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1933

## 764TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,  
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1, ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1933,  
AT 4.30 P.M.

LIEUT.-COLONEL F. A. MOLONY IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed, and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the following elections:—As Associates: Captain Percy N. Corry, I.A., and J. B. W. Grubb, B.A.; and as a Student Associate, R. P. P. Johnston, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN then made the following announcement, which was received by the audience standing in silence as a mark of respect and sympathy:—It is with deep regret that we notify Members of the death, which took place in November last, of Dr. Francis Laudey Patton, Emeritus President of the Princeton Theological University, United States. A profound scholar, an eminent preacher, and an educator of international fame, Dr. Patton had been a Member of the Victoria Institute for over fifty years. He was, in fact, one of the oldest supporters of our work, and brought to the discharge of great responsibilities, theological and philosophical, just such unfoldings of truth as constitute the message of the Institute in the intellectual life of our time. Though for many years his service was in the United States of America, Dr. Patton was a native of Bermuda, and throughout his life sustained with honour the obligations of a British subject. May the Institute never be without worthy successors of the great man who has so recently been taken from our midst.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Mrs. C. Agnes Boyd to read her paper on "Jerusalem according to Nehemiah."

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### *JERUSALEM, ACCORDING TO NEHEMIAH.*

(Revised Version used.)

By MRS. C. AGNES BOYD.

Walk about Zion,  
Tell the towers thereof,  
Mark ye well her bulwarks,  
Consider her palaces;  
The City of our God, in His holy mountain,  
Beautiful in elevation . . .  
Is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north.

Ps. xlviii.

THE object of this paper is twofold:—(1) To prove Nehemiah's book accurate. Both Jews and Gentiles have testified to its authenticity, and to the character of the writer. Yet people who would not question the reliability of *Pepys' Diary*, concerning the topography of London 300 years ago, unhesitatingly correct (?) Nehemiah concerning Jerusalem 2,300 years ago!

(2) To combat certain modern theories which have gained support from archaeologists, involving removal of Zion and several other sites from their traditional positions (on the western hill) to the south-eastern quarter of Jerusalem, incidentally contradicting Nehemiah, though admitting his book to be "of enormous importance" (Macalister).

They started excavations in 1923-24 with a preconceived and expressed belief that David's Sepulchres were in Ophel. Much valuable information has been unearthed, but this, without Nehemiah's unique Guide-book, would be valueless. Identification of ancient sites must be difficult after 2,360 years. Enemies have destroyed; patriots have restored; the indifferent have removed materials to build elsewhere.

#### JERUSALEM.

"The City lieth four-square." On the west side, the Valley of Hinnom runs north to south, curving eastward, the Brook Kedron, parallel on the east side. Down the centre runs the Tyropoeon. The three valleys suggest a trident, with the handle curving in the opposite direction to J. The Valley (of Hinnom) must never be confused with the Brook (Kedron); these words are not interchangeable.

In modern Jerusalem seven Gates exist; these have scriptural-sounding names—Herod, Damascus, Zion, etc.—but only one—Dung Gate—is named in the Bible, and that in a different position. Sixteen Gates are mentioned in the Old Testament; many of these, and other sites, have several names, just as St. Petersburg has borne three or four recently.

Approximately 53 sites encircling Jerusalem are mentioned in the Old Testament, including Gates, Towers, Corners (Heb. *pinnah*), Turnings (Heb. *miqtsod*), Ascents, Stairs, etc. Of these fifty-three, 41 are recorded by Nehemiah (a remarkable proportion), and of these forty-one all but 3 in chapter iii.

In chapter ii Nehemiah's midnight ride is described, *via* Valley Gate, Dragon's Well, Dung Gate, Fountain Gate, and King's Pool. He "turned back" because of the debris. These sites occur *in exactly the same order* as in chapter iii.

Chapter viii records a service held by Ezra in Broad Place before Water Gate; and booths erected in two Broad Places, N.W., where the Governor's Throne stood (iii, 7), and S.E., occupied by Ezra's Pulpit. Two extremes of the city.

