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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

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## The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah.

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### 1. THE TEXT OF THE BOOK.<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the first questions to force itself upon the student of sacred history and topography on his arrival in Jerusalem is that concerning the limits of the ancient city and the identification of the gates and towers in its walls. The question has been discussed, with more or less insight and profit, incidentally by the commentators<sup>2</sup> and more independently by various travellers and explorers.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the commentators have too often lacked the light they might have gotten from topographical researches, while the explorers, being unskilled in exegesis, have as often missed the meaning of their own discoveries. The result is a variety of irreconcilable opinions by which the unlearned are confused rather than instructed. The proper method is clearly one that combines a thorough study of the biblical source or sources of information with an impartial examination of the ground under the guidance of the best archæological authorities; and this is the method by which it is proposed to deter-

<sup>1</sup> Works cited in the following pages are designated by initials. For the full titles see the bibliography at the end of the article.

<sup>2</sup> The most thorough modern discussion of the subject from the exegetical standpoint is found in Ryssel's edition of Bertheau's commentary on Nehemiah. See also Siegfried in the *Handkommentar*, Bertholet in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, and Ryle in the *Cambridge Bible*.

<sup>3</sup> The most valuable sources of information with reference to the remains of the early defences of Jerusalem are the publications of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* and the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*. See also the articles on Jerusalem in the Bible dictionaries.

mine, if possible, the course of the wall built by Nehemiah and the location of the gates, towers, and other landmarks mentioned in the account of its construction.

This account is contained in the Book of Nehemiah, a book which, as is universally conceded, like that of Ezra, originally formed a part of the same work with the Books of Chronicles. If, however, it is really thus related, there is reason for suspecting in advance of an examination that it, like the Books of Chronicles, is a composite production. This suspicion is confirmed by such an examination. It is easy to distinguish at least two sources, one supposedly Nehemiah himself, and the other the editor or editors by whom his story was incorporated into the great whole of which it was intended to form a part. This being the case, the first thing to do is to separate, if possible, the governor's account from the additions it may have received, and make it the starting-point of the proposed investigation.

The analysis of the book seems, at first sight, a simple matter, *viz.* a separation of the passages in which the first person is used from those in which the writer does not betray his relation to the events described. This, however, is not a reliable process, since, as can easily be seen, a writer, in describing events in which he participated, may sometimes keep himself in the background, while one who is enlarging upon the work of another may sometimes imitate the style of the original. Both of these possibilities must be kept in mind as the analysis proceeds.

The book begins with an extract from Nehemiah's memoirs, the extent of which must be determined. The first chapter relates how Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer to the king of Persia, became acquainted with the condition of Judah and its remaining inhabitants, and what was the effect of the report on the subject brought him by his brother. In 1<sup>1</sup> the date — "in the twentieth year" — was probably originally followed by the words of *Artaxerxes the king*, meaning Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425 B.C.), as in 2<sup>1</sup>.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> This is the opinion of the great majority of the authorities on the history of the Hebrews. See, among the later, Stade (*GVl.* ii. 162 *sqq.*), Renan (*HPI.* iv. 63 *sqq.*), Hunter (*AE.* i. 291 *sqq.*), Meyer (*EJ.* 89 *sqq.*), Kosters (*WI.* 118 *sq.*), Wellhausen (*IJG.* 126 *sqq.*), Cornill (*IPI.* 155 *sqq.*), Guthe (*GVl.* 253 *sqq.*), Piepenbring (*IPI.* 546 *sqq.*), van Hoonacker (*KJ.* 151 *sq.*), and Nickel (*WJG.* 186 *sqq.*). Marquart, on the other hand, holds that the king here meant is Artaxerxes II., and cites 13:<sup>8</sup> in support of his contention. This passage, however, can be rendered "Joiada, son of Eliashib the high priest," as well as "Joiada son of Eliashib, the high priest." See 2 Chr. 22<sup>1</sup> 32<sup>32</sup>. The Chronicler, to judge from Neh. 3<sup>1</sup>, took it in the former sense.

next two verses contain nothing inconsistent with the supposition that they were written by Nehemiah. Nor is there anything in the first half of v.<sup>4</sup> to arouse suspicion. The latter part, however, introduces a discrepancy ; for, while the grief of the writer is described as lasting for "days," the prayer that follows is a supplication for the day on which he expected to approach his master with his request for a leave of absence. See v.<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, this prayer, which is clearly a literary production, though largely composed of Deuteronomic fragments, contains some expressions that sound more like the Chronicler than Nehemiah. See the word rendered "trespass" (v.<sup>8</sup>), a favorite with this author,<sup>5</sup> and the one translated "confess" (v.<sup>6</sup>),<sup>6</sup> which occurs twice (vs.<sup>2-4</sup>) in the prayer of the ninth chapter. Compare also the divine titles "Yahweh" (v.<sup>5</sup>), "Lord" (v.<sup>11</sup>), and "the God of heaven" (vs.<sup>4-6</sup>), with the "my God" and "our God" of the undoubted passages. Finally, notice the expression "this man," which the favorite of the Persian king would hardly have employed, even in his private devotions, of so indulgent a master as Artaxerxes. The last clause of v.<sup>11</sup> may be retained, but it should be attached to the following chapter.

The next section describes Nehemiah's interview with the king and the success of his application for permission to visit Judea and rebuild the city of his fathers. A few points deserve attention. It appears from 2<sup>1</sup> that the interview described occurred in Nisan, *i.e.* about four months after the return of Hanani. This is in harmony with 1<sup>46</sup> ; also with what one would expect, since this is the season when the new governor would naturally start for Palestine for the purpose which he had in mind. In v.<sup>4</sup> the king asks a question. The statement, "Then I supplicated the God of heaven," which now separates this question from the answer to it, is certainly not in Nehemiah's simple and direct manner. In v.<sup>8</sup> for "the gates of the castle belonging to the house, and for the wall of the city," the Greek Version has only "the gates and for the wall of the city," and it is possible that the original reading was "the gates of the wall of the city." In v.<sup>9</sup> the order of the sentences seems to have been reversed. If the original arrangement be restored and the (now) second half correctly rendered "The king also sent," etc., the connection will be improved in both directions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *mā'al*, 1 Chr. 2<sup>7</sup> 5<sup>26</sup> *et passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *hitwaddāh*.

<sup>7</sup> Torrey (*EN*. 36) refers vs.<sup>7-9a</sup> to the Chronicler, citing in support of his opinion *bīrāh*, *lĕkārōt*, and the apparent connection between vs.<sup>6</sup> and <sup>9b</sup>. The first of the words cited, however, if it be retained, should not be taken in the sense

Nehemiah next (2<sup>11-20</sup>) notices his arrival in Jerusalem, and describes a secret examination of the walls which he made before calling the leaders of the Jews together and invoking their assistance in putting the city into a state of defence. This is one of the most important passages in the book. The topographical questions which it raises, however, will be discussed in another connection. For the present the object is to determine whether, as it now reads, it can have come from the hand of Nehemiah. There certainly is something wrong with v.<sup>16</sup>. In the first place it repeats itself as well as v.<sup>12</sup>. The appearance of the priests in this connection, too, is suspicious. Finally the introduction of workers before the work has begun suggests corruption in the text. Perhaps the original reading was, not "the rest that did the work," but, as in 4<sup>8 (14)</sup> and 13<sup>19</sup>, "the rest of the people." This would be an improvement, but the verse needs more thorough emendation.<sup>8</sup> The genuineness of v.<sup>20</sup> is even less defensible. In v.<sup>19</sup> Sanballat and others are represented as mocking the Jews and accusing them of planning a revolt against the great king. There is here, however, no hint of a desire on the part of the former to make common cause with the latter. But the answer returned by Nehemiah is, in effect, a rejection of such a proposal. See also the expressions, "the God of Heaven," and "his servants," and, on the latter, 1<sup>6, 10, 11</sup> and 9<sup>10</sup>. It seems best, therefore, to regard this verse as an interpolation suggested by Ezr. 4<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps, since v.<sup>19b</sup> anticipates 6<sup>6</sup>, where the charge here made is perfectly in place, this whole verse should go with v.<sup>20</sup>. The case against both of them will become still stronger, if it can be shown that vs.<sup>1-22</sup> of the next chapter<sup>9</sup> are not from the hand of Nehemiah.

The whole section 3<sup>1-32</sup> is usually referred to the same source as the first two chapters, but there are several reasons for believing that it did not form a part of Nehemiah's story. *First*, elsewhere Nehemiah represents himself as directly superintending the work on the wall, and his servants as actively employed in its reconstruction. See 4<sup>7 (13) sq., 13 (19) sq., 6<sup>1, 3</sup> 7<sup>1</sup>, also 4<sup>10 (16), 17 (23)</sup>. Here the governor is</sup>

(*temple*) in which it is employed by the Chronicler 1 Chr. 29<sup>1, 19</sup>, and the second, being used but once in the Books of Chronicles, can hardly be considered a favorite with their author. If *šlah* in v.<sup>6</sup> is rendered "grant leave" and the two clauses of v.<sup>9</sup> are transposed, there will be no need of supposing the Chronicler to have had a hand in the passage. He may, however, have added v.<sup>10</sup>. See vs.<sup>19</sup> sq.

<sup>8</sup> The omission of the latter half of the verse may be the solution of the difficulty.

<sup>9</sup> In the English Version they constitute the whole chapter.

entirely ignored, the credit for the work being given to persons named, who appear to have undertaken on their own account to rebuild certain sections of the fortifications. *Second*, in 6<sup>1</sup> — see also 7<sup>1</sup> — it is distinctly stated that the gates were not put into place until after the entire wall had been completed ; but from the passage now under consideration one would get the impression that work on both began and ended at the same time. See vs.<sup>3 & 13 15</sup>. *Third*, in the parts of the book that may most confidently be referred to Nehemiah the priests and the Levites play a modest, sometimes unworthy role ; in this connection they enjoy a most flattering prominence. Thus, Eliashib, the high priest, who in 13<sup>4</sup> and <sup>28</sup> is represented as intimately allied with the enemies of Nehemiah, here heads the list of builders.<sup>10</sup> The priests are introduced as a class in vs.<sup>17 22 28</sup>. Of the other individuals mentioned as leaders Meremoth (v.<sup>4</sup>) was certainly a priest, and Binnui (vs.<sup>18 24</sup>) a Levite ; and probably Sadok (v.<sup>4</sup>), Hashabiah (v.<sup>17</sup>), Ezer (v.<sup>19</sup>), Azariah (v.<sup>24</sup>), Sadok (v.<sup>29</sup>), and Shemaiah (v.<sup>29</sup>) belonged to one or the other of these orders. *Fourth*, in 6<sup>18</sup> Nehemiah says that Meshullam ben Berekiah was a confederate of Tobiah, to whose son he had given his daughter in marriage ; here (3<sup>4 30</sup>) he is credited with being one of the governor's most zealous and active assistants. *Fifth*, the subject did not permit a great variety of peculiar expressions, yet, in reading the passage, especially in the original, one becomes aware of certain differences between its style and that of the preceding and following context. In the first place, the structure of the sentences is noticeably disjointed. See the omission of the proper particles in vs.<sup>1 7 8 17 18</sup> ; and of the verbs in v.<sup>28</sup>. This is like the Chronicler ; and so is the use of "at the hand of" in the sense of "next to,"<sup>11</sup> to which — and the same is true of the preposition "after"<sup>12</sup> in the same sense — the writer attaches singular suffixes, when the antecedent is plural, and *vice versa*. See vs.<sup>1 bis, 4 bis, 5 8 bis, 9 10 12 17 19 23 bis, 9 30</sup>. *Finally*, if this whole passage, and the last two verses of the preceding chapter be omitted, the following verses, 3<sup>33-38</sup> (4<sup>1-6</sup>), furnish the logical and natural continuation of the thought of the preceding context. These considerations seem sufficient to warrant the opinion that this detailed account of the way in which the wall was rebuilt is not from the pen of Nehemiah, but is an attempt of the Chronicler

<sup>10</sup> It is taken for granted that the same person is meant in both passages ; but the argument would not be invalidated by the admission that there were two priests of this name.

