

connection therewith, and that, taking Baurath Schick's and the Rev. W. F. Birch's objections into consideration, and calmly weighing all the evidence, one cannot help feeling that the gallant officer who so boldly maintains that *thickets* and a *heap* are one and the same thing, has discovered "a mare's nest" at Khurbet 'Orma.

My stay at 'Artouf came to an end early in August, a day or two after I forwarded tracings representing the Zorah altar. On the 23rd of October I rode down again in the company of Baurath Schick, who carefully examined my find, tested my measurements of the same, and inspected some minor discoveries I made in the same neighbourhood, especially a columbarium, and a large and massive but rude stone monument I had found on a hill-top. As Herr Schick intends publishing a description and plans of these I need not dwell upon them.

J. E. HANAUER.

Jerusalem, November 3rd, 1885.

NOTES BY REV. W. F. BIRCH.

I. ACRA SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE.

(See page 105, 1885).

JOSEPHUS ("Wars," V, iv, 1) places his Acra on the site of the Maccabæan Acra, which (1 Macc. i, 33) was identical with the City of David. I propose to show that Josephus places his Acra entirely south of the Temple, *i.e.*, on Ophel (so called), and so without design supports the view that the City of David was on Ophel.

1, 2. In the passage referred to, Josephus says: "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys, for in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, one called the Upper Market-place, the other Acra, or the Lower City. The Tyropœon Valley which divided the two hills reached to Siloam. The first wall ended at the eastern cloister of the Temple," and therefore enclosed Ophel (so called).

Now as the Tyropœon Valley reached to Siloam, it must have separated the Upper City from Ophel (so called). Therefore Ophel—*i.e.*, the ridge south of the Temple—was a separate hill from the Upper City (or Market).

Thus, first historically (according to Josephus) we have two hills, *viz.*, the Upper City and Acra, within the first wall, and next topographically (according to modern excavations) two hills, *viz.*, the same Upper City and Ophel (so called), also within what was the line of the first wall.

But the third axiom of Euclid is, that "If equals be taken from equals the remainders are equal." Accordingly, from these two equals let us take the Upper City, and the remainders, *Acra* and *Ophel* (so called), must be equal. In other words, Acra was on Ophel south of the Temple.

I claim, then, to have proved mathematically that Josephus places his Acra south of the Temple, and thereby supports that site for the City of David.

Further, if Acra is placed anywhere else than on Ophel, then, as it was a hill by itself, Jerusalem must have stood upon three hills, viz., the Upper Hill and Ophel (because it was enclosed by the first wall), and lastly Acra. But Josephus says the city stood on *two* hills, and no one, I imagine, will be so sophistical and stupid as to maintain that by *two* he only meant at least *two*, and might mean more than *two*.

Again, if the first wall is drawn (as I agree with Sir Charles Warren it ought to be drawn) from near the Jaffa gate direct to the Temple, then his site for Acra, north of the Upper City, is only defended by *two* walls on the northern or weak side, while Josephus distinctly says that the city (which contained two hills) was fortified by *three* walls except on its unassailable sides.

Does any one believe that even Josephus can have so jumbled up the topography of a city with which he was well acquainted, as to say Jerusalem stood on *two* hills, if it stood on *three*, and that it was defended by *three* walls, if one part of it, viz., Acra, had been defended by two only? "Credat Judæus Apella, non ego." But the old device may be tried again, and why should Josephus expect to fare better than Nehemiah?

It will be said, "Other passages in Josephus relating to Acra do not agree with its being on Ophel."

Let us see, then, what else Josephus says about Acra.

3. He *directly* gives to the part south of the Temple the name of Acra, or the low town.

(a) "Wars," VI, vii, 2. After the capture of the Temple "the Romans drove the Jews out of the Lower City and set all on fire as far as Siloam." This Lower City could not be the part just within the second wall, for out of that they had been driven weeks before.

(b) "Wars," VI, vi, 3. Here the order was given to burn and plunder the city. Accordingly the Romans set fire to Acra and the place called Ophlas. The fire reached to the palace of Helena in the middle of Acra. When Sir Charles Warren places Acra and the palace *north* of the Upper City, we have to suppose that for *weeks* this part had been left unplundered and the *wood* of the houses unremoved (for stones alone would not burn), although the country for 90 furlongs round was being scoured for wood for the military works.

4. On the other hand, Josephus never gives to the part west of the Temple the title of the Lower City, or Acra. If any one thinks he does, let him kindly point out the passage.