Chapter xii describes a procession to celebrate the completion of the wall; divided into two companies. One company went southwards and eastwards, by Dung Gate, Fountain Gate, Stairs, Going up of Wall, above David's House to Water Gate. Five of these six sites occur *in exactly the same order* as in chapter iii. The second company, going northward and eastward, passed above Furnace Tower, Broad Wall, Ephraim Gate, Old Gate, Fish Gate, Hananel's Tower and Hammeah Tower to Sheep Gate. These, travelling in contrary direction to chapter iii, names occur *in exactly the reverse order*. Nehemiah's itineraries *absolutely coincide*. There is nothing haphazard about them.

Chapter iii contains a list of 38 consecutive sites, like the beads of a necklace, having Sheep Gate for its clasp, in first and last verses. The order runs from right to left, as Hebrew is written. Most of the sites are strikingly connected by the expressions, "next to him" (or "them"), 14 times; and "after him" (or "them"), 16 times; 30 times in 32 verses.

When deciding approximate positions of these 38 sites, we could be fairly certain about 5:—

- v. 26. Water Gate, toward the east.
- v. 27. Wall of Ophel, position not questioned.
- v. 28. Horse Gate, "toward the east," Jer. xxxi, 40.
- v. 29. East Gate, position not questioned.
- v. 31. Corner, between East Gate and Sheep Gate.

Therefore, working *backward* from these, through chapter iii to Sheep Gate (v. 1) and *forward* from these, through chapter iii to Sheep Gate (v. 32), we have a method on which to base our study. Other clues are obtained from "Corner" (thrice), "Turning" (thrice), "Ascent" and "Going up," each indicating definite characteristics. Between these various points, Gates and Towers have to find space and place.

In Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah, groups or pairs of sites occur *in the same order* as in Nehemiah.

The first four sites cannot be located exactly.\*

1.—*A. Sheep Gate, Neh. iii, 1, 32; xii, 39.* John v, 2. B. First Gate, (?) Zech. xiv, 10. Nehemiah mentions a corner following East Gate and immediately preceding Sheep Gate, so it must be in the north wall. Hanauer confirms this. Between that and the Temple lay the Sheep-market; so I confidently start at the point from which a street leads down to Birket Israel, and towards St. Anne's Church, either of which may have contained Bethesda Pool.

2.—*Tower of Hammeah, or "the Hundred," iii, 1; xii, 39.*

From this spot two parallel streets lead towards Antonia Castle. There was a castle here (ii, 8; vii, 2); a hundred soldiers may have been garrisoned in Hammeah.

3.—*Hananel's Tower, iii, 1; xii, 39.* Jer. xxx, 38. Zech. xiv, 10, mentioned in proximity to First Gate.

4.—*Fish Gate, iii, 3; xii, 39.* 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14. Zeph. i, 10, now Damascus Gate (Paton). In Chronicles this gate and Ophel describe the diameter of Jerusalem.

The following five sites, near N.W. Corner, must be studied together :—

(5) *A. Old Gate, iii, 6; xii, 39.* B. City Gate, 2 Kings xxiii, 8. 2 Chron. xxxii, 6.

(6) *A. Ephraim Gate, viii, 16; xii, 39.* 2 Kings xiv, 13. 2 Chron. xxv, 23. B. Joshua Gate, 2 Kings xxiii, 8. (Num. xiii, 8, 16.)

(7) *A. Broad Place of Ephraim Gate, viii, 16.* B. Broad Place of City Gate, 2 Chron. xxxii, 6.

(8) *Governor's Throne, iii, 7.*

(9) *Broad Wall, iii, 8.*

5.—*A. Old Gate (Heb.), "Gate of the Old" (Mitchell), or Elders (?).* B. City Gate, so important in oriental life, as Law Court and Club; where letters are written and money changed. Lot at Sodom; Abraham at Hebron; Boaz at Bethlehem; these transacted their business *before the Elders at City Gates.*

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\* The italic lines indicate sites specifically named by Nehemiah, and the same throughout.

6.—A. Ephraim Gate. B. Joshua Gate. By this gate Ephraim County was approached. In Kings it is associated with City Gate. Two Joshuas may have been commemorated there—Joshua, son of Nun, was an Ephraimite; another Joshua was Governor of Jerusalem. Inside these two gates was Broad Place of Ephraim Gate, or of City Gate; and here, on a pavement marked on the map, must the Governor's Throne have been set. Here, doubtless, Nehemiah, "The Governor," also sat.