<sup>11</sup> 'al yad : 2 Chr. 17<sup>15, 16 18</sup> 31<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> 'ahārē.

to improve on the governor's simple and trustworthy narrative.<sup>13</sup> The effect of this conclusion on the value of the passage in question will appear at a later stage of the discussion.

The first stage in the accomplishment of Nehemiah's undertaking was reached when he had succeeded in moving his countrymen to resolve to rebuild the wall, and had actually begun operations, as related in 2<sup>18</sup>. The next was marked by the completion of the wall to one-half the required height, as described in 3<sup>38</sup> (4<sup>6</sup>), in spite of the jibes of his enemies.<sup>14</sup> These jibes, be it observed, were uttered at Samaria, although, of course, they were promptly repeated at Jerusalem; cf. 2<sup>30</sup>.<sup>15</sup>

When the scoffers found that the wall was well under way, they undertook by force to prevent the completion of it. Chapter 4 (EV. 4<sup>1-22</sup>) describes the difficulties under which Nehemiah labored owing to the combined hostility of his neighbors and the timidity or disloyalty of some of his own countrymen.<sup>16</sup> While the danger was greatest his whole force was under arms. Afterward half of his men stood guard while the rest of them worked. Finally, however, by unremitting toil and vigilance he accomplished his purpose so far as the wall was concerned.

At first sight it looks as if chapter 5 had been misplaced, since it

<sup>13</sup> So Torrey. Guthe (*SBOT.*), on the other hand, attributes the whole chapter to Nehemiah, and none of the authorities heretofore cited seems to have questioned its genuineness.

<sup>14</sup> The text of v.<sup>34</sup> is undoubtedly corrupt. Various emendations have been suggested. See Guthe, *SBOT. in loco*; Stade, *GVI.* ii. 168; van Hoonacker, *Rf.* 175. The construction with *lāhem* seems to indicate that the preceding verb should be read *ye'āzēbū*, and the whole rendered, "If they be left to themselves." The second verb, also, is unintelligible in the connection. Perhaps, instead of *יִבְחֹחַ* "will they sacrifice," the original had *יִבְנֶה* "will they build high." See 2 Chr. 33<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> The object generally supplied after the verb "provoke" in v.<sup>37</sup> (EV. 4<sup>6</sup>) is "thee," referring to the Deity. Since, however, Sanballat is represented as addressing his friends and neighbors, it is reasonable to suppose that it was they, and not God, whom he intended to incite against the Jewish builders. On the verb see Ezek. 32<sup>9</sup>, and on *lānēged*, Jos. 5<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> In v. 1<sup>(7)</sup> the words "and the Arabians — Ashdodites" are an evident interpolation. See Guthe, *SBOT.* The latter half of v.<sup>8</sup> (12) has given the exegetes trouble. See the commentaries. It can be brought into harmony with the context by simply changing *תִּשְׁבְּנוּ* to *תִּשְׁבְּנוּ*. The clause will then read, "they said, Ten times more than all the places ye repeople are against us" — a very natural report to be brought to the governor by the Jews living outside the city. On the meaning of the verb, see Ezek. 36<sup>28</sup>.

interrupts the story of the restoration of the wall, which is finished in chapter 6. Moreover, v.<sup>8</sup> might be interpreted as implying that a considerable time had elapsed since Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. On the other hand, however, v.<sup>10</sup>, in which he tells about lending to his brethren, certainly refers to a practice then followed, and in v.<sup>16</sup> the expression "this wall" indicates that, although the chapter was written after its author ceased to be governor, when written it was intended for its present setting.<sup>17</sup>

Sanballat and his confederates, having failed to surprise Nehemiah, next undertook to frighten him by misrepresenting his motives. In this attempt they were aided by Shemaiah and others, who pretended to be anxious for the governor's safety. He refused to be disturbed in his great work, but, at the risk of being accused of disloyalty to the king, redoubled his efforts and, finally, at the end of only fifty-two days, had the satisfaction of seeing the gates hung and the defences of the city completed.

In the first verses of chapter 7 the use of the first person is continued. This would indicate that the writer is still Nehemiah. The general content, too, harmonizes with such an opinion; for nothing could be more natural than that, after finishing the wall, the governor should man his defences and proceed to provide for the future security of the city. The passage has, however, been freely interpolated. In the first place "the singers and the Levites" of v.<sup>1</sup> are clearly superfluous; indeed, the last half of the verse might be omitted without injury to the connection. In v.<sup>2</sup> there can originally have been but one name. Omit "and Hananiah the captain of the castle," and the descriptive clause that follows becomes intelligible.<sup>18</sup> At the same time it becomes clear why the verb rendered "appoint" in the next verse is singular. Here, as frequently, the compiler has made an addition without carefully revising the context.

The structure of v.<sup>4</sup> permits, if it does not require, one to connect it with what follows; cf. RV. (Amer.). Hence, when, in v.<sup>5</sup>, Nehemiah tells about being moved to call a popular meeting, one expects him to add that the object of the meeting was to devise a plan for increasing the population of the city. The text says that it

<sup>17</sup> In v.<sup>18</sup> the words "And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised Yahweh" are without doubt an interpolation. Nehemiah does not use the word rendered "congregation." See 1<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Wellhausen, also (*IJC*. 131), suspects the genuineness of these words on account of the likeness of the name Hananiah to that of Nehemiah's brother, as well as the mention of the *birāh*.



was to make a genealogical enrolment. As a matter of fact, he reports the discovery of a list previously made and, in reproducing it, entirely forgets the waiting assembly.

The connection at this point is evidently defective, but it is difficult to discover who is responsible for the discrepancies. Torrey (*EN.* 38 *sqq.*) pronounces the list and, in fact, the whole chapter, the work of the Chronicler, one of the characteristics of whose style is precisely such disjointedness. This view, however, has serious difficulties. The list occurs also in *Ezr.* 2. Now, while it is easy to understand why the Chronicler, if he found it in *Neh.* 7, should wish to introduce it in the other connection, there seems to be no reason why, if he himself was the author of it, he should repeat it. Moreover, if he had composed it, he would hardly have given the laity the prominence they here enjoy. Cf. *Ezr.* 8 and 10 and *Neh.* 10.

On the other hand, there is ground for doubting whether this list is really, as represented, a record of the number and lineage of a multitude who returned from captivity soon after the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus. In v.<sup>5</sup> the words "those that came up at the first," which cannot, as the English version would lead one to suppose, be construed with the preceding phrase, are evidently an interpolation. If, however, the text of this verse was changed to suggest an earlier date for the document discovered, it seems more than probable that the more explicit statement in v.<sup>7</sup>, if not v.<sup>6</sup>, was inserted into the document by the same hand and for the same purpose. Perhaps, as Marquart (*FIJG.* 35 *sq.*) suggests, the title originally contained only the words, "These are the sons of the province." See 11<sup>5</sup>. In any case, the document in its original form seems to have been a census of the Jewish community—whether before or after the time of Nehemiah does not appear—which was first inserted into the memoirs, and finally, with parts of these memoirs, incorporated into the larger work of the Chronicler.

It has suffered more or less in these processes. Some of the items have been lost or some of the numbers changed, as is evident from the fact that the total given in v.<sup>68</sup> does not agree with the sum of the figures representing the families, or other associations, previously mentioned. It has also, apparently, received additions. One of these is v.<sup>34</sup>, and another, according to Guthe (*SBOT.*), vs.<sup>68-69</sup>; but the most important is vs.<sup>70-72</sup>, which may be explained as an adaptation by the editor, who transferred chapters 8-10 to their present position, of *Ezr.* 2<sup>68-69</sup> to the date of Nehemiah. The Chronicler, if it was he

who revised the title, would naturally have simply repeated this passage.<sup>19</sup>

Chapter 8 describes a great gathering at Jerusalem. It is not, however, the one called by the governor, but a purely religious convocation, with Ezra the scribe for its moving spirit. There is, therefore, as little reason for considering this chapter the proper continuation of Nehemiah's memoirs as for supposing it to have been written by the author of the list that now precedes it. The fact that here Ezra, and not Nehemiah,<sup>20</sup> is the principal figure, suggests the query whether the passage does not belong to the book that bears the former's name. There are other reasons for this view. The language here used also reminds one of *Ezr.* 7-10. See especially the terms "assembly" (8<sup>2,17</sup>) for the Jews and "heads of the fathers" (v.<sup>13</sup>) for their leaders; also the number instead of the name (7<sup>73</sup> 8<sup>2</sup>) to designate the month.<sup>21</sup> Finally in 1 *Esdras* (9<sup>37</sup> *xxx.*) *Neh.* 7<sup>73</sup> and the first twelve verses of chapter 8 immediately follow the account of the dissolution of the mixed marriages found in the last (tenth) chapter of the canonical *Ezra*.<sup>22</sup>

Torrey, also, refers this chapter to the same author as *Ezr.* 7-10. He, however, inserts it with 7<sup>70-73</sup>, between chapters 8 and 9 of that book (*EN.* 29 *sqq.*). Now, it is true that, if 7<sup>70-73</sup> immediately followed *Ezr.* 8<sup>36</sup>, the connection would not seem unnatural; but this fact is more than counterbalanced by other considerations. In the first place, the relation between vs.<sup>70-72</sup> and *Ezr.* 2<sup>68-69</sup> shows that the former passage, like the latter, was written for the list that precedes it. Secondly, the impression one gets from the first verses of *Ezr.* 9, is that the statement with reference to the mixed marriages was not in the nature of a confession produced by the reading of the law, but of a report on existing conditions soon after the arrival of Ezra, and that, therefore, this chapter should immediately follow the eighth, as in the present arrangement. Thirdly, the fact that the reading of the law was suggested, not by the scribe, as if he had no

<sup>19</sup> The fact that, as will presently be shown, chapters 8-10 were written by the Chronicler for another connection is in itself proof that the passage in question is from a different author.

<sup>20</sup> In fact, Nehemiah appears but once (v.<sup>9</sup>) in the chapter, and there, as appears from 1 *Esd.* 9<sup>49</sup>, the name is an interpolation. See Meyer, *EJ.* 200; cf. Nikel, *WJG.* 200.

