

a moment ignore any proposed *bona fide* site for the sepulchres of David, adverse to my own. It is however needless to consider Mr. St. Clair's (1888, 49, 288) site with all the details of his plan, until he draws his southern wall, not on the line of the present wall, but so as (1) to take in the towers discovered by Mr. Maudslay at the south-west corner of the upper city, (2) to pass close to the Virgin's Fountain, and (3) to be sufficiently near to the Pool of Siloam as to defend it. According to Mr. St. Clair's plan, the elaborate works connected with the two latter had nothing to do with Jerusalem, and were useless. This is incredible.

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THE VALLEYS AND WATERS OF JERUSALEM.

THE Hebrew language furnishes a most useful key to the topography of Jerusalem, inasmuch as it possesses different words to describe valleys of different kinds, and also invariably applies the same word to the same valley. The translators of the Bible apparently overlooked this peculiarity; but it is strange that the Revisers should have strayed still further by translating identically the same words in one place "the king's *dale*," and in another "the king's *vale*."

Thus the reader of the English translation, by being deprived of the topographical light which the original contains, is led blindfold among the three valleys of Jerusalem, with two chances to one of his mistaking where he is.

At the suggestion of one of the Executive Committee, I propose to lay before the reader a simple statement as to these valleys and the passages in the Bible where they are named.

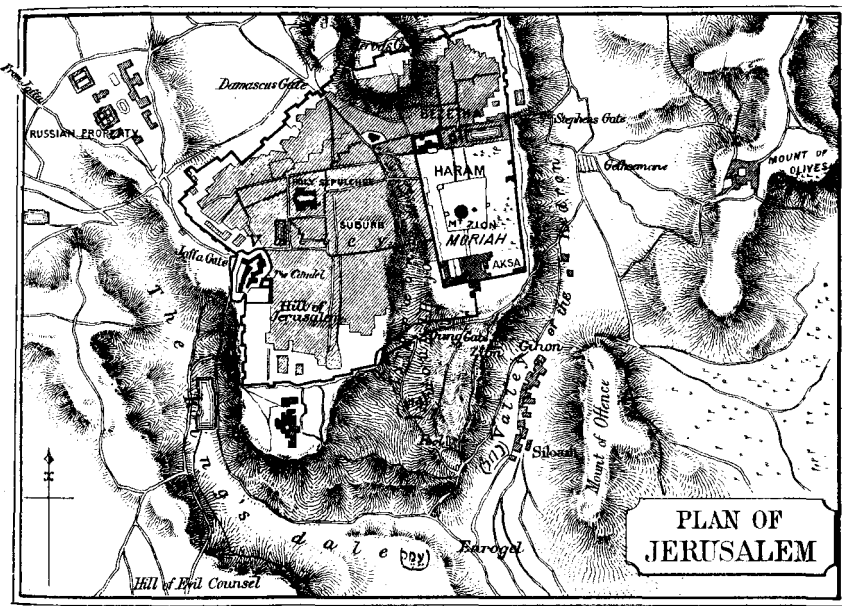
To those who will condescend to use this key instead of their own fancy, Jerusalem topography will lose most of its difficulties, and points which may still escape me may become clear to others.

Jerusalem is bounded on the east by a valley running from north to south. This is universally admitted to be that named in the Bible as the brook Kidron.

On the west and south it is bounded by an L-shaped valley, joining the former at its southern end, whence the two form one valley leading to the Dead Sea.

The space enclosed between these two, forming the site of Jerusalem, is further divided by a central bifurcated or Y-shaped valley, of which the lowest limb joins the point of contact of the two former valleys, while the left branch of the Y runs almost east and west, and the right branch northwards. Further, Jerusalem is divided in such a way that the area to the right of the Y is only about one-quarter of the whole.

The first, or eastern, valley is in Hebrew called *Nachal*, or the brook its full title being the brook Kidron.



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The second, or south-western, valley is called *Emek*, or the Dale, with various additions.

The third valley (i.e., the left and lowest limb of the Y) is called *Ge*, or the valley of Hinnom, the last word, Hinnom, being very seldom omitted.

If the reader asks, as he has a right to ask, "Do all writers on Jerusalem believe all this about the valleys?" then I must reply, "Certainly not."