9.—Broad Wall (plainly indicated on map); 30 or 40 feet wide; commencing west of Ephraim Gate; broad enough for the "company" to walk on it above Ephraim, Old and Fish Gates. "Broad Wall" is also rendered "Wall of the Square," possibly referring to the square pavement.

10.—A. *Furnace Tower*, *iii*, 11; *xii*, 38. B. Corner Tower, 2 Chron. xxvi, 9.

11.—Corner Gate, 2 Kings xiv, 13. 2 Chron. xxvi, 9. Jer. xxxi, 38. Zech. xiv, 10, or "Gate that looketh," 2 Chron. xxv, 23 *marg.*

"From Ephraim Gate unto Corner Gate 400 cubits," so these two sites must have been here, at the only corner not indicated by Nehemiah. Furnace Tower probably took its name from the perpetual fires below it in Hinnom. It possibly stood where "Goliath Castle" is. Uzziah built it. A gate here would command a wide view. Josephus mentions "the Tower of the Corner at the Monument of the Fuller" (*Wars*, V, iv, 2).

12.—Tower of Valley Gate, 2 Chron. xxvi, 9.

13.—*Valley Gate*, *ii*, 13, 15; *iii*, 13. 2 Chron. xxvi, 9.

These two sites follow 11. Corner Gate, which is thus placed between two Towers (10 and 12). Referring to the Corner Gate, Schick "finally chose a site for it between the two towers at N.W. Corner." Nehemiah states the distance between 13, Valley Gate, and 16, Dung Gate, as 1,000 cubits, which precludes our identifying the former with Jaffa Gate, as many do. I feel obliged to place it further north.

14.—*Dragon's Well*, *ii*, 13. Unidentified.

15.—A. Stronghold of Zion, 2 Sam. v, 7, 9. 1 Chron. xi, 5, 7. B. Millo (Judges ix, 6), 1 Kings ix, 15, 24; xi, 27. 2 Kings xii, 20. 1 Chron. xi, 8. 2 Chron. xxxii, 5. C. Assupim, 1 Chron. xxvi, 15, 17 (Neh. xii, 25).

15.—A. This has been till lately so generally accepted as having stood on the site now occupied by the Citadel, that Hanauer writes:—"Archæologists are agreed" that it and the Temple Area "really occupy the historic ground they represent." It is not named by Nehemiah, but is vitally necessary to my argument. It was the Jebusite Fortress, seized by Joab, occupied by David, and renamed "City of David." The passage about the assault on Jebus, with its reference to "the lame and the blind," is, admittedly, "difficult and obscure." But this site is of especial importance now, because archæologists and the P.E.F. Committee have promulgated the theory that the traditional situation of Mount Zion, the City of David, is incorrect, and that it, together with David's Sepulchre, Millo, the two Gihons, etc., should be transferred to Ophel, south-east of Jerusalem.

Macalister writes that "the eastern hill, south of the present walls . . . (is) accepted by all modern scholarship as the site of the Jebusite fortress . . . afterwards the City of David." Rev. J. E. Hanauer, long resident in Jerusalem, ably combats this theory. Professor H. G. Mitchell, of Boston, U.S.A., made exhaustive studies of Jerusalem topography, and accepts the western site. Schick, formerly in favour of the western, changed his mind and made the extraordinary suggestion: "Zion . . . occupied various positions." Warren expressed the same opinion. I have heard of a site bearing many names, but never of one occupying several situations. It is gratifying to learn from Warren that Condor disagreed with him.

Macalister says, "Ancient tradition, starting with Josephus, has favoured the western hill," but I claim that, long prior to Josephus, the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha, confirms the western position of Zion. He admits the greater suitability of the western hill, but explains his objection thus: "Accessibility of water was the one thing needful." But "Zion" means "waterless," which would be inapplicable to the Ophel district, containing Siloam and the Virgin's Spring. Josephus describes Siloam thus: "A fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty." (*Wars*, V, iv, 1.) Zion is "honeycombed" with cisterns.