<sup>21</sup> See *Ezr.* 7<sup>8</sup> 9 10<sup>9, 16, 17</sup>; cf. *Neh.* 1<sup>1</sup> 2<sup>1</sup> 6<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> In the received text the account seems incomplete; but the substitution for the latter half of v.<sup>44</sup> of the reading of 1 *Esd.* 9<sup>36</sup>, "and they put them away with their children," remedies the difficulty.

other mission than to secure recognition for it as soon as possible, but by the people in a gathering summoned for another purpose, furnishes a reason for assigning Neh. 8 to a later place in the narrative. Finally, if, as can be shown, Neh. 9 *sq.*, which Torrey himself places at the end of the Book of Ezra, are the sequel to 8, this constitutes an additional reason for concluding that all three chapters belong there. On the last point the following indications seem conclusive. In the first place, the date at the beginning of 9 connects it with the preceding chapter. The feast of tabernacles began on the fifteenth of the month and lasted eight days (Lev. 23<sup>34</sup><sup>xxx</sup>). If, therefore, as Nowack (*HA.* 2<sup>173</sup>) concludes, the days were reckoned from morning to morning, the last would end on the morning of the twenty-third. In any case, when in 9<sup>1</sup> the author says that the people assembled on the twenty-fourth, he evidently means that there was only the necessary interval of a day between the sabbath with which the feast closed and the gathering next to be described.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, the fact that the people came to this meeting in mourning, so far from militating against the view here maintained, supports it. The proper expression of the penitence produced by the law had been interrupted by the reminder that the feast of tabernacles was a season of rejoicing (8<sup>9</sup><sup>xx</sup>). It was, therefore, perfectly natural that, when the feast was past and there was time for serious thought, a renewed sense of unworthiness should take possession of the community, and the people should appear "in sackcloth and with earth on them." The resumption of the reading of the law points in the same direction. Thirdly, the statement in 9<sup>2</sup> with reference to separation from foreigners, too, which Torrey quotes as decisively favorable to his position, really has the contrary significance. The author is not here

<sup>23</sup> It is taken for granted that the feast was celebrated at the time prescribed by the law. This being the case, the people would seem to have assembled on the first of the month and, after observing the feast of trumpets, spent the interval between the second and the fifteenth in building their booths and making other preparations for the feast of tabernacles. It is possible, however, that the text should be emended. In 7<sup>7</sup>, as in *Ezr.* 3<sup>1</sup>, the month is given, but not the day of the month. The exact date must in each case be learned from a later statement (*Ezr.* 3<sup>5</sup>, *Neh.* 8<sup>2</sup>) which looks like an afterthought. Perhaps, therefore, the phrase "the seventh month" should be changed to "the feast of the seventh month," or interpreted in this sense. This would harmonize with v.<sup>18</sup>; also with *Deut.* 31<sup>10</sup><sup>xxx</sup>, according to which the feast of tabernacles was the proper time for publicly reading the law. The "second day" of v.<sup>18</sup> would thus be the second, not of the month, but of the feast; so that the booths must have been built after the feast began.

thinking especially of the mixed marriages, but of the intermixture of persons, male as well as female, of alien origin in the community as hitherto constituted. His idea, more fully expressed in 13<sup>1-4</sup> is that at this time "the seed of Israel," *i.e.* the genuine Jews, entered into a new organization from which they excluded "the mixed multitude."<sup>24</sup> This complete separation, being made in obedience to the requirements of the law, is described in 10<sup>29(28)</sup> as a separation "unto the law of God." The last passage, and not 9<sup>2</sup>, is the key to the problem, and it directly connects 10 with both of the preceding chapters.<sup>25</sup>

Thus far there has been no indication that the promise of 7<sup>1-6</sup> was to be fulfilled, but at the beginning of chapter 11 we suddenly come upon a brief passage (vs. 1<sup>1-6</sup>) which, at first sight, seems to give the desired information concerning the outcome of Nehemiah's evident purpose to increase the population of his capital. It may correctly describe the means he employed and the result attained, but it can hardly be his account of the matter. Perhaps, as has been suggested (Ryle), it is an abstract of the original from the hand of the author who inserted into the memoirs not only the list in chapter 7, but vs. 2-24 of this chapter.

Among the reasons for disposing of vs. 2-24 as just suggested are the following: *First*, the order in which the various classes of the population are mentioned is the same here as in the list of chapter 7; and, *second*, an account of the distribution of the inhabitants in the province is a natural sequel to the census previously given. This does not mean that the compiler was the author of these verses, or that they were originally written by any one else for the connection in which the Chronicler found them. Both of these alternatives

<sup>24</sup> According to Kusters (*Wl.* 93 *sq.*), 13<sup>1-8</sup> belongs near the beginning of chapter 9.

<sup>25</sup> It will doubtless be objected to the above conclusion, by those who refuse, as most do, to follow Kusters in placing Nehemiah before Ezra, that it is forbidden by the fact that the governor heads the list of those who signed the covenant. See 10<sup>2</sup>. This, however, is not a serious obstacle. In the first place, the fact that in 8<sup>9</sup>, as has been shown, his name is an accretion, casts suspicion upon its genuineness in this passage. Secondly, the structure of the verse betrays the hand of a reviser. Thirdly, if Nehemiah be omitted, the first list (vs. 2-8) will consist, as it should, entirely of priests, and the same number of them (twenty-two) as that in 12<sup>1-7</sup>. See Marquart, *FJG.* 34; cf. Meyer, *EJ.* 200. For a statement and discussion of the various views according to which Ezra and his company reached Jerusalem after Nehemiah's arrival, see Nikel, *WJG.* 146 *sqq.*

must be rejected. If the same person had written both passages he would doubtless have used the same terms throughout to designate the families mentioned. The second passage has a parallel, but not a very close one, in 1 Chr. 9<sup>1-34</sup>. The list therein contained, however, although it purports to give the first inhabitants (v.<sup>2</sup>) of Jerusalem, is probably later than the one here preserved, which seems to be pre-exilic. See 1 Chr. 9<sup>18</sup>, Neh. 11<sup>23-24</sup>. In v.<sup>20</sup> of this chapter one reads that "the rest of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, were in all the cities of Judah, every one in his inheritance." This statement disposes of the inhabitants of the province who did not live at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, probable that vs.<sup>23-26</sup>, where the distribution of the rural population between Beersheba and Bethel is described, was added to the original list by the Chronicler. The significance of the fact that most of the names of the places occupied by Benjamin are found in 7<sup>27-37</sup> it is not necessary to discuss in this connection.

In chapter 12 the first twenty-six verses are devoted to a genealogy of the priests and the Levites. It begins with a list, entirely different from that of 7<sup>30-34</sup>, of the priests "that went up with Zerubabel," the names, except the last six, being those of 10<sup>2(1)</sup>. Then follow (v.<sup>8-9</sup>) the names of eight Levites, four of whom signed the covenant (10<sup>10(9)</sup>), two others being mentioned in 11<sup>17</sup>. In vs.<sup>12-21</sup> is next given a list of the representatives of the priestly classes, except Hattush, in the second generation, and in vs.<sup>22-26</sup> a corresponding, but more general, statement with reference to the Levites of "the days of Joiakim" and "the days of Nehemiah." See v.<sup>26</sup>. If these were the only chronological indications, the entire section might be referred to the time of Nehemiah. This, however, is not the case. In vs.<sup>11 and 22</sup> the line of high priests is brought down to Jaddua, who, according to Josephus (*Antt.* xi. 8, 4), was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Hence, it is necessary to conclude that this part of the chapter, if not entirely the work of the Chronicler, in its present form is as late as the date at which he is supposed to have written.

Next comes the account of the dedication of the wall (vs.<sup>27-34</sup>). It begins with a description of the preparations made among the priests and the Levites, which is so clearly after the manner of the Chronicler that there is no need of analyzing it. Then (v.<sup>31</sup>) the style and content suddenly change. The first person reappears and — what is more significant — Nehemiah resumes the place that he occupies in the first chapters (except 3) of the book. See also

"the rulers,"<sup>26</sup> v.<sup>40</sup>. The rest of the story, however, is not all by the governor. To get an idea of the ceremony as he described it one must begin with v.<sup>31</sup>, omit vs.<sup>33-36</sup>, and stop with v.<sup>40</sup>, making certain corrections in the remainder of the text.<sup>27</sup> The original account, so far as it has been preserved, ends with the last mentioned verse, the next three being an addition by the same hand as those already omitted.

The last four verses of the chapter, also, are from the Chronicler, but they do not belong in their present connection. The most suitable place for them is at the end of the tenth chapter, since one would expect the appointment of the officials here mentioned to follow the adoption of the regulations which these officials were to execute.

The first three verses of chapter 13 are another fragment from the pen of the Chronicler. A favorite opinion is that they probably belong between Ezr. 10<sup>9</sup> and 10. See W. R. Smith, *OTJC*,<sup>2</sup> 427. This suggestion, however, ignores the fact, already noted, that while Ezr. 10 has to do with the subject of the mixed marriages, this passage refers to the complete purgation of the Jewish community of all alien elements. It should doubtless come later, perhaps between vs.<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> of Neh. 9, in the story of the Restoration. Cf. Torrey, *EN*, 44 *sqq.*

The reappearance of the first person in v.<sup>6</sup> points to Nehemiah as the author of the rest of the chapter, and this indication is generally accepted as trustworthy. See Siegfried, Bertholet, *al.* Torrey, however, attributes the whole to the Chronicler, basing his contention largely on its vocabulary, and citing an array of expressions which, at first sight, seems invincible. Still there is something to be said for the contrary opinion.

In the first place there is room for doubt whether in all cases the words and phrases cited may properly be counted in favor of the view based on them. The following are some of the points on which Torrey's conclusion seems open to objection:

Chapter 13<sup>4</sup>: There is a great difference between the mention of a priest who had offended against order and discipline and the introduction of *the* priests as functionaries on all public occasions. It is the latter for which the Chronicler is noted. For other individuals

<sup>26</sup> *Sēgānim*, also 2<sup>16</sup> 4<sup>8</sup> (14) 5<sup>7</sup>. 17 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> In v.<sup>31</sup>, for יתהלכה, rendered "and went in procession," read יהאחת הלכת, and *the one went*, and in v.<sup>38</sup> for למיאל, rendered "to meet them," לשמאל, *to the left*.

mentioned by Nehemiah just as he here mentions Eliashib,<sup>28</sup> see 6<sup>10, 18, 29</sup>

Verse <sup>5</sup>: Here, indeed, the Levites owe their appearance in the narrative to the Chronicler, but this admission does not require us to attribute vs.<sup>4-9</sup> entire to him, since it is pretty clear from v.<sup>9</sup> that the features of this verse which recall the Chronicler are an accretion. A similar explanation is applicable in vs.<sup>10, 13, 22</sup>.

Verse <sup>14</sup>: The ejaculatory prayers by which the passage is punctuated are so like Nehemiah (5<sup>19</sup>, 6<sup>9, 14</sup>) that it seems unfair to suspect their genuineness until the authorship of the Chronicler has otherwise been satisfactorily established.

Verse <sup>15</sup>: The correspondence between chapter 13 and 10<sup>30-40(29-30)</sup>, to which Torrey here calls attention, is more satisfactorily explained, in view of the variations in style and content, by supposing the latter to be an imitation of the former by the Chronicler than that he was the author of both of them.

Verse <sup>16</sup>: The combination "Judah and Jerusalem" is, indeed, a favorite with the Chronicler, but he always puts both words, or the phrases in which they occur, into the same construction. Here the expression is "to the sons of Judah and (or *even*) in Jerusalem," something very different. Cf. Ezr. 4<sup>6</sup>.

Verse <sup>17</sup>: The expression "contend," found also in vs.<sup>11</sup> and <sup>17</sup>, so far from pointing to the Chronicler, betrays the hand of Nehemiah. See 5<sup>7</sup>.

Verse <sup>19</sup>: The significance of the appearance of the servants in this verse is not neutralized by the introduction of the Levites in v.<sup>22a</sup>, the genuineness of which, moreover, is not beyond question.

Verse <sup>23</sup>: If the Chronicler had written this, he would have expressed a "direct contrast" by the use, not of "Jews," but, as in 9<sup>2</sup> and 13<sup>2</sup>, of "Israel."<sup>30</sup>

Verse <sup>28</sup>: It is by no means certain that Josephus in *Antt.* xi. 8, 2, refers to the event here narrated. Steuernagel (*DJ.* 276) and others think that the Jewish historian has confused similar events of different periods.

The foregoing criticism seems to have shown that some of the

<sup>28</sup> Torrey cites all the passages in Ezra and Nehemiah in which the name Eliashib occurs, as if it always designated the same person. As a matter of fact, in Ezr. 10 it is given to no fewer than four distinct individuals. See vs.<sup>6, 24, 27, 36</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Shemaiah, also, may have been a priest. See the Bible dictionaries.

<sup>30</sup> The words "of Ammon, of Moab" of this verse, as appears from the next, have been interpolated.



expressions cited really favor the view that Nehemiah was the author of more or less of the passage under consideration. To these should be added at least two others, the "rulers" of v.<sup>11</sup> and the "nobles" of v.<sup>17</sup>, generally found together, neither of which is used in a passage clearly attributable to the Chronicler.

