

V

THE STONE ZOHELETH.

As to whether the word Eben can apply to a rock (a question more than once raised of late), Gesenius may be held to be a respectable authority. In his lexicon he gives, under בֶּן־עֵבֶן (1) "a stone of any kind," (2) a "gem," (3) "ore," (4) "rock." I think that any person acquainted with Hebrew and Arabic would feel satisfied by M. Clermont-Ganneau's remarkable discovery of Zohelath.

VI.

HOUSE OF THE HOLY GHOST.

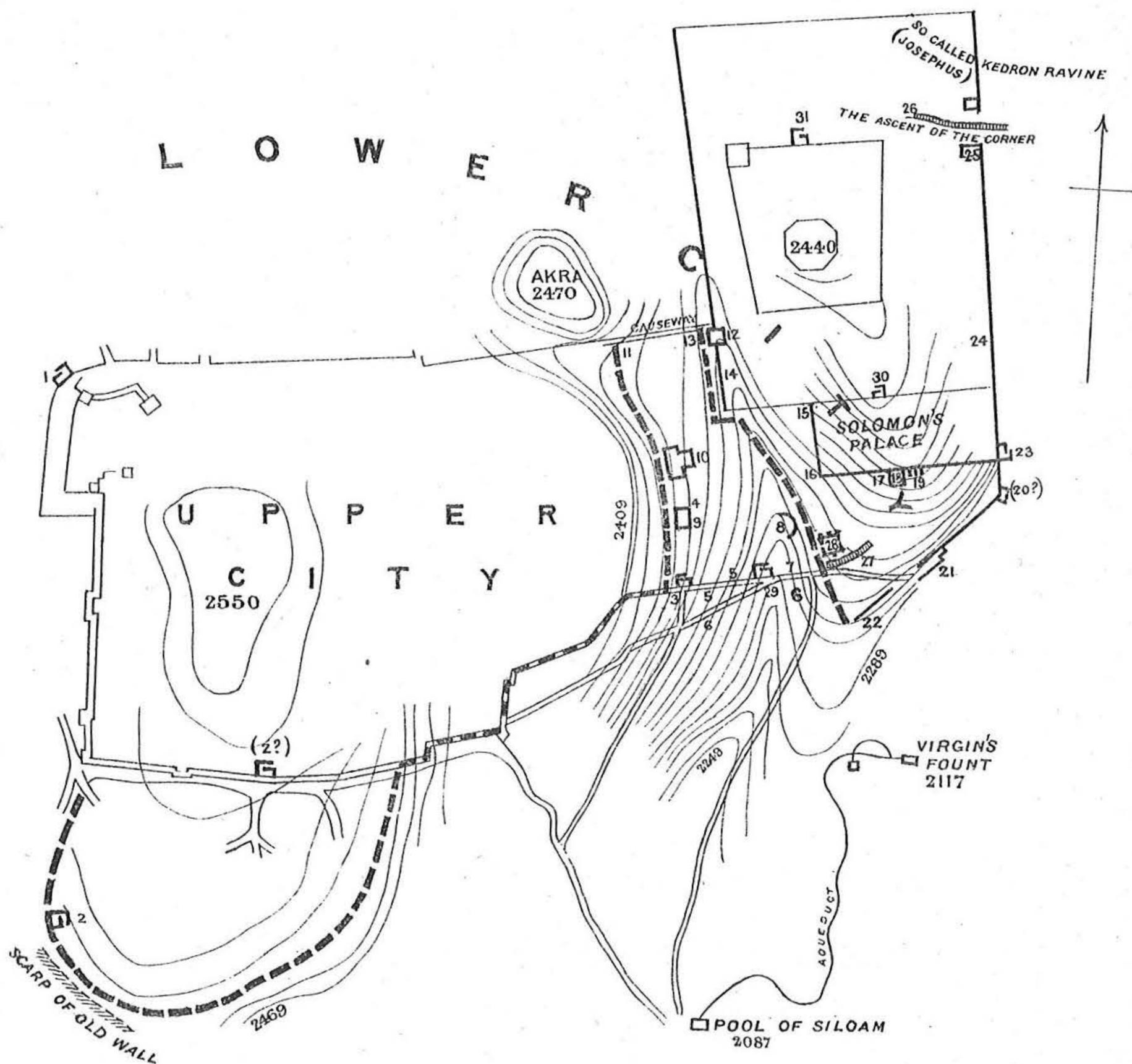
It may be necessary to note that the map mentioned by Dr. Chaplin, bearing this name, is a reduction from one made by me in 1883, and the place in question is marked where he showed me the site so called in 1881. I am afraid, however, it does not occur in any ~~medieval~~ account of the city, as far as my reading goes.