Most modern archæologists at Jerusalem emphasize the "gutter" (Heb. *tsinnor*), mentioned in 2 Sam. v, the admittedly "difficult and obscure passage." They locate this within the Virgin's Spring, identified with Upper Gihon; "the Old

Jebusite *tsinnor* with its tunnel to the cave of what we may henceforth call Gihon" (Macalister), *i.e.* Siloam, identified with Lower Gihon. This tunnel was discovered by Warren. The word *tsinnor* occurs only here and in Ps. xlii, translated "waterspouts." No mention of the "gutter" occurs in the corresponding passage (1 Chron. xi). The R.V. says, "Let him get up to (not 'by,' nor 'through') the watercourse." Josephus merely records that the besiegers had "to go over ditches beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it . . . Joab . . . prevented the rest . . . and got up to the citadel." (Ant. VII, iii, 1.) The theory of the south-eastern site for Zion seems to rest chiefly on this insignificant Hebrew word, *tsinnor*.

15.—B. Millo—"the mysterious Millo" (Macalister). He believes he has unearthed it in Ophel. In 2 Kings xii Joash's murder is recorded, "at Millo on the way that goeth down to Silla"; (Heb. *Sillah*, meaning *highway*, occurs only here). *Mesillah*, meaning "causeway," occurs frequently, also sometimes translated "highway." When Levites were being allotted Temple duties (1 Chron. xxvi, 16, 18) we read, "To Shuppim and Hosah westward by the gate Shallecheth at the causeway that goeth up." "For Parbar (precincts), westward four at the causeway." These two causeways crossed the Tyropœon Valley westward, connecting Moriah with Zion. What need for huge causeways unless the City of David was on the western hill? The northern causeway runs from "Wilson's Arch" towards the Citadel; it "exists entire, but is hidden by houses" (Hanauer). The southern causeway crosses the same valley westward from "Robinson's Arch." The northern causeway concerns us now.

From the Citadel on Mount Zion—David's Tower—runs David Street, eastward; then, continuing eastward, over this hidden causeway (*Mesillah*), is Tarik Bab as Silsile (Ordnance Map), spelt by Hanauer, Bab es Silsileh. The resemblance between these words is obvious:—

AS SILSILE (Ordnance Map); ES SILSILEH (Hanauer); MESILLAH (Heb. for "Causeway"); SILLAH (2 Kings xii, 20).

Hanauer explains that "Silsileh" means "chain," and is based on a "worthless fable." But, prior to the fable, it may have been derived from the original *Mesillah* (causeway), with the idea of a link or chain connecting Zion to Moriah.

These causeways furnish undeniable evidence for the western site of Zion, and incidentally for the accuracy of Nehemiah. Near this northern causeway Millo was situated. "Melo" is seven times translated "fulness." The House of Millo may have been a storehouse in connection with the Citadel. C. Assuppim, for which the R.V. substitutes "storehouse," is named in connection with this identical causeway. Hanauer so far confirms this situation for Millo, that he identifies it with the causeway itself. But Millo must have been higher, as Sillah was lower. Macalister discovered a "causeway" in Ophel 2 feet wide and 2 feet high. But compare this with the impressive causeways joining the Temple Area with the traditional Zion.

16.—*A. Dung Gate*, *ii, 13; iii, 13, 14; xii, 31*, peculiar to Nehemiah.

B. Harsith Gate, or Gate of Potsherds, Jer. xix, 2 *margin*, peculiar to Jeremiah, who entered Hinnom thereby. From 13, Valley Gate, to 16, Dung Gate, was 1,000 cubits, so I locate the latter between the Citadel and the Barracks. Writers almost unanimously place it S.E. of Jerusalem, near Siloam, but, according to Nehemiah, it follows Valley Gate, which must be on the Hinnom side.

17.—*Fountain Gate*, *ii, 14; iii, 15; xii, 37*, peculiar to Nehemiah. Many experts, including Bliss and Dickie, confuse it with 41, Water Gate; Mitchell and Paton locate it near Siloam. But in Nehemiah's narrative it follows and precedes many western sites. His use of the expression, "Water Gate towards the east" (*iii, 26; xii, 37*), and as in both these chapters, and *even in the same verse*, Fountain Gate is mentioned, with several sites in between, we must distinguish between them. I place it half-way down the wall, west of Armenian Gardens, where a walk runs westward to the wall. These gardens I identify later with 23, King's Garden (*iii, 15*). Fountain Gate probably took its name from the next site.

