitude merely for such a reason, when Colonel Warren's shaft and passages would attain the same result with a mere fraction of the labour. The object of the tunnel was rather to deprive the enemy of the use of the overflow of the waters from the Virgin's Fount.

I maintain that the shaft *A* was used by the Jebusites, and (a) alone proves that it was older than the Siloam Tunnel. And even if it can be shown that the latter is of Solomonic date, it only helps to prove the point I value most.

W. F. BIRCH.

THE WATERS OF SHILOAH (OR THE AQUEDUCT) THAT GO SOFTLY.

Isaiah viii, 6.

It seems to me as certain as any point not yet ascertained to be a fact can be said to be certain, that these waters flowed from the Virgin's Fount along an aqueduct (cut in the rock) on the eastern side of Ophel (so called) southward to the entrance of the Tyropæon. Little or no fall would cause the water to flow (or go) *softly*. Therefore, as the present level of the Virgin's Fountain is 2,087 feet, we may expect the waters, before the Siloam Tunnel was made, to have flowed at about the same level.