NEHEMIAH'S SOUTH WALL, AND THE LOCALITY OF
THE ROYAL SEPULCHRES.

As the basis of the accompanying plan, I take the ascertained rock contours, issued with the Memoirs of the Survey, and place upon them, to start with, the outlines of ancient structures ascertained by Sir C. Warren. The modern Zion being the Upper City of Josephus, all the lower hills lying about it, so far as they are built upon, will be the Lower City. Accepting Warren's Akra, the Akra becomes part of the Lower City when the Causeway is built and joins it to the eastern hill,¹ and more thoroughly so when the valley north of the causeway is filled up in the days of Simon Maccabæus. The Lower City would thus lie round about the Upper City in crescent form, and we may agree with those who translate Josephus's $\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\rho\sigma$ in that sense (Bell. v, 4, 1). The valley descending from Herod's Gate and entering the Kedron just north of the Golden Gate, is probably Josephus' "valley called Kedron," possibly the original Upper Kedron before it was filled up. As it was not filled up till Pompey's time, it was still a valley in Old Testament times, and its existence is implied in Nehemiah iii, 31. The sites of walls and buildings adopted from Warren for the purpose of this paper are (1) the Temple

¹ May not this causeway represent Millo? The word means a causeway or an embankment.

SKETCH PLAN SHEWING NEHEMIAH'S SOUTH WALL.



** The contour lines represent successive steps of ten feet. The height at the Triple Gate is 2379 feet.

REFERENCE.

Suggested line of wall 

- 1 Valley gate
- 2 Dung gate
- 3 Fountain gate
- 4 King's pool
- 5 Wall of Pool of Shelah
- 6 King's gardens
- 7 Stairs of the City of David
- 8 Sepulchres of David
- 9 The Pool that was made
- 10 House of the mighty
- 11 Turning of the wall
- 12 The Armoury
- 13 Turning of the wall
- 14 House of Eliashib
- 15 Turning of the wall
- 16 The Corner

- 17 Turning of the wall
- 18 Tower at King's house
(Tower that standeth out)
- 19 Water gate
- 20 Tower that lieth out
- 21 Great tower that lieth out
- 22 Wall of Ophel
- 23 Horse gate
- 24 Houses of priests
- 25 Gate Miphkad
- 26 Ascent of the corner
- 27 Going up of the wall
- 28 House of David
- 29 Gate between two walls
- 30 Gate of the Guard (2 Kings, xi. 19)
- 31 Gate of the Guard (Neh. xii. 39)

courts, as represented in the plan; (2) Solomon's palace, south of the Temple, but occupying only two-thirds of the width of the Haram Area; (3) the wall of Ophel, and its towers, the wall terminating 700 feet from its elbow; (4) the great causeway, extending westward from Wilson's arch.

The Temple and Palace, as given by Warren, leave a vacant square at the south-western corner of the Haram, where the masonry for 300 feet each way from the corner is different from the rest, and more recent.

With this ascertained nucleus of buildings, and the ascertained contours of hills and valleys, I proceed, first, to trace the south wall of Nehemiah, and afterwards, to test its accuracy. Let us bear in mind that Nehemiah repaired only, and did not build *de novo*, so that the lines of wall to be recovered are really older than his time. From the Jaffa Gate we follow the existing line of wall southward, as far as it extends. We might be content to follow it eastward across the ridge of the modern Zion—and might say in defence of that line that later builders found it easier to repair old walls than to build new ones—but the point is not vital to the main contention of this paper, and so the wall may be allowed to go round the brow, and thus take in the rock scarp and the remains of masonry at the south-west shoulder. In either case the wall made a bay up the Tyropean Valley, as Lewin contends ("Sketch of Jerusalem"), and as Josephus plainly declares (*ὑπὲρ τῆν Σιλωάμ*, Bell. v, 4, 2). By following the eastern brow of modern Zion right northward to the causeway, the wall completed the circuit of the Upper City, which, according to Josephus, had a wall of its own, going all round. Where it joined the causeway it would make a right angle or something near it. On the east side a wall making a similar angle with the causeway would run southward. The primary object of this wall would be to defend the Temple and the Palace and other buildings upon Moriah and Ophel; in other words, the eastern hill, in the first instance, had its own separate defending wall, the same as the western; and hence the intermediate "suburbs" came at length to be enclosed in the city. The course of this wall would be influenced partly by the contours of the ground, and partly by the outline of buildings existing on the ground. It would ultimately join the wall of Ophel. An objection may be raised to this line of wall as being partly in a valley. But it is only in the valley where the outline of Temple and Palace force it to be so; and it cannot be said to be useless, since it is, of course, an obstacle to an enemy. Besides, an *a priori* objection to the wall can have but little weight in the face of Nehemiah's descriptions which appear to require its existence, and which become intelligible for the first time when its existence is allowed.