These are some of the more external marks betraying a hand not the Chronicler's. There are two or three other considerations that ought to be noticed. Reference has already been made to the Chronicler's partiality for priests and Levites. There are doubtless traces of it in touches added to this passage, but the story as a whole leaves an impression concerning the attitude of the writer toward these classes so different from that produced by chapter 3<sup>1-32</sup> that it seems impossible to believe both to have been composed by the same person. Is it probable, for instance, that the Chronicler, after placing Eliashib at the head of the repairers of the wall, would represent him as an ally of Nehemiah's enemies? The Chronicler is also very careful in his regard for the honor of David and most of his successors, omitting everything conflicting with the idea that they were loyal and consistent servants of Yahweh. In his account of the reign of Solomon, therefore, he makes no allusion to this king's weakness for foreign women. Is it probable, then, that he wrote v.<sup>28</sup> of this last chapter? Finally, compare the strenuous measures described in Neh. 13 with the way in which the Chronicler represents similar results as obtained.

## 2. THE COURSE OF THE WALL.\*

The outcome of the preceding analysis, so far as it bears on the subject next to be discussed, is to the effect that there are in the book of Nehemiah three passages (2<sup>13-15</sup> 3<sup>1-32</sup> 12<sup>31-41</sup>) in which the course of the wall of Jerusalem after the Restoration is more or less fully indicated, and that the first and the last (in its original reading) of these passages were written by the governor, while the second was inserted by a later writer, probably the Chronicler. The precise bearing of this result should not be misunderstood. The interpolated passage may not be disregarded; for, while it is not genuine, in the sense of being from the hand of Nehemiah, and, so far as its statements with reference to the men and method employed in rebuilding the wall are concerned, may be entirely fictitious, yet it doubtless correctly describes this wall in terms current about a hundred and fifty

\* See the plan at the end of this article.



years after it was restored.<sup>1</sup> It may, therefore, be treated as a trustworthy source, care being taken not to forget that, although the course of the wall was the same when it was written as in the time of Nehemiah, there may have been changes in the names of its various gates, towers, etc.

The object being to trace the course of the wall rebuilt by Nehemiah, it is fitting that the starting-point for the proposed study should be the same as that of the governor on his reconnaissance, *viz.* the Ravine Gate. See 2<sup>18</sup>. The name here used was clearly intended to indicate the position of the gate in question, and it doubtless served this purpose among the Jews of the period to which the books in which it is found belong. Now, however, it has ceased to be so readily intelligible; hence the divergent views among modern authorities with reference to its meaning. Most identify the ravine from which the gate received its name with the so-called "ravine of Hinnom" (Jos. 15<sup>9</sup> Neh. 11<sup>30</sup>), or "ravine of the children of Hinnom" (Jos. 15<sup>8</sup> 18<sup>16</sup> etc.), and this with Wady er-Rabābi, the valley that bounds the city on the west and the south. Sir Charles Warren, however, dissents from this view; for, although he locates the gate on the west side of the city, he identifies the ravine from which it is generally supposed to have taken its name with Wady el-Jōz and its continuation in Wady Sitti Maryam, the ancient Kidron.

When he first adopted this opinion (*RJ.* 290) he seems to have based it largely upon Jer. 19<sup>2</sup> (not <sup>11</sup>), where the Authorized Version has "go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate," and Stanley (*RJ.* xiv.), who should have known that the rendering "east gate" was mistaken, blindly followed him. See the Revised Version. In his article on the subject in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, Warren is equally unfortunate, the proof in support of his contention being drawn from an erroneous translation and interpretation of Jos. 15<sup>8</sup> and 18<sup>16</sup>, the use of which was suggested by a mistaken identification of En-rogel with the Virgin's Spring ('Ain Sitti Maryam).<sup>2</sup> Here, as in the former instance, he appears to have erred through too great reliance on the English,

<sup>1</sup> Driver (*LOT.* 519) thinks that "the language" of the book of Chronicles, "not less than the general style and tone, favours a date subsequent to 300 B.C. rather than one prior to it." Cornill (*EAT.* 121) assigns it to "the first half of the third century."

<sup>2</sup> Another name for it is 'Ain 'umm ed-derej, the Spring of Many Steps. It is so called on account of the number of steps (thirty) by which one must descend to the water.

but this time the Revised Version. In the former of the passages cited the reading is, "the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the side of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward." Warren interprets this as meaning that the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, on reaching the Virgin's Spring, ran "up the valley of Kidron to a point opposite to the southern side of the temple, thence across the temple courts south of the temple, and up the valley on the south side of Akra to the Jaffa gate, and thence north by the Russian hospice to Lifta."

The first objection to this interpretation that suggests itself is that a point on the Kidron "opposite to the southern side of the temple," or, rather, the site on which it afterward stood, could hardly be called "the side of the Jebusite southward," since the ancient city lay to the south of it.<sup>3</sup> There is a more serious one that is not so apparent. The text says that the line first "went up by," in the sense of *through*,<sup>4</sup> the valley of Hinnom, and then again "went up to" the top of a certain rise of ground whose location is described. The phraseology used seems to permit one to suppose, as Warren does, that the line, after reaching "the side of the Jebusite," left the valley and took a different direction. This, however, is not the meaning of the author, as is evident from 18<sup>16</sup>, where he traces the same line from west to east, *i.e.* in the opposite direction. The sense in this latter verse is somewhat obscured by the inconsistency of the translators, who make the author say that the border, after descending the hill, went down "to," instead of "by," "the valley of Hinnom to the side of the Jebusite southward."<sup>5</sup> When this correction is made it becomes perfectly clear that according to 15<sup>6</sup> the line ran from En-rogel, wherever that may have been, all the way up the valley of Hinnom (past "the side of the Jebusite") to the

<sup>3</sup> It is now the opinion of a majority of the authorities on the subject that ancient Jerusalem lay on the ridge often identified with Ophel, south of the site of the temple. See G. A. Smith, *Enc. Bib.*, art. 'Jerusalem'; cf. Conder, *Dic. Bib.*

<sup>4</sup> It would be still more exact to say simply that the line "went up the valley," since in the original the noun "valley" is the direct object of the preceding verb. On the use of verbs of motion in this way, see Gen. 44<sup>4</sup> Num. 13<sup>17</sup> Deut. 2<sup>7</sup> etc.

<sup>5</sup> The construction is precisely the same as in 15<sup>8</sup>. Hence here also it would be as well, or better, to omit the preposition and say that the line "went down the valley."



**WADY SITTI MARYAM FROM BIR'AYYŪB,**  
with the site of the King's Garden in the foreground, and beyond it the hill first occupied by Jerusalem.

hill at the head of it, so that the identification of this valley with the Kidron, so far from allowing "the partition of Jerusalem between Judah and Benjamin," as Warren asserts, makes it impossible. Nor is this all. It can now be shown conclusively that the author of these two passages (P), when he wrote "the valley of Hinnom," could not have had in mind the one north and east of the city. If he had, he must have reckoned Jerusalem to Judah, as an earlier writer (JE, Jos. 15<sup>63</sup>) seems to have done.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, in 18<sup>28</sup> he distinctly assigns it to Benjamin, which he could not have done unless the valley of Hinnom had meant to him the one that bounded the city on the west and south, the modern Wady er-Rabābi.<sup>7</sup>

The foregoing exposition, showing that "the ravine of Hinnom" is not another name for the Kidron, ought to render the identification of En-rogel with the Virgin's Spring untenable; since the author of Jos. 15<sup>8</sup> and 18<sup>16</sup> says nothing about the stretch down the Kidron between the spring and the mouth of the other valley, and it is hardly credible that any one should have drawn the line between Judah and Benjamin in this zigzag fashion. Still, there are those who, like Conder in his article on Jerusalem in Hastings' *Dictionary*, although they locate the ravine of Hinnom correctly, hold the contradictory opinion with reference to En-rogel. It is necessary, therefore, to discuss more at length the location of this spring. Several reasons are given for identifying it with the Virgin's Spring. The one that seems to have proven most cogent is found in the similarity between Zōhēleth, the name of a stone said to have been near the spring, and Zahwayleh, which, according to Clermont-Ganneau (*PEF.* 1870, 251 *sq.*), is used to designate a flight of steps by which the natives of Silwān cut short the distance from the spring to their village on the slope opposite. See *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, 293 *sq.* On examination, however, the striking correspondence between the two names loses some of its significance. In the first place, the inhabitants of Silwān are not unanimous in applying the name Zahwayleh to the ascent described. Secondly, if they were, since it probably means simply a slide, and could be applied to half a dozen places along the side of the hill between the tomb of Absalom and

<sup>6</sup> The use of this passage and Jud. 18<sup>21</sup> by Birch (*PEF.* 1878, 179) to sustain his view that Jerusalem belonged partly to Judah and partly to Benjamin is entirely unwarranted. On Jud. 18<sup>21</sup>, see Moore, *Comm.* 20 *sq.*

<sup>7</sup> The identification of Hinnom with Kidron is forbidden, also, by the facts that the former is always called a *gai* and the latter a *naḥal*, and that in 2 Kgs. 23, where both occur, they evidently lie in different directions. See vs. 6, 10, 12.



**WADY EL-JÖZ,**  
and the northwestern suburbs of Jerusalem, as seen from the northern end of the Mount of Olives.



**THE VILLAGE OF SILWĀN.**

The rude steps called Zahwayleh are just above the highest point in the path near the middle of the picture.

Bir 'Ayyüb, it is hardly safe to conclude that this is the only one to which it has ever been given. As a matter of fact, there is a flight of steps in the native rock considerably nearer to Bir 'Ayyüb than the one above described is to the Virgin's Spring. Thirdly, since the biblical designation is properly, not "the stone Zoheleth," but "the Stone of the Zoheleth," *i.e.* 'of the creeper' (Deut. 32<sup>24</sup>), it is more probable that the latter word denotes something, *e.g.* the serpent, after which the object intended was named than that it describes a characteristic of that object. See 'Eben-bohan, Jos. 15<sup>6</sup>, and 'Eben-ha'ezer, 1 Sam. 4<sup>1</sup>. Finally, since the word 'eben is never elsewhere in the Old Testament used of the native rock, it is highly improbable that in this case it was applied to any part of the rocky slope on the eastern side of the valley of Kidron.<sup>8</sup> In view of these considerations the similarity between Zōhēleth and Zaḥwayleh ought not to weigh very heavily against the necessary inference from the discussion of the location of the ravine of Hinnom, that 'En-rōgēl is the ancient name for Bir 'Ayyüb.

The objections to this view are not of a serious character. Warren *e.g.* says of Bir 'Ayyüb that it is properly a well (*ḥē'er*), not a spring (*'ayin*). This point is not well taken, for in Gen. 24 both words are used by the same author of the source from which the people

<sup>8</sup> In Gen. 49<sup>24</sup>, the last line of which the Revisers render,

"From thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel,"

'*eben* appears to be used in the sense of *šār*, 'rock, cliff'; but here the text is evidently corrupt. Gunkel, by slightly changing the pointing of the first two words, gets the equivalent of

"By the name of the shepherd of the Israel-stone,"

which he explains as meaning the shepherd dwelling in the stone at Bethel. He suggests, however, that the correctness of the text is doubtful. If he had given the matter further thought, he would doubtless have seen the bearing on this verse of 48<sup>15</sup>, where Jacob is represented as beginning his blessing on Joseph with the words,

"The God before whom my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, walked,  
The God who hath shepherded me all my life unto this day."

Then, by an emendation, יָדָא for יִדָא, which would have suggested itself, he would have obtained a reading that makes the troublesome line an intelligible parallel to the preceding. The couplet, thus emended, reads,

"By the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,  
By the name of the Shepherd of his father Israel."

For proof of the correctness of this reading, see the next verse.