5. Lewin indeed says that "The part north of the Upper City (*i.e.*, Sir C. Warren's position) did not belong to it, nor yet to Bezetha, therefore it belonged to Acra." This conclusion is quite wrong. For in truth that part belonged to none of the three, and is described by Josephus himself as "the suburbs."

6. Some writers are pleased to assume that there must be *topographical*

order in the enumeration of the gates on the western side of the Temple, i.e., that ("Ant.," XV, xi, 5) "ἡ μὲν . . . αἱ δὲ δύο . . . ἡ λοιπή" imply strict local order. If so, surely there is much more reason to assert that there must have been a similar order observed in the description of the towers in "Wars," IV, ix, 12, for there we have τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δὲ . . . τὸν δὲ τρίτον . . . ὁ δὲ λοιπός.

7. "Now of these towers, one was in the north-east corner of the Temple court, one above the Xystus, the *third* at another *corner* over against the Lower City, &c." As in local order this third comes after that near the Xystus, the corner must obviously have been the corner near Robinson's Arch, and it was "over against Acra." This south-west corner might indeed be said to be over against Ophel; but surely not over against the part north of the Upper City.

8. In "Ant.," XV, xi, 5, the first-named gate was one in the line of Wilson's Arch; and the one leading to the other city by a great number of steps into the valley, and thence up again by the ascent, was one in the line of Robinson's Arch; while the deep valley along the entire south quarter of the city is the valley south of the Upper City. Josephus, I believe, never calls the Tyropœon a *deep* valley.

9. If, as Colonel Warren supposes ("Temple or Tomb," p. 119), Robinson's Arch had to do with one of the suburban gates, what are we to think of the vapidness of Josephus in disposing of the stupendous work of that arch under the trifling observation that "two more (gates) led to the suburbs of the city?"

10. Josephus says the two hills of Jerusalem had *deep* valleys on the outside. Acra on Ophel (so called) would have a deep valley on its eastern (or outer) side, but Acra west of the Temple would have no *deep* valley, nor any valley at all, on its western (or outer) side.

Here, then, are *ten* points in which the southern site suits and the western site does *not* suit the Acra of Josephus. Is more evidence necessary?

But I imagine some one objecting, You have suppressed four or five awkward statements of Josephus, viz. :—

- (1) That the Acra used to be higher than the Temple.
- (2) That it was levelled by the Asmonœans.
- (3) That it was separated from the Temple by a broad valley which was afterwards filled up.
- (4) That David called the Upper City by the name φρούριον, obviously corresponding to the Hebrew *Metsudah*, the same as the *castle* of Zion.
- (5) That David called Jerusalem the City of David ("Ant.," VII, iii, 2).

Very awkward indeed, I readily admit; yet not for my theory, but for Josephus and all confiding in his inventions. For in all these five points quoted against my theory Josephus is at variance with either the Bible, or 1 Maccabees, or later statements of his own.

As to (1), Josephus thought Acra was formerly higher than the Temple, and so when 1 Maccabees says (vii 33) Nicanor went *up* from the Acra to

the Temple, Josephus says he went *down* ("Ant.," XII, x, 5) from the citadel into the Temple. For whom is this change awkward?

As to (2), Josephus says the hill of Acra was levelled—a three years' work by day and night. 1 Maccabees, however (an authority used by Josephus at other times), says nothing of the sort, and speaks of the Acra as in existence three years after its demolition according to Josephus (xiv, 37; xv, 28, 33-3).

Is not this very awkward for those who blindly follow Josephus?

As to (3), 1 Maccabees says not one word about the filling up of the valley; and when the advocates of *local order* make Josephus to describe as filled up the valley between the Temple and their Acra placed on its western side, they forget that Josephus must thus contradict himself; for the last-named gate led to a descent by many steps into the valley which was no longer a valley, being already filled up according to their interpretation of Josephus.

Again, as to (4), the Bible does not say that David called any place the citadel (*φρούριον*). What it does say is that he called the castle (or citadel) the City of David (2 Sam. v, 9).

Lastly, as to (5), the Bible does not say that David called Jerusalem the City of David. It says (as above) that he called it (*i.e.*, the castle) the City of David." (See *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 154; 1884, pp. 79, 198.)

The fact seems to be that Josephus (like Canon Tristram and others) failed to understand how the stronghold of Zion could ever have stood on a low hill, and therefore in the "Wars" he put it on the site of the Upper City, and at the same time finding the name Acra attached to the Ophel spur, not apparently a good site for the Macedonian Acra, he concluded it must have been levelled. (See 1885, pp. 107, 211.)