As dwellings, pools, or gardens would sooner or later be made in the intra-mural suburb, a transverse wall would be built east and west across the valley, to protect them, and such a wall would greatly strengthen the city at the same time. For this cross wall the existing line of wall may be followed, in the absence of historical evidence for placing it elsewhere.

This wall is, of course, in a valley, but it must be remembered that both the Upper City and the Lower are protected without it, and it is of some advantage as an additional defence.

With this arrangement, adopted for good reasons already given, the descriptions in Nehemiah can be understood in detail.

NEHEMIAH'S NIGHT-RIDE.

In chap. ii, 13, we read—"I went out by the Valley Gate" (this is at or near the Jaffa Gate, the head of the Tyropœan Valley—the *gaia*)—"even before the Dragon Spring and to the Dung Gate." This Dung Gate must be near the south-west corner of the city, to agree with chap. iii, 13. "Then I went on to the Fountain Gate"—a convenient exit from the Upper City for the Fountain of Siloam—"and to the King's Pool (*el-Berekath*)," a pool probably within the enclosed suburb, made by the king, or for the king, and near the king's garden, or the king's house. "But there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass." Why? Because here we have two walls in a narrow space, and the destruction of both of them had filled the valley with *débris*. "Then I went up by the brook (*nachal*, the Kedron) and viewed the wall, and turned, and passed in by the Valley Gate."

THE REBUILDING OF THE WALLS AND GATES.

We pass over the repairing of the walls from the Sheep Gate, north of the Temple, to the Valley Gate in the west wall.

In verse 13: From the Valley Gate it is "1,000 cubits on the wall to the Dung Gate." This forbids any identification with the present Dung Gate.

In verse 15: Shallun, who repairs the Fountain Gate, repairs also "the wall of the Pool of Shelah by the king's garden." Allow that Shelah is Siloam, yet this need not be a wall running down to Siloam—those who take that line go wrong all the rest of the way—it is the transverse wall in the same valley above. Through a gate in this wall the Fountain of Siloam would be conveniently reached from the suburb; and this would be the "Gate between two walls," through which Zedekiah fled away (2 Kings, xxv, 4; Jer. xxxix, 4; lii, 7). The wall was *by* the King's garden (*le=by*, or near.) Shallun goes on "unto (*ad*) the Stairs (*maaloth*) that go down from the City of David." So the City of David includes Ophel, and the Stairs descend the Ophel slope westward into the bed of the Tyropœan.

Verse 16: "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, unto the place over against (*neged* = in front of) the sepulchres of David." The wall of the Pool of Shelah was an offshoot or side work, so Nehemiah would take up the repairs by the Fountain Gate and work northward. He comes over against the sepulchres, which are therefore on the Ophel side, a little to the north of the Stairs. The entrance would have to be

low down in the valley bed, to be outside the wall which protects Ophel on the west. But why not? Nehemiah continues working northward "unto the pool that was made" (*berekah*, probably the king's pool of ii, 14), "and unto the house of the mighty men." If this is the house of David's body-guard, it will probably be within easy distance of David's house, while yet Nehemiah's description places it on the west side of the Tyropœan; so we may reasonably locate it as in the plan.

In the remaining short space on this side we have no less than four bands of workers, indicating that the destruction had been very great, as indeed Nehemiah found it to be when there was no possibility of his beast getting along; and the next indication of locality is in—

Verse 19, "the turning" of the wall, "over against the ascent to the armoury." The armoury, therefore, was in or near the north-eastern angle of the suburb.

Verse 20: We are now carried from "the turning" of the wall by the armoury, southward, "unto the door of the house of Eliashib, the high priest;" and we are not surprised to find his house here, for we are close alongside the Temple courts. The workers come *unto* the door of Eliashib's house, which thus seems to project westward, so as to be quite near to the line of wall; but they only come *over against* the less important houses which follow.