**BIR 'AYYŪB,**

from the south, with steps and vats on the rocky slope beyond it to the right.



of Harran drew water, and, moreover, as every one who has spent any length of time at Jerusalem knows, Bir 'Ayyüb in the winter overflows, and becomes as truly a spring as that of the Virgin.<sup>9</sup> It is further objected that Bir 'Ayyüb cannot be En-rogel because it is so far from the King's Garden that Josephus (*Antt.* vii. 14, 4) could not have spoken of it as being in it. The facts are, that the Virgin's Spring is at one end, and Bir 'Ayyüb near the other, of the succession of gardens now cultivated by the people of Silwān, but that the latter is nearer than the former to the mouth of the valley, now el-Wād, running nearly north and south through the city, in the vicinity of which, according to Neh. 3<sup>25</sup>, the King's Garden was located. Finally, it is asserted that Bir 'Ayyüb cannot be substituted without confusing the reader in the narratives in which En-rogel occurs. This is incorrect. Take the case of 2 Sam. 17<sup>17</sup>. Is it not more reasonable to look for the hiding-place of Jonathan and Ahimaaz half a mile distant than almost under the royal palace? So, also, in the case of 1 Kgs. 1<sup>9</sup>. The last place for the meeting of the partisans of Adonijah would have been the vicinity of the public spring, in full view from the city.<sup>10</sup> The friends of Solomon, on the other hand, would naturally assemble as near the city as possible. Hence, En-rogel must here also be identified with Bir 'Ayyüb, and the Gihon of v. 33 not, as Warren (*DB.*, art. 'Hinnom') maintains, with the Pool of Siloam ('Ain Silwān) — for the tunnel had not yet been built — but with the Virgin's Spring.

The identification of En-rogel with Bir 'Ayyüb strengthens the argument in favor of Wady er-Rabābi as the ravine of Hinnom. It is, therefore, unfavorable, not only to Warren's view, but to that proposed by Birch (*PEF.* 1878, 179 *sq.*), and adopted by W. R. Smith (*Enc. Brit.*) and others, according to which this ravine was el-Wād. There is the further objection to the latter opinion that, if, as it assumes, the ancient city was confined to the eastern hill, it is difficult to understand why the tunnel from the Virgin's Spring should have been carried through to the western side of it.

The ravine of Hinnom having been identified, the next question is whether this is the ravine from which the Ravine Gate took its name. The great majority of those who have raised this question have answered it in the affirmative; and with reason, for not only is

<sup>9</sup> On the 23d of January, 1902, the people of Jerusalem and the vicinity celebrated such an overflow by visiting the well in great numbers.

<sup>10</sup> The people of Silwān have no difficulty in making themselves understood by persons on the opposite hill, where the palace of David was situated.

the word here rendered "ravine" always found with "Hinnom" (Jos. 15<sup>8</sup> 18<sup>10</sup> Neh. 11<sup>30</sup> Ezek. 39<sup>15</sup>) or "the son of Hinnom" (Jos. 15<sup>8</sup> 18<sup>10</sup> 2 Kgs. 23<sup>10</sup> Jer. 7<sup>31, 32, 33</sup> 2 Chr. 28<sup>3</sup> 33<sup>8</sup>), but it is used alone to designate the same ravine (Jer. 2<sup>23</sup> 31<sup>40</sup>), and there is no other depression about Jerusalem to which it is ever applied. This being the case, it can hardly be doubted that the Ravine Gate was somewhere on the western or southern side of the city, and that it was so called because it gave exit to the ravine which, beginning at the Pool of Māmilla, west of the Jaffa Gate, runs, first eastward nearly to the city, then southward along the hill incorrectly called Zion, and finally eastward again along the southern side of that hill to the Kidron. But at what point on this ravine was it located? The most prevalent opinion is that it was on the west side of the city not far from the present Jaffa Gate. Robinson (*BRP.* i. 473) identifies it with the gate Gennath, which, according to Josephus (*BJ.* v. 4, 2), was in the first wall near the point from which the second started, *i.e.* not far from the so-called Tower of David.<sup>11</sup> Similarly Warren (*DB.*, art. 'Hinnom') and Bliss (*EJ.* 296). Schick (*ZDPV.* viii. 272) locates it in an outwork of which he claims to have found remains outside the present wall, a few rods southwest of the Jaffa Gate. If, however, there was a gate where Schick admits that the gate Gennath must have been, it would have been unnecessary to have another so near, opening into the same quarter of the city. The identification of the Ravine Gate with the gate Gennath is also open to objection. This gate, if in the first wall, east of the corner, must have faced toward the saddle connecting the western hill (traditional Zion) with the high ground to the north and the northwest, and, therefore, although the upper and shallower part of the ravine was not far distant, would hardly have been called the Ravine Gate. It is far more probable that the gate Gennath was the Gate of Ephraim, which, according to Neh. 12<sup>39</sup>, lay in the route of one of the processions when the wall was dedicated, and that the Ravine Gate is to be sought farther southward.

There was a gate in this direction which could, with much greater propriety, have been named the Ravine Gate. The remains of it were unearthed by Bliss during his search for the ancient southern wall (*EJ.* 16 *sqq.*). These remains represent four distinct periods, there being so many sills laid one upon another. In the earliest

<sup>11</sup> On the attempt to identify this gate with a ruined entrance at the lower end of Haret ed-Ḍewāyeh, six hundred feet directly east of the Tower of David, see *PEF.* 1892, 186 *sq.*



**WADY EL-MÉS,**  
the upper course of Wady Rabbbi, from a point near the Jaffa Gate.



WADY RABĀBI.

A view northward of the part that bounded the city on the west.

period it was eight feet and ten inches wide.<sup>12</sup> It was located about six hundred feet from the southwest corner of the ancient city, now marked by Bishop Gobat's School, and gave exit into the upper part of the last and deepest stretch of the ravine of Hinnon, the one in which the ancient Hebrews are supposed to have practised the unholy rites of Molech. At present it seems an unlikely site for an entrance to a city; but there is a path up the hill a little farther to the east, and in earlier times there was doubtless an easier approach to this point.<sup>13</sup>

To the fitness of the name may be added another reason for believing this to be the Ravine Gate, *viz.* the distance between it and the next gate eastward. The Chronicler (Neh. 3<sup>13</sup>) says that from the Ravine Gate to the Dung Gate was 1000 cubits.<sup>14</sup> If, now, the Ravine Gate be located near the present Jaffa Gate, the one whose location has just been described will have to be identified with the Dung Gate. But, according to Tobler (*ZJ.* i. 76), it is 1400 feet from the Jaffa Gate to the southwest corner of the present wall, and, as measured on the latest maps, it is about 1200 feet farther to the newly discovered entrance; so that the distance between the Ravine Gate and the Dung Gate, as thus located, would be about 2600 feet, or considerably more than 1000 cubits of the most liberal length. On the other hand, the distance from the first to the second of the gates discovered by Bliss is only about 1900 feet, which is much nearer the Chronicler's estimate. These gates may therefore, with considerable confidence, be identified with the Ravine Gate

<sup>12</sup> The following is a list of the gates now in use, with the inside width of each of them:

	ft.	in.
West side: Jaffa Gate (Bāb el-Ḥalil) . . . . .	11	11
South side: Zion Gate (Bāb en-Nebi Dāūd) . . . . .	10	7
South side: Dung Gate (Bāb el-Mughāribeh) . . . . .	4	5
East side: St. Stephen's Gate (Bāb Sitti Maryam) . . . . .	10	10
North side: Herod's Gate (Bāb es-Sāhireh, ez-Zahriyeh) . . . . .	5	4
North side: Damascus Gate (Bāb el-'Amūd) . . . . .	14	7
North side: New Gate (Bāb 'Abdul-Ḥamid) . . . . .	13	2

In the case of Herod's Gate it is the width of the old entrance that is given.

<sup>13</sup> In this path, about half the way up, may still be seen several steps in the rock to ease the ascent.

<sup>14</sup> This is the natural interpretation of the passage. Had the author meant to say that 1000 cubits were only a part of the distance between the two gates, he would hardly have added the words, "as far as the Dung Gate." Cf. Guthe, *ZDPV.* v. 297.





**THE RAVINE GATE.**

**The ruined entrance discovered by Bliss, and wrongly identified with the Dung Gate.**

and the Dung Gate respectively.<sup>15</sup> See Klaiber, *ZDPV*. iii. 209; T. F. Wright, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xv. 129 *sqq.*

Nehemiah says that on issuing from the Ravine Gate he went "toward the Dragon Spring." The identity of this spring is uncertain. Caspari (*SK*. 1864, 318) believes that Nehemiah here refers to the aqueduct by which the water collected at the Pools of Solomon was brought to Jerusalem; and at first sight it seems as if the windings of this conduit must have suggested the name he employs. See also Schick, *ZDPV*. xiv. 42. This, however, is a mistake, since, if the Ravine Gate, as has been shown, was in the south wall near the southwest corner of the city, the governor, as he issued from it, rode, not "toward," but *along* the aqueduct, which at this point ran close to the wall on the outside. On the other hand, the expression "toward" is perfectly suitable if, as Stade (*GV*. ii. 165) suggests, "Dragon Spring" is only another name for En-rogel, so called from the stone Zoheleth in its immediate vicinity.

The correctness of the location assigned to the Dung Gate is favored by the two following facts: *viz.* that the site selected for it is on the road down the Tyropoeon upon which the present Dung Gate opens; and that the great sewer down the valley passes under it, and probably ended not far from it. The ruins of this gate are described by Bliss (*EJ*. 88 *sqq.*), who, however, having placed the Ravine Gate near the present Jaffa Gate and the Dung Gate near the Protestant Cemetery (*EJ*. 322), naturally concludes that this second entrance through the southern wall, near the southeast corner of the ancient city, is the Fountain Gate (*EJ*. 296, 327 *sq.*). It was well placed to accommodate those who wished to reach the city from the direction of En-rogel and lower Kidron, being at the very end of the southwestern hill, where it slopes off into the King's Garden. It was an ancient gate, for there are clear indications of three periods in its history; and it was broad enough to accommodate a large traffic, being nine feet and six inches wide in its latest dimensions. It was finally strengthened by a tower of heavy masonry, which formed the southeast corner of the wall.

From the Dung Gate, according to the English Version (v.<sup>14</sup>),

<sup>15</sup> This is probably the gate that Josephus (*BJ*. v. 4, 2) mentions under the name of the Gate of the Essenes. See Robinson (*BRP*. i. 473), who, however, identifies it with the Dung Gate of the Old Testament. So also Schick, *ZDPV*. xiv. 49; Bliss, *EJ*. 322. W. R. Smith (*Enc. Brit.*, xiii. 640) takes advantage of this error in his attempt to show that the Ravine of Hinnom is the Tyropoeon (el-Wād).



**WADY RABABI.**

A view westward of the part that bounded the city on the south.



Nehemiah says he "went on" to the Fountain Gate and the King's Pool. The word rendered "went on,"<sup>16</sup> however, although it is sometimes correctly so translated (Gen. 18<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. 18<sup>9</sup> etc.), is most frequently used of passing over something, e.g. a river (Gen. 31<sup>21</sup> Jos. 4<sup>22</sup> etc.). There is therefore an antecedent probability that it is here used in the latter sense; and this probability is strengthened by the fact that in the next verse (<sup>15</sup>) the writer takes pains to employ the verb meaning *ascend*<sup>17</sup> to describe his further progress. If, however, he meant to say that he "crossed" to the Fountain Gate, there can be little doubt that what he crossed was el-Wād, and that not only is the Dung Gate correctly identified with the one unearthed by Bliss on the south of this valley, but the Fountain Gate must be sought on the other side of it. Now, Bliss has proved that the wall of the city originally crossed the valley below the wall that now serves as a dam for the old pool now called Birket el-Ḥamrā, and just after crossing made an angle admirably adapted to the defence of a gate which, on his key map, he locates at the end of the "Hill of Ophel." Here, therefore, must have been the entrance which Nehemiah calls the Fountain Gate. See Guthe, *ZDPV.* v. 296.

It is objected that the location proposed is forbidden by Neh. 3<sup>13</sup>, where the Fountain Gate is mentioned before the pool by the King's Garden, which is commonly identified with Birket el-Ḥamrā. This seems to be the reason why Conder (*DB.*, art. 'Jerusalem') locates the gate "near the southeast slope of the upper city." But the point is not well taken. Did the Chronicler intend to represent the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate as adjoining each other?<sup>18</sup> It is therefore necessary to adopt the interpretation of Bertheau, that the inversion of the natural order in this case is a mere variation, suggested by the comparative importance of the gate in question. Cf. Klaiber (*ZDPV.* iii. 203 sqq.), who, although he places the Fountain Gate on the farther side of el-Wād, insists that the parts assigned are mentioned in their actual order, and therefore locates the gate some distance above the mouth of the valley, to make room for a wall running southeast from it to the King's Garden. The variety of masonry found by Bliss in the wall across the mouth of the valley seems to make this theory untenable. Nor is it necessary to place the gate at the mouth of

<sup>16</sup> 'ābar.