18.—En-rogel, Jos. xv, 7; xviii, 16; 2 Sam. xvii, 17. 1 Kings i, 9, means "Fountain of the Fuller." The thrice-mentioned Fuller's Field and the Fuller's Monument, named by Josephus, were both on the western side of Jerusalem also. Josephus, describing Adonijah's coronation, omits En-rogel, but mentions "the Fountain of the King's Paradise" (*Ant. VII, xiv, 4*). It was certainly near Hinnom.

19.—*Pool of Shelah, iii, 15.* Unidentified, but must not be confused with Siloam, as Bible references and some writers imply; nor with Virgin's Spring, as Robinson suggests. Heb. *bērekah* is used for a made pool, never for a spring; "this objection seems insurmountable" (Mitchell).

20.—*A. King's Pool, ii, 14; 2 Kings xx, 20. B. Pool that was Made, iii, 16; 2 Kings xx, 20. C. Gihon (Lower), 1 Kings i, 33, 38, 45; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14. D. Lower Pool (of Gihon), Isa. xxii, 9.*

Probably where Birket es-Sultan now lies; ii, 14, would refer to northern end, and iii, 16, to southern end. In Isaiah, proximity to the City of David is implied. 2 Chron. speaks of "Gihon in the Brook"—the one and only time that Hinnom is called "Brook" (Nachal). This passage suggests that Upper Gihon was near N.W. corner, and Manasseh's wall went eastward toward Fish Gate.

21.—Gate between Two Walls, 2 Kings xxv, 4. Jer. xxxix, 4; lii, 7.

22.—Ditch or Reservoir, between two Walls, Isa. xxii, 11.

23.—*A. King's Forest, or Paradise, ii, 8. Eccles, ii, 5, 6. Cant. iv, 13, 16. B. King's Garden, iii, 15. 2 Kings xxv, 4. Jer. xxxix, 4. lii, 7.*

The Gate between two walls is always mentioned along with the King's Garden. Zedekiah fled by this Garden and Gate; I was surprised at his choice of route, as he was afterwards captured near Jericho; but Josephus records, "the enemy's generals entered into the Temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he fled . . . through the fortified ditch," naturally by west side to avoid enemies on east side (Ant. X, viii, 2). This "Fortified Ditch" may have been where there is a conduit between the wall of the city and an "old wall" marked on the map.

The connection between these two Walls, the Ditch, King's Garden, City of David and Sepulchres of David, and the fact that all these and many other sites have to be located before 29, the S.W. Turning (iii, 19, 20), prove that the western is the correct position for all these places.

23.—*A. King's Forest. B. Garden, described as near the City and Sepulchres of David, was originally Solomon's Garden, six times mentioned in Canticles. His phenomenal knowledge*

of forestry and botany is four times recorded in Kings and Chronicles. Later Uzziah "loved husbandry," Heb. "the soil" (2 Chron. xxvi, 10). Josephus says, "he took care to cultivate the ground and planted all sorts of plants and sowed all sorts of seeds." Uzziah and Manasseh were each "buried in his own garden." (Ant. IX, x, 3, 4; X, iii, 2.) The Armenian Gardens meet the requirements. Hanauer states these formerly extended down to the Protestant School.

24.—*A. Stairs that go Down from the City of David, iii, 15. B. Stairs of the City of David, xii, 37*, these are clearly shown on the map, parallel with the wall. In a map in an old Josephus these are named "Strong Stairs."

25.—*Sepulchres of David, iii, 16. 1 Kings ii, 10. Ac. ii, 29.* The traditional site is thus indicated on the map:—

#### COENACULUM.

(David's Tomb.)

Schick and Mitchell accepted it, and, until properly explored, its authenticity cannot be disproved. The Coenaculum is the traditional site of the institution of the Lord's Supper; it is significant that Peter, in this same "Upper Chamber," stated "David is dead and buried, and his tomb is with us (amongst us) unto this day." "The Coenaculum is held sacred by Moslems to this day as the Tomb of David" (Bliss). While adopting the eastern site for Zion, Bliss "always bore in mind that the orthodox view . . . might be correct."