Verse 24: The sixth worker down this side comes to "the turning" of the wall and "unto the corner." The turning is not the same as the corner; the Hebrew language uses different words for a re-entering and a salient angle. Each of the two turnings at the causeway (vv. 19, 20) is called a *miqtzoa* (= a re-entering angle); but now, in v. 24, they come to a *miqtzoa* and to a *pinneh* (= a projecting angle). It is to be observed that we should not have such angles at this part but for the vacant square which Warren's examination of the masonry compelled him to leave—the wall for 300 feet each way from the south-west corner of the Haram being more recent than the rest.

The first salient angle is passed over because the worker who begins north of it continues his labours till he comes south of it, and so its mention is not necessary in defining the work done. (In like manner, in vv. 6-8, the Gate of Ephraim is passed by without mention, although, according to xii, 38, 39, it existed between the Broad Wall and the Old Gate.)

Verse 25: The mention now of another re-entering angle might perplex us, only that the same verse speaks of a "tower standing out from the king's upper house," and this may easily afford the angle.

Verse 26: We are now fairly on the hill of Ophel, and accordingly the workers who have been set to labour here are "the Nethinim dwelling in Ophel." There is also mention in v. 31 of a house of the Nethinim near the northern end of the east wall—still outside the Temple precincts.¹

¹The Nethinim were but servants of the Levites.

As soon as the Nethinim of Ophel get far enough south to look beyond the projecting tower just mentioned and see the Triple Gate, they are stated to be over against the Water Gate. At the same time they are over against the tower that standeth out. This is not necessarily the tower mentioned in the previous verse, as projecting from the king's house, but may, perhaps, be the one at the south-east angle of the Ophel wall, discovered by Warren.

Verse 27 : Where the Nethinim lay down their work it is taken up by the Tekoites, who presently come "over against the great tower that standeth out," namely, the large tower which Warren found. It is now not far to complete the junction with the Ophel wall, at the point where Warren found that wall to end abruptly ; and Nehemiah tells us that the Tekoites actually did this.

Verse 28 : The Ophel wall, being in good repair, is no more referred to ; and the next thing mentioned is the Horse Gate. As Warren could not find any gate in the Ophel wall, the Horse Gate must have been north of it ; and here it would be at a point convenient for entrance to Solomon's stables, which would, perhaps, be *under* the present vaults known by that name.

"Above the Horse Gate repaired the priests, every one over against his own house." These houses of priests are in a position exactly corresponding with the houses of Eliashib and others on the west side. The expression, "over against," implies that the city wall, which is being repaired, stands removed from the priests' houses, from the Temple courts, and it would be eastward of the present Haram wall. Herr Conrad Schick draws it so. I don't know his view about it, but it may possibly be the wall of Manasseh.

Verse 29 : An East Gate is referred to (*Mizrach*), not to be confounded with the gate *Harsith*, the so-called east gate of Jer. xix, 2, in the Authorised Version.

When we come over against the Golden Gate—which Nehemiah calls the Gate Miphkad—we are just where Warren's tunnelling work was arrested by a massive masonry barrier—probably a part of the ancient city wall, 50 feet east of the Haram wall. Immediately we are at "the ascent of the corner." There is no corner now immediately north of the Golden Gate, and no ascent from a depth ; but it was just here that Warren discovered the deepest valley of all, and the wall buried 125 feet, so that we obtain just what we want. The stairs or steps would be cut in the rock, and it is not unlikely that they may yet be found.

THE ROUTE OF THE PROCESSIONISTS.

Chapter xii affords striking confirmation of the foregoing positions. At the dedication of the walls two companies start from the Valley Gate, and go opposite ways to meet in the Temple. Presumably the Valley

Gate was chosen to afford journeys of about equal length; and this is another indication that the wall did not go down to Siloam. The party going south pass the Dung Gate, and reach the Fountain Gate. And now which way will they go? The wall has been repaired right ahead of them, and also the wall turning north, and they will have to choose between two routes. The Revised Version says they went "by (*ad*) the Fountain Gate and straight before them," and ascended *by* the Stairs of the City of David *at* the going up of the wall (not *by* this time, nor really "at," but *in—ba-maalet le-chomah*, i.e., *in* the stairway of the wall *by* the Stairs of David—a different flight of stairs from the Stairs of the City of David, which descended into the valley bed).