<sup>17</sup> 'ālāh.

<sup>18</sup> Bliss (*EJ.* 87 sq.) discovered another opening in the wall just west of the one above identified with the Dung Gate, but, as it was only four feet and ten inches wide, he concluded that it was not "an exterior gate of the city."



**THE SITE OF THE DUNG GATE.**

The second entrance, discovered by Bliets, to the left of the first tree near the middle of the picture.

the tunnel to account for the name it bore, since a gate by which one entered the city to reach the fountain would naturally be called the Fountain Gate, especially if, as in this case, the canal that carried away the waste water passed through or near it. See Guthe, *ZDPV.* v. 296 sq.

With the Fountain Gate Nehemiah couples the King's Pool. If the former was beyond el-Wād, the natural inference is that the latter was on the same side of the valley. Hence, Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 357) and others locate it at the end of the tunnel on the east side of el-Wād, some rods above its mouth. Guthe found there a part of such a pool. He lays stress on its location, and interprets Neh. 2<sup>25</sup> as indicating that the governor attempted to go up the valley, but, finding his way in this direction blocked, went back through the Fountain Gate and ascended the Kidron. It is not clear, however, that the passage means all this. If it seems necessary to identify the King's Pool with 'Ain Silwān, would it not be better to explain the words "to the Fountain Gate and to the King's Pool" as meaning to the gate giving entrance to the Fountain and the King's Pool, the two being so closely associated in the writer's mind that he could not mention the one without the other? This form of the view proposed is favored by the fact that Nehemiah evidently did not enter the Dung Gate, and there is nothing but the mention of the Pool to indicate that he reached the inside of the city by the Fountain Gate.<sup>19</sup>

If, however, Nehemiah did not enter the gate, there is something to be said for two other hypotheses, the first being that the King's Pool was the modern Birket el-Ḥamrā, the northeast corner of which was only a step from the point where it is proposed to place the Fountain Gate. This pool, of course, was not on the farther side of el-Wād—in fact, it was the lower end of the valley—but the gates were so located with reference to it that, in the ruined condition of the city, the easiest way to reach it was through the Fountain Gate. It might be objected to this interpretation that in 3<sup>15</sup> the pool commonly identified with Birket el-Ḥamrā is called by a different name, viz. the Pool of the Conduit; but this objection loses much of its force when one remembers that chapter 3 is not by the same hand as the passage now under consideration.

The second possible view is that of Robinson (*BRP.* i. 474), who identifies the King's Pool with the Virgin's Spring. If this were

<sup>19</sup> The object of his reconnaissance did not require him to do so.



A CORNER IN THE WALL  
near the ancient Dung Gate.

correct, it would be easier to understand the blockade of which Nehemiah speaks (v.<sup>14</sup>) ; for the Kidron is considerably narrower at the spring than at the mouth of el-Wād, and one can more easily imagine it filled above than below with the débris of the ruined wall. There is, however, one serious objection to this identification, *viz.* that the Hebrew word<sup>20</sup> by which Robinson supposes the spring to be designated is never elsewhere in the Old Testament used in this sense, but always denotes a proper pool, and usually an artificial one. See 2 Kgs. 20<sup>30</sup>. This objection seems insurmountable. It will, therefore, be necessary to choose between the other two interpretations, and in view of the proximity of the lower pool to the supposed site of the Fountain Gate, the one that identifies this pool with the King's Pool seems the more acceptable.

In chapter 12 Nehemiah, in his description of the routes of the processions by which the completion of his work was celebrated, mentions the gates and other prominent features of the entire wall. He does not say where these processions started, but from the fact that the first point noted in the march of the one that went south was the Dung Gate (v.<sup>31</sup>) it is plain that the point of departure was the Ravine Gate. One can think of several reasons for choosing this as the starting point. It is probable that when the city was taken by Nebuchadrezzar, as when it was captured by Titus (Josephus, *B. J.* vii. 1, 1), the southwestern part suffered less than the others ; that, when Nehemiah became governor, the most of the inhabitants lived in this quarter ; and that, therefore, it was most convenient for them to assemble at the Ravine Gate. Then, too, from this gate the distance to the temple by the two routes was more nearly equal than from any other.

The procession that took the southern route marched on the wall, first to the Dung Gate (v.<sup>31</sup>), as above noticed,<sup>21</sup> and then to and over the Fountain Gate (v.<sup>32</sup>). Thus far nothing new has appeared ; but from this point onward the whole description of the course of the wall is additional to what can be learned from chapter 2.

When this company reached the Fountain Gate, they were at the foot of the southern end of the hill on which once lay the city of David, the oldest quarter of Jerusalem. From this point, says v.<sup>32</sup>, they went "straight forward," in the same direction in which they had been going when they crossed the valley, up the hill. Here,

<sup>20</sup> *bēvīkāh*.

<sup>21</sup> The text has *ב*, 'toward.'



**THE MOUTH OF EL-WAD.**

The dam is on the left of the ruined building; the Fountain Gate was to the right of it.

however, according to Stade (*GVII*. ii. 175) and others, they left the wall and took the path up the steps by which the ascent had usually been made. No one seems to know why they should have done this, unless it was because the wall, as it ran up the hill, did not furnish so good a means of ascent as the steps below. There is reason to doubt the correctness of this supposition and to believe, on the other hand, that it was easier to follow the newly finished wall than to pick one's way among the débris by which the streets in this quarter must have been choked.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the author seems really to have intended to say that the procession went up the hill on the wall. There are two significant phrases, for one of which<sup>23</sup> the English Version has "by the stairs of the city of David" and for the other,<sup>24</sup> "at the going up (AR., 'ascent') of the wall." In the former the preposition employed does not denote means, but position. It might, therefore, have been rendered "on"—and probably the English translators intended their "by" to be understood in this sense—but it would have been equally correct to translate it "above" (Gen. 19<sup>27</sup>), or "along" with the implied idea of elevation (Job 1<sup>14</sup>). Which of these renderings is best must be determined by an examination of the other expression. In this case the preposition is not the same as in the first, but is the one used by Nehemiah in chapter 2 to describe the way *by* which he made his exit from (v.<sup>13</sup>), and his entrance into (v.<sup>15</sup>), the city, also that *by* which he proceeded beyond the point where he was obliged to leave his beast (v.<sup>15</sup>). If, now, this description of the route of the first procession (except the names) is from the hand of the governor, as it probably is, one seems warranted in taking the preposition in the present instance in the same sense as in the others and rendering it, not "at," but "by," or more exactly "by means of." This being done, it will be necessary to adopt the rendering "above" or "along" in the preceding phrase, or to omit the whole phrase as an interpolation suggested by 3<sup>15</sup>. The writer will then say what he doubtless intended to say, namely, that from the Fountain Gate<sup>25</sup> the procession went up the hill by the wall, stepped as it now is in similar places, having on the left, below,

<sup>22</sup> It is still about as easy to walk on the wall of Jerusalem as on the ground, even up a slope, since the wall, also, is stepped like the steeper streets.

<sup>23</sup> 'al ma'ālēt 'ir dāwūd.

<sup>24</sup> bama'āleh luḥōmāh.

<sup>25</sup> The use of 'al instead of mē'al before the name of this gate has no significance, as appears from the interchange of the prepositions in v.<sup>30</sup>. The suggestion of Guthe (*ZDPV*. viii. 279) that mē'al indicates the points that were left to one side, but 'al those which were actually touched, is certainly mistaken, as one



EL-WĀD, FROM BIRKET EL-ĪJAMRĀ,  
with the site, near the minaret, of 'Ain Silwān.



the steps in the rock by which it was customary to climb the ascent into the city of David.

Farther on they passed above "the house of David," or the ruins of it, which therefore must have been on the east side of the ridge, where, as Klaiber (*ZDPV.* xi. 12 *sq.*) puts it, one could enjoy "the finest outlook and most convenient access to the gardens to the south," and not, as Schick (*ZDPV.* xiv. 55) and Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 331 *sq.*) maintain, on the western slope.

The Water Gate, also, the last point mentioned in the route of the first procession, is described as being "eastward," but there is no express statement indicating how far northward it was located. This point must, therefore, be determined, if at all, by inference from suggestions in this passage, with any assistance that can be gained from chapter 3. In the first place, its name would require one to look for this gate in the vicinity of the Virgin's Spring. The spring was always where it now is. Moreover, the city was much more dependent upon it for water in early times than it is at the present day. This is clear from the immense amount of work expended in cutting the tunnel from it to the other side of the hill. Hence, there must always have been a path to it, and a gate from which this path started. At present there are two paths from it to the top of the ridge; one turning to left, running diagonally southwestward, and reaching the supposed line of the ancient wall about halfway between the southern end of the hill and the southeastern corner of the present wall, where Guthe found the remains of a tower and a drain. Moreover, the spot where the drain passed the tower, according to Guthe's map of his excavations, is directly over the tunnel near the most westerly point reached in its course. Here, perhaps, was the Water Gate in the earliest times, before the temple had been built and the royal residence removed to its vicinity.

The other path turns to the right, as it leaves the spring, runs in a northeasterly direction, and reaches the line of the ancient wall at a

can learn by attempting to apply it. Thus (v.<sup>31</sup>) Nehemiah brings the princes *up*—in spite of the fact that the gate is *below* the city—*on one side* of the wall. Then the first procession, as it advances, leaves *on one side* the wall to (better, *and*, for another *mé'at l*) the Dung Gate, but when it reaches the Fountain Gate (v.<sup>37</sup>) it is *on* the wall, and just beyond that point it marches *on* the steps, leaving *on one side* the house of David. So also, the second (vs.<sup>38</sup> *et*) leaves the wall, the Ovens' Gate, and the Gate of Ephraim *on one side*, but when it comes to the Gate of the Old . . . it finds itself *on* the second wall, which it henceforth follows. This cannot have been the meaning of the author. One must therefore conclude that, if the text is correct, the two expressions were used interchangeably.



'AIN SITTI MARYAM.

point about four hundred feet from the southeastern corner of the present wall, very near the great tower which Warren unearthed during his excavations. This, moreover, is the point where the path running north and south along the edge of the ridge crosses that which connects David's Gate with the road to Bethany. Warren does not report any traces of a gate in this vicinity, but the indications point to the existence of an entrance by which water could be brought directly to the upper part of the city. This is the way by which water from the Virgin's Fountain is still carried to Jerusalem. Whenever the cisterns get low, strings of donkeys, laden with dripping skins, may be seen climbing this path and making their way across the top of the hill to the present Dung Gate.

Here, then, it is pretty safe to locate the Water Gate "eastward," the limiting word being added, perhaps, because there was another on the western side of the hill, through which water was brought after the excavation of the tunnel. At this gate, according to 8<sup>1</sup>, there was an open space large enough for\*the accommodation of a multitude of people. Conder (*BD.*, art. 'Jerusalem') suggests that this gate led to the spring, "probably by the rocky [rock-cut] shaft [better, passage] which runs up to the surface of the hill, at the back of [above] the cave in which the Gihon [Virgin's Fountain] wells up"; but, since the excavation of this passage has never been completed, it is hardly safe to assume that it ended outside the wall, where any one who went for water would be only a little less exposed than if there were no such contrivance.<sup>26</sup> If, therefore, there was a gate where Conder locates this one, it was probably the original entrance through which the earliest inhabitants of the city of David brought water from the spring. There is, however, this objection to supposing that Nehemiah had a gate at this point in mind; namely, that if the account of the route of the first procession is complete, whether the temple or the royal palace was its destination (v.<sup>40</sup>), since the Water Gate is the last point mentioned, it must have been nearer the entrance to the sacred enclosure. This interpretation is supported by 3<sup>25-26</sup> in the correct reading. In the Masoretic text of this passage the author says (v.<sup>25</sup>) that Pedaiah had a share in the reconstruction of the wall, but does not describe the part that he repaired. Guthe (*SBOT.*) suggests — and the suggestion is its own justification — that the reference to the Nethinim in v.<sup>26</sup> is an inter-

<sup>26</sup> The point to which it was traced is a hundred and eighty feet west of the spring.