26.—*House of Mighty Men, iii, 16. Cant. iv, 4.*

27.—*A. Going up of Armoury, iii, 19. B. Going up of Wall, xii, 37.*

28.—*A. Armoury, iii, 19. Cant. iv, 4. B. House of David, xii, 37. 2 Sam. v, 11. 1 Chron. siv, 1; xvii, 1. C. Tower of David, Cant. iv, 4. D. House of Forest, 1 Kings vii, 2; x, 16, 17. Isa. xxxii, 8. E. House of Armour, 2 Kings xx, 13. Isa. xxxix, 2.*

29.—*Turning, iii, 29, 20. 2 Chron. xxvi, 9.*

30.—*Door of Eliashib, iii, 20, 21.*

31.—*Tower of Turning, 2 Chron. xxvi, 9.*

When the Protestant School was demolished, before being rebuilt, an important tower was discovered on "Maudsley's

Scarp." The base was 45 feet by 45 feet and it was 20 feet high (Bliss and Dickie). I suggest that this was 26 and the "Mighty Men," those commemorated in 1 Chron. xi, 10-24.

28.—A. and B. Further along the wall are more stairs, and another tower is on the Ordnance Map, which may have been 28. A, The Armoury. Warren's description is: "It stands to a sheer height of 40 feet." David and Solomon built much in Zion. Hiram furnished "cedar trees, carpenters and masons." In 2 Sam. v, 11, the Hebrew word translated "masons" means "hewers of stone wall." Macalister describes how, in Gezer, houses were built with huge cedar pillars dropped into sockets in the solid stone; hence possibly the name "House of Forest of Lebanon." In Hastings's Dictionary I read, "Solomon's Armoury was 'the House of the Forest of Lebanon'" (Kennedy).

Next to the Armoury came the Turning, clearly distinguished on the map. Then comes an important "paved street"; Eliashib's House may have been here, with its door in the wall, facilitating his nefarious negotiations with Tobias. In the old Josephus map it is placed here. At the east end of the Turning is a tower, 31, Tower of the Turning, built by Uzziah.

32 and 33.—*iii, 23, 24.* Private houses unidentified.

34.—*Turning, iii, 24, 25,* not shown, but there is a remarkable hiatus in the wall.

35.—*Corner, iii, 24.*

36.—*Tower that Standeth Out, iii, 25.*

These two sites are most clearly indicated, and encourage us to believe we are right.

37.—*A. King's Upper House, iii, 25.* B. King's House, repeatedly named in Kings, Chronicles and Jeremiah.

38.—*Court of the Guard, iii, 25,* repeatedly named in Jeremiah.

39.—A. Guard Gate, 2 Kings xi, 6, 19. B. King's Gate eastward, 1 Chron. ix, 18. C. King's Upper Gate, 2 Chron. xxiii, 20.

These three sites are not indicated. Nehemiah certainly places the first two here. The word "upper" (Heb. *elyon*) is sometimes translated "highest" or "chief," so that its low situation here creates no difficulty. In Robinson Lee's book on Schick's models, he locates the King's House near Siloam, thereby agreeing with Nehemiah. Mitchell says, "the King's House is usually located south of the Temple Area."

40.—A. *Broad Place before the Water Gate*, *iii*, 26 ; *viii*, 1, 3, 16. B. *Broad Place on the East*, 2 Chron. xxix, 4.

41.—*Water Gate toward the East*, *iii*, 26 ; *viii*, 1, 3, 16 ; *xii*, 37.

It is pleasant to reach a region of general agreement. As to the Water Gate, near the Virgin's Spring, Wilson, Mitchell, Macalister and many others concur. Several confuse it with 17, Fountain Gate (see above). Macalister has uncovered a Pavement here, on which, or on an older pavement, Ezra's Pulpit (*viii*, 4) was probably placed. He has also found a gate exactly here, facing east.

42.—*Tower that Standeth Out*, *iii*, 27.

43.—*Great Tower that Standeth Out*, *iii*, 27.

These two towers were erected by Jotham, who "built much in Ophel," 2 Chron. xxvii, 3. Macalister excavated a huge tower here in 1923, identified by him as "the Armoury"; and another great tower, which he called "Millo"; but those sites must have been on the west; and these two great towers are almost certainly 42 and 43, described by Nehemiah.