Their way up these stairs and beyond carried them "above the house of David, even unto the Water Gate." The house of David here is close by the king's garden of iii, 15; and its position on the slope of the hill suggests a reason for calling Solomon's palace the king's upper house (or high house, iii, 25). Some say "the house of David" means David's tomb; but if that be so, it only confirms the position which I am led to assign to the tomb. Observe also that the position required for the Water Gate here is again that of the present Triple Gate, the same as in iii, 26.

It deserves particular attention that the processionists pass quickly from the Stairs of David to the Water Gate, whereas in the re-building these two places are very wide apart, because the bend of the wall is followed. In iii, 15, we have the Sepulchres, the Pool, the House of the Mighty, four more bands of workers, the turning of the wall, the armoury, the house of Eliashib, the turning, the corner, and the out-standing tower—all between the point over against the Stairs of David and the Water Gate; but none of these things come in the route of the processionists. This is easy to understand if the wall makes a bay up the Tyropœan, for then the short cut in the text corresponds with the short cut in the plan; but it can hardly be made intelligible on any plan which omits this bay and carries the wall down to Siloam.

A superficial objection may be raised that the detour up the valley and *via* the causeway, avoided by the processionists, would be avoided by Nehemiah in repairing the walls, for why should he do more than repair the short transverse wall, when his object was speed? My reply would be that his object was strength and safety as well as speed. The transverse wall was no sufficient protection by itself, there being an easy approach up the valley, but it was valuable as an addition to the inner walls. Besides, Nehemiah had workers enough to be engaged at all parts at once, so that the completion of the work was not at all delayed by repairing the two north-and-south walls of the bend simultaneously with the cross wall, and indeed with the walls all round the city.

The line of wall being established as above, with the positions of David's House, the gate between two walls, &c., the accuracy of the restoration

may be tested by reading many incidents of the history in the light of it. The chief importance of the restoration lies in the support it gives to the view that the City of David included the Ophel hill, and in the indications afforded of the position of the Sepulchres, the "Gate between two walls," &c.

INCIDENTS OF THE HISTORY.

Taking of Jerusalem by David.—If the walls on Ophel are to stand as above, the question arises whether the Rev. W. F. Birch's ingenious suggestion can be supported, that Joab, by ascending the shafts from the Virgin's Fountain, effected an entrance into the city? Apparently not so, unless a continuation of this series of passages remains to be discovered—which may be the case. On the other hand, David's camp would be near the Virgin's Fount, and his attack would be made on this side; for the above reading of Nehemiah favours the idea that the Zion or Lower City which he first captured was on the Ophel hill. David took the lower city by force, captured the akra afterwards, and joined them together to be one body—perhaps by the building of Millo, the causeway (Josephus, Ant. vii, 3, 1).

David's flight and exile; the Spies.—David's house was on Ophel. This is indicated by the references in Nehemiah, and agrees also with such passages as 1 Kings viii, 1-6, where the ark is *brought up* out of the City of David into the Temple (and 2 Sam. xxiv, 18; 1 Kings ix, 24). When David decided to flee because of the rebellion of Absalom, he would go down the Stairs of the City of David and pass out by the gate between two walls; and then, as we are told, he passed over the Kedron, ascended Olivet, and went down towards Jericho to cross the Jordan.

But he left friends behind him at the palace, and it was arranged that two sons of the priests should act as spies and bring him news (2 Sam. xvii). They waited outside the city, at En-Rogel, and a wench went and told them. If we might assume, with so many, that En-Rogel is the Virgin's Fountain, and might retain the supposition referred to above, that the rock-cut passages from the Fount could be entered from within the city, it would be natural to suppose that the spies descended the steps into the pool, and, when the lowness of the water allowed, passed beyond the pool into the passage, while the maid servant descended the staircases from within the city, taking a bucket to draw water, and so escaping suspicion. The spies then hied away to David with the information. The fact that En-Rogel was chosen as the hiding-place accords well with the view that David's house was on Ophel; for the news would come from the palace, and En-Rogel was certainly somewhere south or south-east of the city.