THE ASCENT TO THE CITY OF DAVID.

polation. If, now, this statement be omitted and the rest of the verse attached to v.<sup>28</sup>, the whole will read, "After him [repaired]<sup>27</sup> Pedaiah, the son of Parosh, as far as the front of the Water Gate eastward and the projecting tower." The conclusion seems irresistible that the Chronicler, at least, located the Water Gate at the tower discovered by Warren near the top of the hill, and by him identified with the "projecting tower" of this passage (*RJ.* 295). The phraseology here used, "as far as the front of," may denote that, when the wall was repaired, the tower, which was a very large one with a projection of forty-one and a half feet (*SWP.* Jerusalem, 228), was left outside, and with it the gate which it protected.<sup>28</sup>

The second procession, according to Neh. 12<sup>28</sup>, starting from the Ravine Gate, like the first, took its way northward on the wall, the first prominent point passed being the Ovens' Tower. This tower is located by Schick (*ZDPV.* xiv. 51) and others near the present Tower of David; but Stade, according to whom the Gate of Ephraim was at this corner, prefers to place it about the middle of the western wall of what Josephus calls the upper city, *i.e.* midway between the Jaffa Gate and Bishop Gobat's School (*GVI.* ii. 167). The latter opinion is to be preferred, but even this is not entirely satisfactory. If, as has been shown, the Ravine Gate was east of the Protestant Cemetery, and the Gate of Ephraim near the northern end of the same hill, the Ovens' Tower must have been between these two points. But why midway between them, where, so far as has ever been ascertained, there are no traces of particularly strong fortifications? On the other hand, at the southwest corner of the ancient city, where the school now stands, there was a tower the base of which, twenty feet high, was hewn from the native rock. It was nearly square, projecting about forty-five feet from the scarp to which it was attached (*PEF.* 1875, 83).<sup>29</sup> It was therefore a prominent and noteworthy feature of the wall, one that could hardly be omitted in any description of the fortifications of the city. Here, then, should be the Ovens' Tower of the account of the dedica-

<sup>27</sup> The verb is as easily supplied here as in the preceding sentence.

<sup>28</sup> There is the same divergence between an earlier and a later course at one point in the southern wall excavated by Bliss. See *EJ.* 24 *sqq.*

<sup>29</sup> There are conflicting statements in Conder's reports with reference to this tower. On p. 8 of the volume cited he says that it is about twenty-five feet square; but in his more detailed description he gives the figures above quoted, and they are in substantial agreement with his plan.



AN ASCENT BY THE WALL.

tion. It was probably so called because there were ovens in the vicinity.<sup>80</sup>

Next in order to the Ovens' Tower comes the Broad Wall. This has apparently greatly perplexed those who have undertaken to trace the course of the ancient wall of Jerusalem. At any rate, the opinions with reference to it are many and very divergent. Thus Schick, for instance (*ZDPV.* viii. 270), supposes it to have formed the eastern wall of the Patriarch's Pool; Guthe (*ZDPV.* viii. 282 *sq.*), a part of the first wall east of the point where it was joined by the second.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, Stade (*GVI.* ii. 167) represents it as that which enclosed a rounded corner just south of the present Tower of David, where, owing to the upward slope of the ground outside, there was need of stronger defensive works, and where he locates the Gate of Ephraim. See also Conder, *DB.*, art. 'Jerusalem.'

In support of this opinion a passage which, through a corruption of the text, has hitherto escaped attention may perhaps be cited. It is the last clause of 3<sup>8</sup>. The verb there used<sup>82</sup> commonly means 'leave'; but "they left Jerusalem as far as the Broad Wall" is so clearly not the thought of the author that various attempts have been made to find a satisfactory rendering for this word or recover the original of which it is a corruption. Thus, it has been suggested by Guthe that the verb actually found in the text may be connected with a Mishnic word *ma'āzibāh*, 'pavement,' and rendered "paved."<sup>83</sup> It is difficult to think of Nehemiah and his people, who were straining every nerve to rear the wall as a protection against active enemies, as undertaking at the same time to pave the streets of the city; and it would be better to adopt the interpretation of the English translators, "fortify" — also resting ultimately on a combination with *ma'āzibāh* — than to force so unreasonable a meaning upon the present reading. An even more decisive consideration is that *ma'āzibāh* does not mean *pavimentum* (Buxtorf, Guthe), but the material — usually poles, brush, and earth — of which the flat roof of a house was made.

It is possible that the original verb was the one from which is derived the noun<sup>84</sup> used in 2 Chr. 4<sup>9</sup> and 6<sup>13</sup> of the great court of the

<sup>80</sup> The English Version renders the name given to this tower "the Tower of the Furnaces," but it is doubtful if the word (*tannūr*) can properly be translated *furnace*. In this case the use of the plural probably points to the custom, still practised in Palestine, of building ovens in clusters.

<sup>81</sup> Guthe, as already noted, that he may hold this view, is obliged to make a distinction between 'al and *mē'al*, for which there is no warrant in the connection.

<sup>82</sup> 'āzab.

<sup>83</sup> *ZDPV.* viii. 282 *sq.*

<sup>84</sup> 'āzārāh.



**THE SITE OF EARLY JERUSALEM,  
from the east.**



temple and in Ezek. 43<sup>14</sup>. 17.<sup>30</sup> 45<sup>19</sup> of a ledge or border. Kraetzschmar connects it with the Assyrian *esēru*, which he renders 'umschranken.' A word meaning 'enclose' would certainly be an improvement. The whole sentence would then read, "they enclosed Jerusalem as far as the Broad Wall," and the interpretation of this statement would be as follows: The author of chapter 3 begins the partition of the wall at the Sheep Gate. He must therefore have followed the second wall, which, according to Josephus, began its westward course at the citadel, in his time called Antonia, at the northwest corner of the temple precincts. This wall ran westward — its exact course may for the present be left indefinite — as far as the gate Gennath, enclosing a distinct portion of the city. Now, nothing could be more natural than that the Chronicler, when he had finished the partition of this wall, should call attention to the fact that, by its reconstruction, since the first wall had probably suffered less than the external line of defence, the part of the city lying between the two was "enclosed," and already adequately protected. In any case it is more than probable that the Broad Wall was that part of the first wall from which the second started at its western end and in or near which was the Gate of Ephraim.<sup>35</sup> This gate, as has already been shown, was near the northwest corner of the first wall, and therefore west of the point where the second began its course.

The next point noted (v.<sup>39</sup>), according to the English Version, is "the Old Gate." This, however, is not a correct translation of the original. In the Hebrew name<sup>36</sup> the adjective does not agree with the noun expressed, but apparently with another, a dependent genitive of the feminine gender, understood; so that the whole should be rendered "the Gate of the Old . . ." What this old object was is not clear. Some, e.g. Schultz, supply "the city"; but this is certainly not correct, for, since the Gate of Ephraim cannot have been farther south than the position above assigned to it, the gate now sought must have been in the second wall and therefore have given entrance, not to the older, but to the newer, part of the city. The same consideration naturally forbids the supposition of Hupfeld that the old wall is meant. Hitzig suggests that the missing word is that for

<sup>35</sup> The correctness of the Masoretic reading *הַחִיטָה הַרְחֵבָה*, "the Broad Wall," has been taken for granted. In the Vulgate, however, 3<sup>6</sup> has "murum plateae latioris," i.e. *חִיטָה הַרְחֵבָה*, "the wall of the square," a reading which, if adopted, would make it necessary to locate the Gate of Ephraim in this wall. See 8<sup>5</sup>; St. Clair, *PEF.* 1889, 99.

<sup>36</sup> *sha'ar hayēshānāh.*



THE PATH FROM 'AIN SITTI MARYAM TO THE CITY.

"pool,"<sup>37</sup> and of the three this is by far the most reasonable conjecture, especially as this word is the only one with which the Hebrew adjective occurs in the Old Testament in the feminine. In accordance with this suggestion, the gate in question would be the Gate of the Old Pool, *i.e.* since the gate must have been near the northwest corner of the city, the one now known as the Patriarch's Pool, the gate having received its name because it was near the pool, or because it gave entrance to the quarter in which the pool was situated.

The objection will be made that, according to Isa. 22<sup>11</sup> as generally interpreted, the Old Pool was situated in another part of the city, namely, at the lower end of el-Wād. This interpretation, however, is open to criticism. The verse cited belongs to a passage (22<sup>9b-11a</sup>) which Duhm pronounces a later addition to the text of Isaiah. Perhaps it is only disarranged. At any rate, it is plain that the author of it, whoever he may have been, can hardly have written the sentences of which it is composed in their present order. The disturbing member is v.<sup>10</sup>. It interrupts the connection between v.<sup>9a</sup> and v.<sup>10</sup>. It must therefore be rejected as a gloss, or inserted after v.<sup>11a</sup>, of which it seems to have been intended to complete the meaning. The whole passage thus rearranged reads as follows: "And the breaches of the city of David ye saw, that they were many; and the houses of Jerusalem ye numbered, yea, ye tore down the houses to strengthen the wall; and a reservoir ye made between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool, and ye collected the water of the Lower Pool." Now, it is evident that a reservoir built in the time of Isaiah could not at once have been called the Old Pool, in other words, that the two are not identical. It is equally clear that, since the new pool was intended to receive water from the other, it must have been on a lower level, so that in comparison it would naturally be called the Lower Pool, and its contents, the water of the Lower Pool. The reservoir of v.<sup>11a</sup>, therefore, was probably the Lower Pool of v.<sup>9a</sup>. Where was it situated? The answer is not difficult, if it be taken for granted that the Old Pool was that now known as the Patriarch's Pool. The waste from the latter would naturally flow down el-Wād to the lower end, where the newly repaired (or built?) wall, acting as a dam, would prevent it from escaping into the Kidron. Here, then, on the site of the cesspool now called Birket el-Ḥamrā, was the Lower Pool intended by the prophet or the editor of his prophecies. The two walls between which it was situated were the west wall of the city of David, and the one on the other side of el-Wād,

<sup>37</sup> *hōrēkāl.*



THE SITE OF THE WATER GATE.

running nearly parallel with it, the course of which has been traced by Bliss (*EJ.* 116 *sqq.*).<sup>38</sup> It appears, therefore, that the result of the examination of the passage from Isaiah 22, so far from weakening the argument in favor of locating the Gate of the Old . . . in the vicinity of the present Patriarch's Pool,<sup>39</sup> only strengthens it.

There is still another reason for putting it here, namely, that, as Birch (*PEF.* 1879, 177) and W. R. Smith (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xiii. 640) maintain, this gate must be identified with the Corner Gate, which, according to Jer. 31<sup>38</sup> and Zech. 14<sup>10</sup>, was at the northwest corner of the city. This view is much preferable to the others that have been advanced. Guthe (*ZDPV.* viii. 280 *sq.*) finds a place for the Corner Gate at an angle between the Patriarch's Pool and the former residence of the English bishop. But a gate at this point could not, in the time of Jeremiah, after the second wall had been built, be taken as marking one of the corners of the city. The position of Schick, who originally (*ZDPV.* viii. 270) located the Corner Gate forty-two metres from the northwest corner of the Patriarch's Pool, but finally (*ZDPV.* xiii. 32 *sq.*) chose a site for it between the towers at the northwest corner of the upper city, identifying it with the gate Gennath of Josephus, is also untenable; for in the time of Jeremiah what was originally the northwest limit of the city could no longer be so considered, since the second wall, projected to any distance on a line with the part that has been traced, brings the new corner as far west as the old one.