Theories have been formed and advocated in ignorance of the above-named *key*, and, as General Gordon rightly observed (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, 81), "A man, under his own name, cannot go right-about-face all at once." My experience is that he will hardly go at all sooner or later. I have explained in *Quarterly Statement* (1878, 178; 1882, 56) how I got into the light, or rather how light got into me, by a mere accident, and how the Jerusalem fog which still envelops so many lifted and the great outlines of Jerusalem burst upon my view in wonderful distinctness, as soon as ever I admitted that Nachal = eastern valley, Ge = central valley, Emek = south-western valley. My faith in this key was confirmed beyond a shadow of a doubt when, by the use of it, I found that Jer. xxi, 13, 14, "I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley [emek] and of the rock of the plain [mishor], saith the Lord: ye which say who shall come down against us," had *nothing whatever to do with Jerusalem*, as hitherto universally supposed.

The people of Jerusalem did *not* live in the *emek*, and the word *mishor* is technically applied to the upland downs on the *east* side of the Jordan. The very expression used by Rabbath-Ammon in Jer. xlix, 3, 4, "Who shall come unto me," answering so closely to "Who shall come down against us," is enough to show to the unprepossessed reader that the capital of the Ammonites is addressed in Jer. xxi, 13, just as Jerusalem is in the twelfth verse; while Ezek. xxi, 20, throws further light on the question.

Here, again, I must confess with sadness that writers, learned and unlearned alike, still go on in error, preferring to do violence to Hebrew usage rather than to revise what they have once written (1878, 189; 1882, 59). I must also add that I first learned from Mr. Schick (1884, 185) that I had been forestalled by Schwarz in perceiving that the central, i.e., the Tyropæon valley, was the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom. Possibly his discovery was rejected by others because he went on to say that the south-western valley, *emek* (still, I grieve to say, commonly taken to be the *ge*, or valley of Hinnom) was the valley of Rephaim. Anybody could see that it was *not*, and that the Philistines could never have *spread* themselves in such a small place (2 Sam. v, 18, 22; xxiii, 13).

Now as to the valleys.

Nachal, OR THE BROOK KIDRON.

2 Sam. xv, 23. The king passed over the brook Kidron.

St. John, xviii, 1. Jesus went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron.

1 Kings, ii, 37. Passest over the brook Kidron.

1 Kings, xv, 13. Asa burnt her image at the brook Kidron.

2 Kings, xxiii, 4. Josiah burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron.

2 Kings, xxiii, 6. Unto the brook Kidron and at the brook Kidron.

2 Kings, xxiii, 12. Cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron.

Jer. xxxi, 40. All the fields unto the brook Kidron.

Sometimes Kidron is omitted, and *Nachal* only used.

Nehemiah (ii, 14, 15), after passing the King's pool, says, "Then went I up in the night by the brook."

2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, R. V. After this Manasseh built an outer wall to the city of David on the west side of Gihon, in the valley (*nachal*, i.e., brook).

Here the original contained light, while a vague translation has produced darkness, in which writers on Jerusalem are still groping. This verse by itself showed that Gihon was on the east of Jerusalem, and the city of David close to it, on the west side of Gihon; but because the A. V. gave *valley* instead of *brook* (and the R. V. does just the same), Dr. Robinson was led astray, and Sir Charles Warren triumphantly claims that his north-westerly site for Zion "is the only site which will render intelligible" this verse ("Temple," 35). Put *brook* for *valley*, and the verse is seen at once to be diametrically opposed to his view. He has long admitted that the Book of Nehemiah seems to place the city of David on Ophel, but here we have his favourite passage in Chronicles doing the very same thing. It would have been most unsatisfactory if Nehemiah had not been consistent with Chronicles.

On the invasion of Sennacherib, Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii, 4) gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and *the brook* (*nachal*) that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water. Here the A. V. is better than the R. V., for the former gives the marginal reading, "overflowed."

What then was *the brook that overflowed*? Heavy rain would make a stream in any valley. But in this case why stop only *one*? Now the Virgin's Fount in the Kidron valley is partly an intermittent spring. It seemed, therefore, to me ten years ago (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, 181) that this spring was referred to, since it is in the *nachal*, and *overflows* at irregular intervals. The recent discovery of Schick's aqueduct, which carried these waters to the mouth of the Tyropæon valley, showed, however that the waters from Gihon, even in the time of Ahaz, were not allowed to overflow down the Kidron, while the flowing along the aqueduct certainly did not answer to flowing "through the midst of the land."

We (writers) have been for fifty years needlessly indulging in conjectures when all along any ragged urchin at Jerusalem could answer off-hand the question, "Where is the brook that overflows through the midst of the land?" Dr. Robinson thought it flowed down the south-

western valley; Sir C. Warren, writing of the central valley, exclaims ("Underground Jerusalem," 70, 322, 331), "How tantalising to have found the *brook*, but to be debarred pursuing it up to its source!" Nevertheless the brook has been overflowing almost every year. Dr. Robinson notes it and Sir C. Warren saw it, and I also; and yet no one has recognised it. What is more, its periodical flow is actually tabulated in these very pages (*see* 1883, 33), and as no one should overlook it, it is headed "TABLE IX. The overflow of Beer Ayûb." Yet it has taken me ten years to find it out and this while the "Land and Book," 656, etc., and "Jerusalem Recovered," 258, have brought closely together the mention of the brook that overflowed, and the overflow of Joab's well and the long tunnel, so that one ought long ago to have perceived the connection between them.