The death of Athaliah.—This incident affords some indications of locality, in beautiful agreement with Nehemiah. When this Queen-mother

heard that her son, the King, had been killed by Jehu, she snatched at the sovereignty for herself, and her policy was to slay all the seed royal. But one little child escaped, carried off by its nurse, and they were secreted in the Temple by Jehoiada, the High Priest. In the seventh year Jehoiada assembled the chiefs of the people in the Temple, produced the little child Joash, stood him upon the platform appropriated to the kings, and said, This is the rightful heir! The chiefs shouted their joy, when Athaliah heard the noise and rushed into the Temple to learn the cause. That she should hear so readily and find such easy access to the Temple, accords well with the supposition that she was living in Solomon's palace, close adjoining the Temple, as Warren places it. When Athaliah saw the state of things she cried,—“Treason, treason!” But she found no friends there. The priest said, “Have her forth—slay her not in the house of the Lord!” So they made way for her; and she went to the entry of the Horse Gate to the King's house; and they slew her there” (2 Chron. xviii, 15; 2 Kings xii, 16). It is implied in this narrative that the Horse Gate was not only by the king's house, but that it was also the nearest point which could be considered fairly beyond the sacred precincts; and this is in full agreement with the position which we have assigned it.

In the context of the passages just quoted we find that Joash is carried “by the way of the gate of the guard into the king's house.” This gate must, of course, have been on that side of the palace adjoining the Temple courts; it was probably due north of the Water Gate (*i.e.*, the Triple Gate), and it thus again accords with Neh. iii, 25, where the tower standing out from Solomon's house is said to be “by the court of the guard.” The court of the guard may very well have extended from the Water Gate without to the Gate of the Guard on the Temple side of the palace. From Neh. xii, 39, it appears that there was a corresponding Gate of the Guard at the corresponding point on the north side of the altar.

The assassination of Joash.—When Joash grew to man's estate he made changes which displeased his people; and the short statement is that the conspirators slew him “on his bed,” “at the house of Millo that goeth down to Silla” (2 Kings xii, 20, combined with 2 Chron. xxiv, 25) This is somewhat obscure. Fuerst says that Silla is the present David Street, a highway steeply descending. So far as appears it may just as well be any other descending path; and I fancy it was the “stairway of the wall” of Neh. xii, 37, close by the Stairs of the City of David, and close to the house of David. Joash was slain while going down Silla, not while going down to Silla, for there is no preposition here in the Hebrew text. We may suppose that he was living in David's house, and when he heard of the conspiracy he designed to flee down the Stairs and through the gate between two walls; but being a sick man he was being carried on a litter, as Lewin remarks; and on this particular stairway, I imagine the assassins fell upon him.

Why David's house should be called the house of Millo is the next question, and I can only offer a suggestion. Millo was at first the northern boundary of the roughly-quadrangular "suburb," but it would, perhaps, in course of time, give its name to the whole of the enclosed space, or the whole of the four walls; and then, because David's house adjoined the eastern wall of the four, it was called the house of Millo. After Solomon had built a grander "king's house," there might be a reason for finding some other term for the house in which David had dwelt.

The flight of Zedekiah.—Not to multiply incidents, let us come now to the last King of Judah—Zedekiah. In his day Nebuchadnezzar came up against the city; and when, by a night surprise, he effected an entrance at the middle gate of the north wall, Zedekiah took alarm and fled away at once with his bodyguard. Whether living in Solomon's house or in David's, his way would be down the Stairs of the City of David into the bed of the Tyropean; and then we are distinctly told that he fled by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls (2 Kings xxv, 4; Jer. xxxix, 4; lii, 7). His plan was to take the route which David had taken when he fled from Absalom.

Jeremiah's prophecy.—In order to encourage the people during the captivity, Jeremiah predicts that Jerusalem shall be again inhabited and its borders extended. The measuring line is to go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb (east or north of the Temple), and shall compass about to Goath (this seems to be a sweep round the north-western, western, and south-western parts of the city); and the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes (= Topheth, the broad junction of the present Hinnom and Tyropean valleys), and all the fields (eastward) unto the Brook Kedron (and then northward), unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east shall be holy unto the Lord (Jer. xxxi, 38). This reference again confirms the position we have assigned to the Horse Gate.

Zechariah also describes Jerusalem in its length and breadth. It is to be lifted up and inhabited "from Benjamin's Gate (which would seem to be a Temple gate having a north-east position), unto the place of the first gate¹ (the first gate of the city, north-east, but not so much east as the Benjamin Gate of the Temple), unto the Corner Gate (which was at the north-west corner of the city, but is passed over in Neh. iii, because it needs no repair. But see a reference to it in 2 Kings xiv, 13; 2 Chron. xxv, 13). The north and south extremes named by Zechariah are the Tower of Hananel (same position as Antonia) and the king's wine-presses (in the neighbourhood of the king's garden, which we have already seen was near to the gate between two walls).