Afterwards, when he came to write his "Antiquities," using the LXX and 1 Maccabees, Josephus found that his Acra and not the Upper City was the original castle of the Jebusites, and therefore in "Ant.," VII, iii, 1, he repeatedly applies to their stronghold the term Acra.

By wresting the Acra from the enemy Simon would in Jewish phraseology become "a remover of mountains," and Josephus, who was quite capable of making much out of little, through taking the title literally may out of this soubriquet have developed his cock and bull story of the levelling of the Acra.

It is hardly necessary, however, to find a groundwork for this fiction of Josephus, who, as pointed out by Whiston, seems to have used a mutilated copy of 1 Maccabees which came to an end at the 50th verse of the 13th chapter, just before the capture of the Acra. If only he had possessed a perfect MS. to copy from, probably we should never in the "Antiquities" have heard anything of the levelling of the Acra.

Again, it has been urged that Josephus says the Maccabees filled up the valley between the Acra and the Temple, meaning to join the two.

To this I reply that in the later and more detailed account in the "Antiquities" he says nothing about the filling up of the valley, and that the filling up of the intermediate valley before the Acra was taken is just

what they would not have done. There would have been more sense in making the valley deeper. If this statement of Josephus is to be taken in the way it is usually understood, then obviously there is no more truth or reason in it than in the levelling of the Acra.

I do not, however, believe Josephus meant his words to be so understood. I take him to mean that the Maccabees filled up the valley, in the line of Wilson's Arch ("Wars," V, iv, 1, compared with "Ant.," XV, xi, 5, the intermediate valley being cut off for a passage), wishing to join the "city" (this is his word), *i.e.*, the Upper City, to the Temple. Here I think he had a *confused* recollection of 1 "Maccabees," xii, 36 (raising a great mount between the tower and the city, for to separate it from the city), and interpreted it to mean that they made a great ramp between the Temple (a continuation of the Acra hill) and the Upper City.

Anyhow, as Josephus certainly believed that the Acra originally was on an eminence higher than the Temple, and on its *southern* side, then in his mistaken opinion there must have been a valley between the two, and as it was certainly not visible in his day, he might after all mean that it was filled up somewhere on the line of Dr. Guthe's (misconceived) valley across Ophel. At the same time Josephus may also have believed that Ophel so called had been lowered.

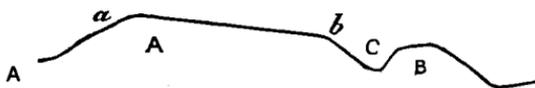
In conclusion, I would call attention to two things. First, on the *ten* points that fix Acra south of the Temple, Josephus is speaking from what he had *seen*. Next, on the five points alleged against this site for Acra, Josephus is speaking about what he had *not* seen, *viz.*, a mountain levelled and a valley filled up, and instead of wisely following his authorities, the Bible and 1 Maccabees, he ventures to disregard and contradict them, and so has blindly fallen into a deep pit, leading after him eighteen centuries of followers.

As, however, I have probed the question of the site of Zion, the City of David, as fixed by Josephus, only for *his* credit, and not for the safety of my theory, I may say once more that any adverse statement of Josephus on this point is worth nothing at all, being but as the dust in the balance compared with the clear and consistent evidence of the Scriptures, not to add of 1 Maccabees.

One indication given by Josephus has been omitted above, because I have never seen it satisfactorily explained. He says ("Wars," V, iv, 1), The hill on which the Upper City stood was much higher, and "in length more direct" (Whiston), while the hill of the Lower City was *ἀμφίκυρτος* (of the shape of a moon when she is horned—Whiston). When Captain Conder ("Handbook," p. 332) says the upper hill was the *largest*, he is quite correct, but *largest* seems to me an inadequate rendering of Josephus's words. Again, when he says the Acra was "crescent-shaped," it must be objected that *ἀμφίκυρτος* does not mean *crescent-shaped*, but means *gibbous, curved on each side*, like the moon in its third quarter. Accordingly his site for Acra cannot by being *crescent-shaped* fairly claim to satisfy the description of Josephus.¹

¹ I am glad to find that in the "Memoirs" (Jerusalem, 291) Captain Conder

The following explanation has lately occurred to me. Josephus probably means to describe the city as seen from the south. The appearance, before the Tyropœon was filled up, would be something like this—



A (the upper hill) is thus higher, and *in length* (from *a* to *b*) *somewhat in a straight line*. On the other hand, **B** (the lower hill), instead of being straight or having a flat surface, would (before **C**, the Tyropœon Valley, was filled up) appear as a *humped* hill, having sloping sides on the east and west. "Humped" seems to me a fair meaning for ἀμφίκυπρος, from κύπρός, curved, arched, like a camel's back.