44.—*Wall of Ophel*, *iii*, 26, 27 ; *xi*, 21. 2 Chron. xxvii, 3 ; xxxiii, 14.

Its position is unquestioned. Macalister asserts Zion was there; partly arguing from the discovery of Jebusite pottery. I claim that the whole of Jerusalem was Jebusite. Hanauer mentions a "Jebusite cistern, near Christ Church" (*i.e.*, near Citadel). Schick writes, "Below Neby Daud . . . old Jebusite houses have been brought to light." Josephus says, David "took the Lower City by force, but the Citadel held out still. . . Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal City, he made buildings round about the Lower City; he also joined the Citadel to it, and made it one body." (*Ant.* VII, iii, 1, 2.) Thirty years later, *Moriah was still agricultural*, and belonged to Araunah, the Jebusite, who, with four sons, was threshing there.

45.—*Foundation Gate*, 2 Chron. xxiii, 5.

46.—A. *Sur Gate*, 2 Kings xi, 6. B. *Horses' Entry*, 2 Kings xi, 16.

47.—*Horse Gate*, *iii*, 28, toward the East. 2 Chron. xxiii, 15. Jer. xxxi, 40.

48.—Solomon's Stalls for Horses, 2 Chron. ix, 25.

49.—Corner of Horse Gate, Jer. xxxi, 40.

Unfortunately, lack of space prevents my dealing with these interesting sites, indicating their positions on map, and connection with historical incidents. The Corner is clearly observable.

50.—A. *East Gate*, iii, 29, repeatedly mentioned by Ezekiel. B. *Middle Gate*, Jer. xxxix, 1, 3. This site is unquestioned.

51.—A. *Hammiphkad Gate*, iii, 31. B. *Outer Gate*, Ezek. xlvii, 2, now named St. Stephen's Gate.

52.—*Ascent of the Corner*, iii, 31, 32. Undeniable; there is a steady rise from Ophel to the N.E. corner; much steeper before the Maccabees cut down the hill overlooking the Temple.

53.—*Corner*, iii, 31, 32. Undeniable; this completes and confirms Nehemiah's methodical catalogue of sites, bringing us back to 1, Sheep Gate.

We must be impressed by numerous items of circumstantial evidence. Many are trifling, but the sum of them is great. At several points excavation has upheld Nehemiah's accuracy, which, if accepted, definitely contradicts modern theories.

"They that trust in the Lord are as Mount Zion, *which cannot be moved.*" (Ps. cxxv, 1.)

#### LECTURER'S REPLY TO QUESTIONS AND CRITICISMS.

Q.—Major-General Dobbie inquired the depth of the Tyropœon Valley.

A.—Rev. Canon Hanauer states it "was 74 feet below the spring of Robinson's Arch, and 107 feet below the level of the old roadway." This proves how important was the southern causeway, which crossed the valley from Parbar (Robinson's Arch).

Q.—As to the Stronghold of Zion requiring water:

A.—Hanauer refers to the strongholds of Baniyas and Rabbath-Ammon as being in waterless positions; and I have been told of some such in Italy.

Q.—With reference to the position of the Dung Gate.

A.—Beside the fact that Nehemiah plainly indicates the site, anyone visiting Jerusalem to this day can see that the Valley of Hinnom is still in use as a rubbish-heap. It is interesting to note, however,

that things connected with false-worship were cast forth into the Brook Kedron.

Q.—Nehemiah never mentions the Stronghold of Zion, nor does archaeology tell us that such a place ever existed on the site of the Citadel.

A.—Something of great importance must have existed on the site of the Citadel, to have made those two huge causeways necessary. The simplest theory suggests the Stronghold of Zion, or City of David. Nehemiah's book deals exclusively with the rebuilding of the walls. If the Citadel was as impregnable then as in David's day (according to Josephus) it would have needed no repairs.

Q.—If the Pool of Shelah (or Shiloah) is not the Pool of Siloam, where does that important pool occur in Nehemiah's route?

A.—Siloam Pool is some distance from the Wall. Nehemiah uses Shiloah Pool to indicate a certain part of the Wall. Near Siloam he had other sites, actually in or on the Wall, by which to describe it.