¹ As the Hebrew language reads from right to left, so when the gates are numbered, the counting takes the same direction, as does also Nehemiah's description of the repair of the gates and walls.

THE "BROAD WALL" AT JERUSALEM.

Was the Broad Wall (of Neh. iii, 8, and xii, 38) broad in its own dimensions, or so named for some other reason? It may seem to be only an academical question, but it is really of some importance in our endeavour to restore the plan of the ancient city. Lewin, in his "Sketch of Jerusalem," seeks to identify a certain piece of old wall with the Broad Wall of Scripture, because the piece is a good many feet in thickness (p. 48). But if the Broad Wall was so named for some other reason, this identification fails; and if the true reference of the name can be discovered, it may be a guide to the actual position of the Broad Wall.

The Hebrew words are *chomah rêchâbâh*. *Râchâb*, with its cognate forms *râchâb*, *rechâb*, &c., convey chiefly the idea of roomy space. In Job xxxvi, 16, we have "Yea, he would have led thee away out of distress into a broad place, where there is no straitness." In Gen. xix, 2, the two angels say to Lot, "We will abide in the street all night," where "street" is the rendering of *rechob*. We have *rechob* again in Neh. viii, 1, "And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the broad place that was before the Water Gate," as a congregation for Ezra to address. This open space appears to me to have been on the hill of Ophel, south of the Triple Gate. The broad place of Ezra x, 9, may have been the same. Thus the word seems to be used in much the same way as we use the word Square or Platz. We come still nearer to it in the Broad Sanctuary at Westminster.

Now, besides "the Broad" before the Water Gate, there was another Broad in Jerusalem, in which the excited people were assembled discussing the approach of Sennacherib, when Hezekiah went to them and spake comfortably to them (2 Chron. xxxii, 6). This broad place is not said to be before the Water Gate, but at the Gate of the City; and the circumstances favour the idea that it was at the Valley Gate (Jaffa Gate), or some gate of the north-western quarter, seeing that Sennacherib made his approach from the north-west.

The references in Nehemiah require that the Broad Wall should be in this quarter. May it not signify, therefore, the wall by the Broad?

TWIN SACRED MOUNTS AT JERUSALEM.

In a paper on Kirjath Sepher, in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1888, speaking of the two Sipparas—at Abu Hubba and Agadé, on the two sides of a stream—I remarked, "I find reason to think that the duality was symbolical, and was important in the astro-religious system, the two sites standing for the two equinoxes." I said that we might compare with these twin temples or towers the mound of Birs Nimroud

and the Babil mound, in near proximity but on opposite sides of the Euphrates. I would add now, that it may be instructive to compare the summit of Moriah and the knoll of the traditional Calvary covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

These two mounts at Jerusalem were probably sacred before the Israelitish occupation, and we need not be surprised if some of the traditions which relate to them prove to have come down from heathen sources. The parallel with the sacred mounts of other nations is indicated by the following circumstances :—

The mount was made the site of a temple : on the mount at Borsippa the Temple of Nebo ; at Sippara the Temple of Shamas, the sun-god ; at Moriah (eventually) the Temple of Jehovah.

The temple often was over a well. Mariette describes the pyramid (which was an artificial mount) built of enormous stones *covering the well* as with a massive lid. In the Birs-Nimroud inscription, Nebuchadnezzar says that, when he finished building the Tower of the Seven Planets at Borsippa, which former kings had begun, he found that the water-springs beneath it had not been kept in order.¹ Under the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem we know there is the sacred and mysterious well—the “well of souls.”

The rock or mount was spoken of as a foundation stone of the universe. Nebo is called “the bond of the universe,” and his temple at Borsippa was “the house of the seven bonds of heaven and earth.” The sun-god of Sippara comes forth from the foundation of the sky.² In the temple enclosure of Bel-Merodach was a tower of eight stages, called the house of the foundation stone of heaven and earth. It is pointed out by Lewin (“Sketch of Jerusalem,” 15), that the Temple of Solomon stood on the summit of a series of successive terraces, fashioned in imitation of the Assyrian style of architecture, and we know that in Mohammedan tradition the sacred rock of Moriah is “the foundation stone of the world.” Compare also the Scripture expressions, “The mountain of the house,” “Behold I lay in Zion a foundation stone,” “Our Rock is not as their rock,” “Upon this rock I will build my church” in place of the temple which occupies the rock at present.³

The rock at Borsippa was the symbol of the equinox, as I am led to think. The temple of Nebo was built upon the rock to set forth that the astro-religious system was built upon the equinox as its foundation and starting point. I have collected ample evidence of this, but it is not necessary here to elaborate it.