II. PROFESSOR SOCIN'S CRITICISMS.

PROFESSOR SOCIN, of Tübingen, in his "Critical Estimate of the Work of the Palestine Exploration Fund" (*Expositor*, October), takes exception to some of my remarks in the *Quarterly Statement*. Of this I am glad, as it is good for one's errors to be pointed out.

(1) Inquiry (1884, p. 61) satisfied me that the famous cave of Adullam was really the cave of Khureitun, and was not near the city of Adullam. To explain the title "Adullam," I proposed as a solution that *vau* had been changed into *daleth*—i.e., that the original reading was Maarath Olam (= "the old cave"), which some copyist, aware that Adullam was not far from Gath, somehow made into Maarath Adullam. Exegesis like this, Professor Socin describes as "too bad." Let us then see what he considers good.

On page 255, Professor Socin, referring to "the opinion that the tomb of Rachel cannot originally have been shown south of Jerusalem," adds "as is indeed manifest of itself from 1 Samuel x, 2, and Jeremiah xxxi, 15."

But according to Genesis xxxv, 16 ; xlviii, 7, Rachel's tomb was "but a little way" (Rev. Ver., *still some way*) from Bethlehem, yet, *if* it was not south of Jerusalem, it must have been at least *four* miles from Bethlehem. Surely Professor Socin will not maintain that Gehazi, in waiting until Naaman had gone "some way," must really have given him *four* miles start ; while further, the acceptance of Mr. Schick's tomb of Rachel at Abd-el-Aziz transforms in Genesis the four miles into quite eight. If my exegesis is "too bad" in turning *vau* into *daleth*, what is to be said of Professor Socin's in twice turning out of the sacred text the statement "but a little way to Ephrath." He, without apology, ejects four Hebrew words at least, and yet objects to my altering a single letter. Is not this "extraordinary partiality?"

accepts *gibbous* as the right translation of ἀμφίκυπρος. As, however, he at the same time adheres to his former site for Acra, it would seem that his site, which was *crescent-shaped* in 1879, can do double duty by being *gibbous* in 1884.

(2) As to the identification of Aïd-el-Mâ with Adullam, Professor Socin (p. 256) says: "We are glad to see that recently (*Quarterly Statement*, 1884, p. 61 *ff.*) opposition to it has again appeared." As the paper referred to is mine, I may say this approval is undeserved, as it will be seen that from first to last I do not say one word against the identification. What I objected to was stated in the title, "The Cave of Adullam not near the City of Adullam."

(3) I am also concerned in the question of Zoar and Sodom having been at the northern end of the Dead Sea. Such a location, however, Professor Socin describes as "one of the gravest errors." He adds: "The reasons for placing Zoar in the Ghôr es Safiyeh (*i.e.*, towards the southern end) are quite incontrovertible. Only false interpretations of passages like Genesis xiii, 10, &c., can have led to this extraordinary hypothesis." Let us test the value of this criticism.

Lot, from the hill east of Bethel, "beheld (Gen. xiii, 10) all the plain (Heb. *ciccar*) of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, . . . and (11) chose him all the plain (*ciccar*) of Jordan, . . . and (12) Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain (*ciccar*), and pitched his tent toward Sodom." Scientific exegesis requires one to admit that the Dead Sea must have existed at that time, and that the Jordan flowed into it. Now—

(a) Lot could see that the plain at the northern end of the Dead Sea was well watered; for it was in sight, and but fifteen or twenty miles off, whilst the Ghôr es Safiyeh is some sixty miles distant.

(b) Lot chose the plain of the Jordan. This *must* mean the plain at the northern end of the Dead Sea, since no valley at the southern end could possibly be called the valley of the Jordan, as the nearest point of that river would be forty miles distant at the opposite end of the sea.

(c) Nor will sound exegesis allow any one to maintain that while Lot chose the plain at the northern end of the sea, he dwelt in that at the southern end, some forty miles distant. The *plain* in xiii, 12, near Sodom, is obviously *the plain of Jordan*, which in 11 was confessedly at the north end of the Dead Sea. Therefore it is the arguments for this northern site that are *incontrovertible*, and the southern site is *one of the gravest errors*.