Major Conder says, "The rising of the waters is held as a feast by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who may be seen walking beside the water or sitting in the valley in numbers on a bright winter day when the water is flowing. Men, women, and children here picnic all day" ("Memoirs, Jerusalem," 371, and "Land and Book," 658).

After heavy rains the water from the lower strata of rock finds an outlet up the shaft of the well. I do not know the age of the well, and, therefore, do not say it existed in the time of Hezekiah. Sir Charles Warren, however, discovered one entrance to three staircases a little north of the well—one of them leading to a semi-natural cistern in the rock, where a natural cleft was also visible. This staircase had evidently been cut into at a later date, but in its original form it had once been built up by a cross wall, and at the bottom of the wall a hole or duct was left 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 4 inches, and on the northern side a stone plug to fit and 12 inches long, was found in it. Why? here is the *very plug* Hezekiah put in (I don't mean with his own hand) when Sennacherib invaded Judah. Talk of the Bible not bearing historical criticism! It is the critic who cannot bear criticism. Afterwards the *plug* was no longer needed, when the 1,800 feet aqueduct from the cistern was made down the Kidron.

It seems to me that the above staircases must have been made by the Jebusites, and that this source of water is to be identified with En-rogel (Josh. xv, 7, xviii, 16), just as in Gen. xxiv, 11, 20, mention is made of a *well (beer)*, and of Rebekah going *down* to the *spring (ain)*. 16, 13). What an excellent hiding-place Jonathan and Ahimaaz (2 Sam. xvii, 17) must have had here in these staircases and cleft, the reader may learn for himself from Sir Charles Warren's Letters, pp. 140, 152, and the "Jerusalem Memoirs," 372.

Ge, OR THE VALLEY OF HINNOM.

Josh. xv, 8 (from En-rogel). The border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom.

Josh. xviii, 16. The border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in

the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite southward, and went down to Euzrogel.

Neh. xi, 30. From Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom.

2 Chron. xxviii, 3. Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom.

2 Chron. xxxiii, 6. Pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom.

2 Kings xxiii, 10. Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom.

Jer. xxxii 35. High places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom.

Jer. vii, 31, 32. Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom.—Behold the days come, that it shall no more be called Topheth, nor The valley of the son of Hinnom, but The valley of Slaughter, for they shall bury in Topheth till [or because] there shall be no place to bury.

Also xix, 6.

Jer. xix, 2. Go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the gate Harsith (Margin, the gate of Potsherds).

The A. V. unfortunately renders Harsith by east. An *east* gate at Jerusalem must lead to the *nachal* (brook Kidron), and as the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom is said to be near the above wrongly styled *east* gate, Sir Charles Warren, taking the *nachal* and *ge* to be one and the same, has in a mistake of the Authorised Version, found support for his wrong position of Zion, the city of David (1870, 344). This is much to be regretted, as it is hard to go right-about-face.

Occasionally the valley of Hinnom is simply described as the valley (*ge*), and serves as a title for a gate near it.

Neh. ii, 13. I went out by night by the valley gate.

Neh. iii, 13. The valley gate repaired Hanun, &c.

2 Chron. xxvi, 9. Uzziah built towers at the valley gate.

From the valley (*ge*) we have in the N. T. the term Gehenna as a place of torment.

The lowest limb of the Y is the Tyropœon valley of Josephus, dividing the upper city on the hill (*gibeak*) of Jerusalem (Is. x, 32, xxxi, 4) on the west from the lower city or Acra on Ophel (so called) on the east. On part of the latter stood Zion, the city of David, while the high part of the hill on the north was called the Mount (*har*) of Zion (Is. x, 32, xxxi, 4), Mount Moriah, and later, the Mount of the House (2 Chron. xxxiii, 15). At times, however, in the Psalms and Prophets, Mount Zion, Zion, and Jerusalem seem to be used as equivalent terms for the whole city.

Emek—THE DALE.

Gen. xiv, 17, R. V. The king of Sodom went out to meet him (Abram) at the vale of Shaveh (the same is the King's Vale). And Melchizedek, &c.

2 Sam. xviii, 18. Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself the pillar which is in the king's *dale*.

This gratuitous variation in R. V. is reprehensible.