The system dates from the time when the equinoxes were astronomically connected with the constellations *Taurus* and *Scorpio*, which are of course half a circle apart in the zodiac, as the equinox dates are half a

¹ Mariette, “Mon. Upper Egypt,” p. 73, Eng. trans. Gerald Massey, “Natural Genesis,” ii, 192.

² Sayce, “Hibbert Lectures,” 96, 115, 174.

³ This is a new interpretation of the passage ; but I can substantiate it.

year apart in the calendar. The spring equinox was in the Bull, the autumn equinox in the Scorpion, and the spring equinox as the beginning of the year, and of the cycle, was the foundation. Of course, then, autumn and the Scorpion were opposite the foundation, and almost as important as the foundation itself. Accordingly, in the Accadian year (whence was derived the Assyrian) the month which corresponded to the Semitic Tasrit or Tisri, and our September was called "the month of the illustrious mound;" and the sign Scorpio is said to face the foundation. In the Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., Feb. 5th, 1889, Mr. Brown has the following:—"The Akkadian name of the eighth month is connected with 'Foundation,' and Professor Sayce remarks, 'M. Ernest de Bunsen has shown that Scorpio was taken as the starting point of the primitive calendar ('Transactions,' iii, 163); but the name may mean 'Opposite to the Foundation' *vide* Sayce, 'The Babylonian Astronomy,' in 'Monthly Notices' of the Royal Astronomical Society, xi, 3, p. 117), *i.e.*, to the second month and the Bull, as (at one time) Leader of the Signs."

The mounts and temples were connected with oracles and writings. Nebo is called the divine scribe, the author of the oracle, the creator of the written tablet.¹ The royal library at Nineveh stood within the precincts of the Temple of Nineveh. At Sippara, in the temple of the sun-god Mr. Rassam has found thousands of written tablets, besides a great work on astronomy and astrology. In the temple on Mount Moriah were enshrined the ark of the covenant and the Books of the Law. There is even a tradition that these are hidden in the sacred "well of souls."

The mounts and the writings were more or less connected with traditions of the Deluge. Xisuthros, the Chaldean Noah, was the author of writings concerning the antediluvian world, which he buried at Sippara. The Tower of Babel was to have its head above the reach of any future deluge. A story is sometimes told at Jerusalem that the Mount Calvary was called Golgotha, the place of a skull, or the skull-hill, because the skull of Adam was washed up there by the Deluge.

The little mount covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands by Moriah as a twin sacred mount, not only in natural position, but as a nucleus of similar traditions. Tradition says that Adam is buried there and that Christ was to be buried there, so that the second Adam might be with the first. The twin mounts are diametrically opposed: Adam being buried at Golgotha, Mohammed rises from the Sakhrah into heaven—death and resurrection are symbolically connected with the two mounts. In the *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1888, Mr. Simpson gives us Herr Schick's careful drawings of the particular object which marks, in the Greek Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Middle of the World, and refers

¹ Sayce, "Hibbert Lectures," 405.

² Sayce, 9, 114.

to the legend of Adam's burial there. That the Mohammedans should place Adam and the Middle of the World at Mecca, and not at Jerusalem, is only natural; for representative or symbolical mounts were adopted or reared in many places. The Greek navel of the world was at Delphi, for the like astronomical reason.

Now, if there is any ground for the parallel I have suggested, it may be worth inquiry, what bearing these facts have upon the question of the true site of Calvary. It is clear that the mount which the legends couple with Moriah is that over which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, and not the one at the Grotto of Jeremiah. On the other hand, the immemorial sanctity of the site would hardly be a reason for making it a place for executions, unless to desecrate it, though it might very well be a reason for building temples or churches over it.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

ERRATA.

1889. Page 38, line 7. *Omit as.*
 „ 41, „ 7. *After as read if.*
 „ 46, „ 18. *Omit present.*
 „ 46, „ 23. *For in read into.*
 „ 46, „ 24. *Before were read both.*
 „ 46, „ 28. *Omit marked.*
 „ 50, „ 18. *Before nine read of.*
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