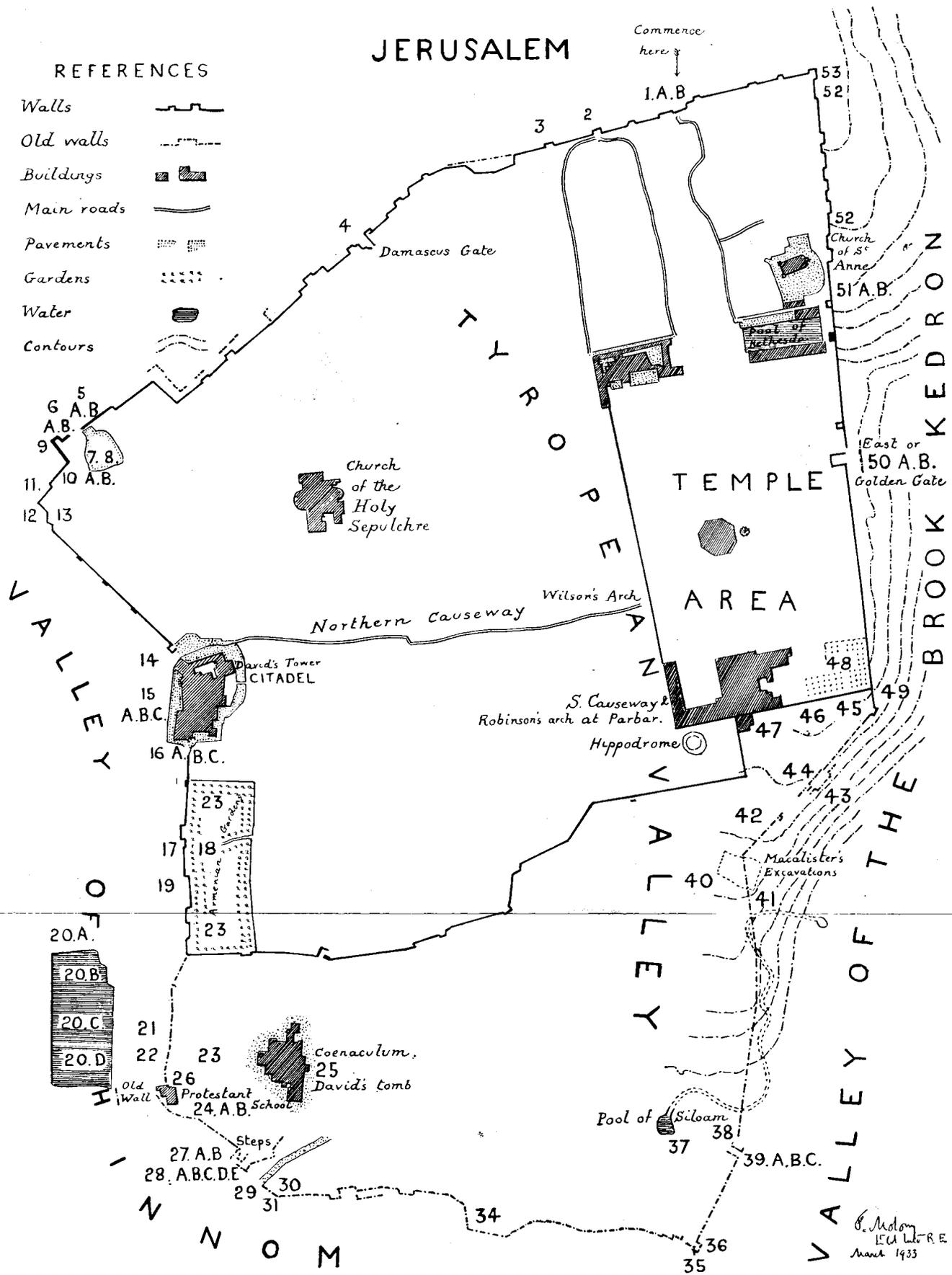
Q.—Where does Nehemiah mention the causeways?

A.—I have stated, he does not mention them, but they confirm the fact that the Upper City was the City of David, and on the Western Hill. No causeways of any importance could ever be discovered in Ophel, as they would lead nowhere.

# JERUSALEM

## REFERENCES

- Walls
- Old walls
- Buildings
- Main roads
- Pavements
- Gardens
- Water
- Contours



G. Moly  
15th July R.E.  
March 1933