Josephus, with better judgment, says that Melchizedek was king of Jerusalem, and that Absalom's pillar was two furlongs from Jerusalem. It seems to me absurd to think either that these two valleys are not identical, or that Absalom had prepared his tomb on the east side of the Jordan, or near Shechem, where some learned people wrongly think Abram met Melchizedek. Abram's natural road was, as at present, past Jerusalem, and that city was the obvious place at which the king of Sodom would meet him.

Jer. xxxi, 40. The whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes and all the fields unto the brook Kidron.

The valley thus described has been taken to be the south-western valley, commonly called the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom. When, however, I took the central valley to be the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom, and then came to examine this passage in the Hebrew, and found that as this south-western valley ought not to be called *ge*, so actually it *was not called ge but emek*, I saw how many difficulties ignorance makes for itself, and that while the original is very distinct and precise, the laxity of translations has produced confusion and difficulties which once seemed insuperable.

Joel, iii, 2, 12. I will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat Come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat (Margin, the Lord judgeth).

If the reference here is to any valley at Jerusalem, it is certainly *not* to the *eastern* valley or *nachal*, commonly but wrongly named the valley of Jehoshaphat. The use of *emek* shows that only the south-western valley can be referred to. Thrupp ("Jerusalem" 214) says, "the allusion in this chapter 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." Hence he concludes that the ravine of the Kidron cannot be exclusively intended. I may, however, observe that "the winepresses" and "the cornfields" are exactly the eastern and western limits of our *emek*.

Jer. xxi, 13. Has been shown above not to refer to Jerusalem.

Isaiah, xxii, 1-7. Possibly does not refer to Jerusalem ("Spk. Comment."). Our key, however, passes smoothly the two wards "valley (*ge*) of vision," and "thy choicest valleys (*emek*)," e.g., the king's *dale* and the valley (*emek*) of Rephaim.

In support of the south-western valley being the king's *dale* (*emek*) I should like to point out that close to its eastern extremity, where it joins the *nachal*, we have the *king's* winepresses (Zech. xiv, 10), the king's pool (Neh. ii, 14) and the king's garden (Neh. iii, 15 ; 2 Kings, xxv, 4 ; Jer. xxxix, 4 ; lii, 7).

Ain—SPRING.

As to the waters of Jerusalem little is here to be said. Evidently on the west there was a spring called in Neh. ii, 13, "the dragon's well" (really spring, *ain*) answering probably to the serpents' pool of Josephus (Wars, v, iii, 2). This *ain* is no longer visible.

The Virgin's Fount is undoubtedly Gihon (1 Kings i, 33, 38, 45 ; 2 Chron. xxxii, 30 ; xxxiii, 14). Major Conder has done good service by strenuously maintaining this (1883, 106).

I regret, however, that he feels compelled by M. Ganneau's discovery of the Arabic *Ez Zehwele*, to maintain that En-rogel is identical with Gihon. Enrogel was certainly the same as or near Joab's well. The argument that the last named is a *beer* (well) not an *ain* (spring), hardly proves anything ; for Jacob's well in John iv, 6, 11, is called both *πηγή* and *φρέαρ*. I have observed already that in Gen. xxiv, in Rebekah's story, *beer* and *ain* are both mentioned twice, and the water supply obtained by means of the staircase near Joab's well would certainly be called an *ain* (spring). Further, it is absurd to suppose (1) that Adonijah would hold his revolutionary feast under the very windows of the royal palace on Ophel, and (2) if he had, that David would ever send Solomon to Gihon, almost into the hands of his enemies (M. Ganneau gives the distance between Zehwele and the Virgin's Fount as about 60 metres = 66 yards, 1870, 252), and (3) that being so near to Gihon, Adonijah and the rest of the conspirators should know nothing of what had gone on (1 Kings i, 41) seventy yards off, until Jonathan rushed in to tell them.

Of Arabic, happily, I am ignorant, and so am unmoved by the merits of *Zehwele* ; but I do know that for the *stone* of Zohelath, the Bible uses *eben*, and I cannot find there a single instance in which it is applied to a *cliff*, such as *Zehwele* is attached to ; while I can give many instances in which it means a moveable stone, which *Zehwele* certainly is not. Perhaps some friend of this Arabic word will produce an instance from the Bible, of *eben* meaning a *cliff*.

Lastly, "The Land and the Book," page 659, points out the fittest place and time for Adonijah's conspiracy, viz., near Joab's well, when *the brook* was overflowing, so that the holiday makers there would find themselves entrapped into the rebellion ere they were aware of it, like the two hundred men who went with Absalom to Hebron in their simplicity. (2 Sam. xv, 11).

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