Even the Biblical use of the word *ciccar* would by itself settle the question. Professor Socin was evidently unaware how sound are the arguments of the northerners, and so has let himself be carried away by *the extraordinary hypothesis* of the southerners.

It seems, then, that the errors needing correction belong to Professor Socin, and not to me, still less to the Fund which, as a Society, makes no identifications.

III. CAPTAIN CONDER'S NOTE ON JERUSALEM.

Now that Sir Charles Warren has returned in triumph from South Africa, I hope he will find time to reply to my attack upon his Zion theory. In the last *Quarterly Statement* Captain Conder, from under the Southern Cross, aimed two arrows against my theory, but so inaccurately that one comes down upon his own head, and the other hits Sir C. Warren's theory, while mine continues unscathed.

As I hope by sound reasoning to convince the opponents of Zion on Ophel that the latter hill was the site of the City of David, I must at once remove the misapprehensions expressed by Captain Conder on page 229. I do not object to his saying that "later kings built a wall round Ophel," but I objected to his statement that Ophel "was only walled in by later kings." Similarly I cheerfully admit that Captain Conder visited Jerusalem, but I should strenuously deny that Jerusalem "was only visited by Captain Conder." Many went there before he did. The fact that both Jotham "on the wall of Ophel built much," and Manasseh "built a wall without the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the *nachal*" (= Kidron), says nothing against Ophel having been built upon before their time, and even in the time of David.

Captain Conder is also in error in saying I claim to prove "*Hinnom* to be the Kidron" This is Sir C. Warren's theory. On reference to page 211 he will see that, on the contrary, I said that the confusing of *ge Hinnom*, with *nachal* Kidron, produced a hopeless chaos, and that I had shown that the *Tyropæon* was the valley of *Hinnom*. Captain Conder can hardly mean that the *Tyropæon* was the same as the Kidron.

Further, he misunderstands Professor Sayce's theory. The latter (mainly agreeing with Professor Robertson Smith) confines Jerusalem to the eastern hill, but *not* (as Captain Conder thinks) to the narrow ridge south of the Temple. Professor Sayce corrected this misapprehension in *Quarterly Statement*, 1884, p. 250.

To me the old delusion that the Jerusalem of David did not extend to the eastern hill seems worse, because more plausible, than the new notion that it did not reach to the western side of the *Tyropæon*.

The second delusion, that the City of David was identical with the Jerusalem of David's time I deal with elsewhere.

IV. THE APPROXIMATE POSITION OF THE CASTLE OF ZION.

I ENDEAVOUR on the annexed plan to show the probable position on Ophel occupied by the City of David.

It seems to me that its *western* wall would almost certainly stand close to the water-parting of the ridge. As the point marked 2,270 feet (Sir C. Warren's knoll, I believe) seems the strongest point on the ridge, having a hollow on its northern side, I have drawn the *northern* wall thence to at least 30 feet east of the rock-cut chamber on Ophel, because in "Jerusalem Records," p. 254, it is stated that the rock was bared for 30 feet, but

apparently without reaching the line of the eastern wall. At the same time the further the eastern wall was up the side of the hill, the stronger would be its position.

Therefore I have drawn it as little to the east as possible, though it is a fact that further north the Ophel wall of later date certainly was some distance down the hill.

How far the City of David may have extended *southwards* is open to question. I have extended it so far as to make the area of Zion at least three acres—sufficient, I believe, for the castle which David took from the Jebusites, and named the City of David.

It may be that in trying to make Zion as strong as possible on its western and eastern sides, I have drawn it too narrow. As shown on the plan, I think that with walls of no great height it would not be dominated from any point within 500 feet. I must confess, however, that such a distance seems to me more than necessary, but I concede it to satisfy Canon Tristram's objection (1885, p. 107).

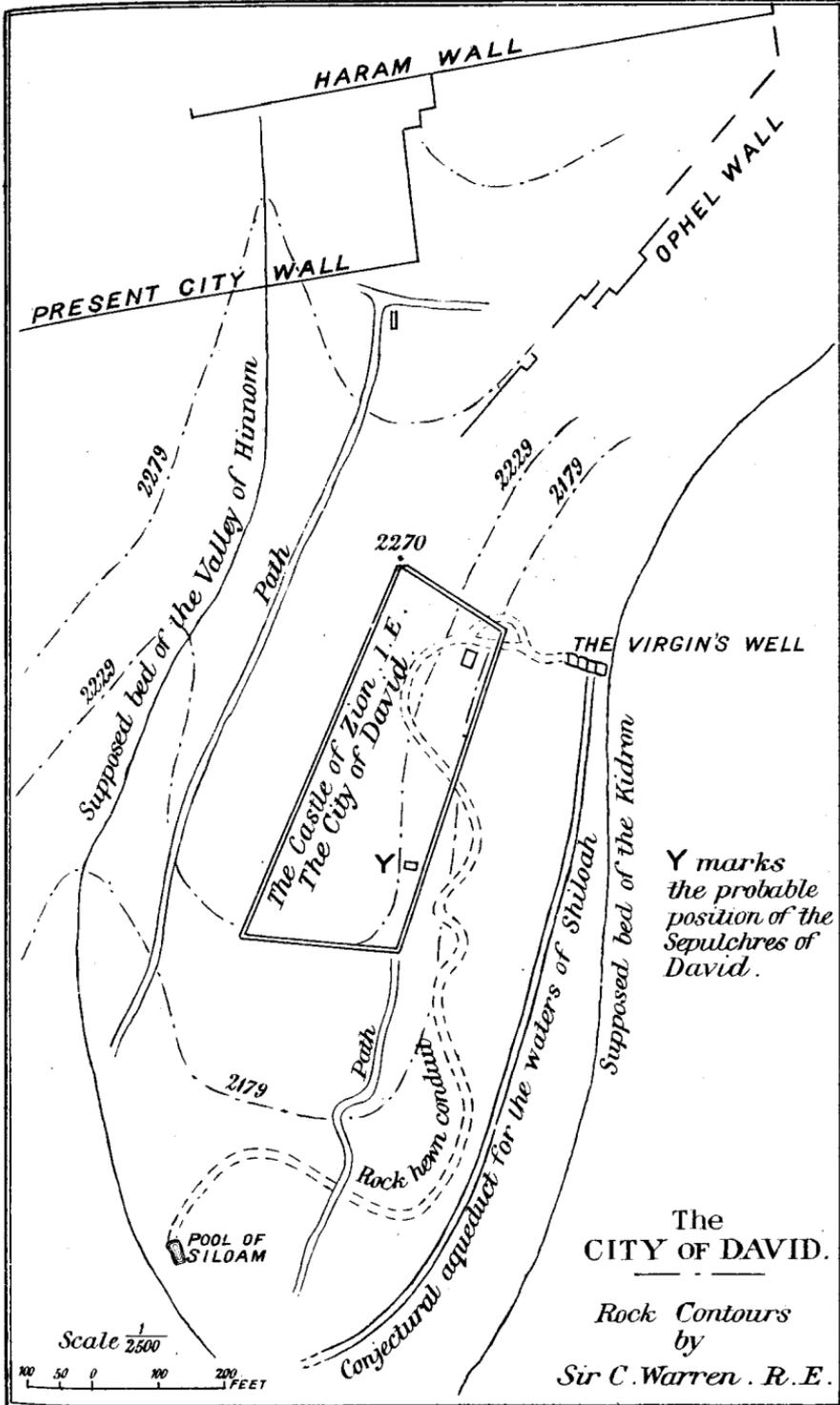
The approximate position of the sepulchres of David is a still more difficult question; but the course of the wall in Nehemiah appears to me to show that they certainly were not on the *western* side of Ophel; for the wall (Neh. iii, 16) was built *over against, i.e., in sight of*, the sepulchres.

Again, as the *eastern* side, being steeper, would more easily than the southern side be cut into a perpendicular face for the entrance to the tomb, I have marked Y as its probable position, within the wall of the City of David, on the *eastern* side of Ophel. At the same time I think that the wall built by Nehemiah may not in any part of it have been *necessarily* on the line of the old wall of the City of David, but on the line of the wall outside it (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14), with an unknown space between the two.

When the Jews say that the tomb of David was within Jerusalem, I believe that they are right; but it might have been *within the outer wall* named above, and yet outside the City of David: for the frequent expression "in the City of David" may mean simply *near* it, and not necessarily *within* it.

If Sir Charles Warren accepts the Ophel site for Zion, I hope he will add his opinion on the probable position of David's tomb.

It is high time that a question like this passed from the region of conjecture into that of excavation. Some who reject my Zion theory would like to see the matter without further delay referred to the spade for a decision to which all would cheerfully bow. England is a Bible-reading country, and rich withal. How long for the lack of a few hundred pounds is Zion still to be to us an unknown city?



Y marks
the probable
position of the
Sepulchres of
David.

The
CITY OF DAVID.

Rock Contours
by
Sir C. Warren. R.E.