An objection to the identification proposed is found in the fact that in 2 Kgs. 14<sup>13</sup> = 2 Chr. 25<sup>23</sup> the Corner Gate is one of the points between which Jehosh tore down the wall in the reign of Amasiah, when as yet, according to the usual interpretation of 2 Chr. 32<sup>5</sup>, there was no second wall. It will be necessary to examine this latter passage a little more closely. A glance at the original is sufficient to show that the present text does not warrant the rendering found in the English Version. Literally translated it says, "He built all the wall that was torn down, and went upon the towers, and outside the

<sup>38</sup> In Neh. 2<sup>4</sup> this pool is called the King's Pool, and in 3<sup>16</sup> the Pool of the Conduit.

<sup>39</sup> This pool would naturally, in comparison with the other, be called the Upper Pool. Hence it is probably the one mentioned 2 Kgs. 18<sup>17</sup> (*Isa.* 36<sup>2</sup>) and *Isa.* 7<sup>8</sup>, the conduit being the one by which it was fed from the pool now called Birket Māmilla. Perhaps the reference to the "end" of this conduit in *Isa.* 7<sup>8</sup> means that it was Ahaz who built it. Compare the phraseology of 2 Kgs. 18<sup>17</sup>. This view now seems to the author preferable to the one expressed in his *Isaiah* (1897), pp. 173 *sq.*



**BISHOP GOBAT'S SCHOOL,  
from the southwest.**

(?) other wall." In the first sentence the author evidently means to say that Hezekiah rebuilt that part of the wall which was in a ruined condition. He gives no hint when the damage was done, but he cannot have had that caused by Jehoash in mind, since he himself (2 Chr. 26<sup>9</sup>) represents Uzziah as strengthening the defences about the Corner Gate after he came to the throne. The breaches repaired by Hezekiah were, therefore, probably the result of neglect or injury in more recent years. The second sentence in its present form is unintelligible and, therefore, evidently corrupt; but it is not difficult to conjecture what the author intended to say. The original reading was probably either "and upon it the towers"<sup>40</sup> or, better, "and he reared upon it towers."<sup>41</sup> In the phrase rendered "the other wall," both the text and the meaning are doubtful. The rule is that, when the noun is definite, an adjective modifying it must have the article. In this case the noun alone has the article, and it seems impossible to determine definitely whether this one should be dropped or a second prefixed to the adjective. On the whole it is easier to explain the loss of one before the adjective than the insertion of the one that now precedes the noun.<sup>42</sup> Hence, it was probably "the other wall" that Hezekiah — built or rebuilt? The verb to be supplied is the one which, in the first sentence, had to be interpreted "rebuild," and it is certainly possible that the author, when he said that the king "rebuilt all the wall that was torn down, rearing upon it towers, also the other wall outside," meant to imply that this latter wall also antedated the reign of Hezekiah. It is evident, therefore, that one is not obliged to admit a discrepancy between this passage and 2 Kgs. 14<sup>13</sup> as above interpreted. Suppose, however, that there is such a discrepancy, it can be explained without disturbing the conclusion based on the evidence previously adduced. One might suggest that perhaps the Chronicler in his partiality for Hezekiah has attributed to this king more than he actually accomplished. Both he and the compiler of the books of Kings seem to have done this with respect to the Siloam tunnel. See 2 Kgs. 20<sup>20</sup> 2 Chr. 32<sup>30</sup>; cf. Isa. 8<sup>6</sup>.<sup>43</sup> It is, therefore, still pos-

<sup>40</sup> תִּלְיָה הַמְגִדְלוֹת.

<sup>41</sup> וַיִּשָׂא עָלֶיהָ מִגְדָּלוֹת.

<sup>42</sup> The only cases in which *'ahār* is used after a definite noun without the article are in Gen. 43<sup>14</sup> and Jer. 22<sup>26</sup>. In the latter the article before the noun is probably a scribal error. See the Greek Version. In 1 Kgs. 7<sup>8</sup>, on the other hand, the noun must have lost an article, since the adjective has one.

<sup>43</sup> It is, of course, possible that Isaiah refers to the aqueduct by which the water of the Virgin's Spring was brought to the Lower Pool before the tunnel was



THE "TOWER OF DAVID,"  
from the south.



sible to maintain that the Corner Gate was in the second wall, and that it was identical with the Gate of the Old [Pool]. Cf. Guthe, *ZDPV*. viii. 279.<sup>44</sup>

These points being conceded, the next step is to determine, if possible, where the second wall cornered. This is a question of importance on account of its bearing upon the genuineness of the traditional site of Calvary. The general direction of this wall soon after it left the first has been known since 1885. The American consul, Dr. Merrill, under date of September 15 of that year, reported (*PEF*. 1886, 23) that while workmen were excavating for the foundations of the Grand New Hotel, "at a depth of fifteen feet from the surface of the ground, or rather of the street, a portion of the ancient second wall was exposed. Two layers of stone, and at two or three points three layers, were found in position. They were of the same size and character as the largest of the stones in the so-called Tower of David opposite." About thirty yards of this wall were uncovered." Later (*PEF*. 1887, 217 *sq.*), Schick published a plan and description showing the location of the remains, with reference to the street just east of them. The direction was a little west of north from David Street as a base. No attempt seems ever to have been made by special excavations to trace the wall to which these interesting remains belonged northward beyond the hotel. There is therefore no positive evidence showing how far it ran in the same direction. Schick (*ZDPV*. viii. 266 *sqq.*, xiv. 41 *sqq.*) supposes that it at once made an obtuse angle, and from that point followed the line of the street called Ḥāret el-Mawārineh, first north-eastward, and then, after another sharper angle, eastward to Christian Street; whence it continued in the same direction as far as the Russian Church, leaving the site of the Sepulchre outside of the city. He bases his theory on various observations, some of which are unreliable. He locates the northwest corner of the wall, *e.g.*, at the second angle in the Ḥāret el-Mawārineh. Here, at a distance of forty-two metres from the northwest corner of the Patriarch's Pool, he found a number of large stones. He at first thought that they belonged to the Corner Gate (*ZDPV*. viii. 270). He finally changed his

constructed, but that would not furnish so impressive a figure. On this earlier work, see Schick, *PEF*. 1886, 197 *sqq.*

<sup>44</sup> In Zech. 14<sup>10</sup> the Gate of the Corner, or, as it is here called, "the Gate of the Corners," seems to be located on "the site of the first (or former) gate," but there is no clue to the meaning of the author. It is probable that the text needs emendation.



**THE PATRIARCH'S POOL,**  
from the south.

The dome is that over the Holy Sepulchre.

mind with reference to the site of that gate (*ZDPV*. xiv. 51), and, indeed, with reference to the stones at the point designated (*PEF*. 1900, 255 *sq.*); but he still maintained that "most likely the second wall ran here," although he no longer had any reason for persisting in this opinion. Now, as a matter of fact, these stones never belonged to the second or any other external wall of Jerusalem. They belonged, as Schick in the last article cited admits, to a pier, one of a number that once supported a large structure, extensive remains of which may still be seen in the vicinity, especially under a building on the west side of the street. Moreover, these sub-structures are in the same style and show the same tooling as the undoubtedly Crusading ruins on the west side of the Müristân and at El-Bireh.<sup>45</sup> The stones at the corner of Christian Street, by which Schick traces the further course of the wall, are probably of the same period.

The discovery of this error in Schick's estimate of the age of the masonry described is very important. In the first place, it deprives him, and those who have accepted his conclusions, of the only reason that has ever been given for locating the northwest corner of the second wall where he locates it. Secondly, it warrants suspicion that in other cases, for instance with reference to stones found south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the supposed line of the wall, he was equally mistaken,<sup>46</sup> and thus renders the acceptance of his theory unsafe until the data on which it is based have been thoroughly examined and verified.<sup>47</sup> There are those who have never accepted it, contending that the second wall must have made a wider circuit and enclosed the site of the Sepulchre. It will be impossible to decide the matter without further and extensive excavations; but if the Corner Gate was in this wall, 2 Kgs. 14<sup>13</sup> = 2 Chr. 25<sup>28</sup> certainly permits the latter opinion. This passage says that the distance between the Gate of Ephraim, which, it is agreed, was in the first wall, and the Corner Gate was 400 cubits, or at least

<sup>45</sup> Schick's latest opinion with reference to them is that they are Roman.

<sup>46</sup> He himself says (*PEF*. 1894, 146 *sq.*) that they rested on débris, and not on the rock.

<sup>47</sup> It is certainly too much to say in Italics, with G. A. Smith (*EB.*, art. 'Jerusalem,' § 32), that "Schick's observations appear to have proved" that the second wall ran "to the south of the site of the Church." See also Vincent (*RB.*, Jan. 1902), who, by the way, in his plan locates the remains of a wall found in Christian Street round the corner in Hâret el-Mawârîneh, thus (doubtless unintentionally) giving it undue significance in the discussion.



**THE MARKET-PLACE NEAR THE JAFFA GATE.**

The tall building at the left is the Grand New Hotel, under which are the remains of the second wall.

600 feet. See Hastings, *DB.*, art. "Weights and Measures." If, now, the line of the remains of the second wall discovered on the site of the Grand New Hotel be prolonged to a distance of 600 feet from the Tower of David, the end of it will fall near the corner of Hāret el-Istambuliyeh and Hāret Deir er-Rūm, and another line from this point to the northwest corner of the Hāram will run north of the traditional site of Calvary. It is therefore possible that this little eminence may yet be proved to have been inside the city at the time of Jesus' crucifixion.

The next point mentioned in the route of the second procession is the Fish Gate. There is little difference of opinion with reference to its location, most of the authorities agreeing that it answered to the present Damascus Gate, and that therefore it must have been situated southeast of the latter in el-Wād. The Chronicler (2 Chr. 33<sup>14</sup>) reports that Manasseh strengthened this entrance by fortifying the approach to it, but does not give any clue to its position. Cf. Kittel, *ad loc.*<sup>48</sup> Nor is it possible to derive any further information from Zeph. 1<sup>10</sup>, where this gate is mentioned in connection with the Mishneh (RV. "second quarter"). Why it was called the Fish Gate can only be conjectured. It seems to have been the same as the Middle Gate of Jer. 39<sup>2</sup>.

The Tower of Hananel is naturally to be sought east of the Fish Gate. Jer. 31<sup>38</sup> would lead one to locate it at the eastern end of the north wall. Zech. 14<sup>10</sup>, however, couples the Gate of Benjamin with the Corner Gate, and mentions the Tower of Hananel as marking the northern limit of the city. The discrepancy can be explained by supposing that the tower was at the northwest corner of the present Hāram, and that the wall beyond it ran southeastward; so that, although it was not so far east as the gate, it was farther north, and therefore might properly be considered the northeast corner of the city.

The Tower of Hammeah must have been in the immediate vicinity, and, like the preceding, a part of the fortress on the rocky eminence later occupied by the Antonia, where, according to Josephus (*BJ.*

<sup>48</sup> Kittel's rendering of this verse, "Afterward he built an outer wall west of the city of David toward Gihon in the valley and as far as the entrance to the Fish Gate, so that it enclosed Ophel," is absolutely indefensible. What the Chronicler actually says is that the king built "an outer wall to (or for) the city of David west of Gihon in the valley (of Kidron), and at the entrance of the Fish Gate, and he enclosed (but not necessarily entirely) Ophel." See the English Version.



SCHICK'S NORTHWEST CORNER.

v. 4, 2), the second wall ended. The significance of its name is unknown.<sup>49</sup>

The Sheep Gate, by general consent, is located north of the temple, in the wall connecting the fortress just mentioned with the northeast corner of the sacred enclosure in its original dimensions. Outside this wall there was a ravine, a branch of the Kidron, which was partly filled up when the area was enlarged, and partly utilized in the construction of the great pool, sometimes erroneously identified with the Pool of Bethesda, at the north end of it. The path to the Sheep Gate ran up this valley. There is ground, as already intimated, for believing that the Gate of Benjamin was only another name for this entrance to the city. See Jer. 37<sup>15</sup> 38<sup>7</sup> Zech. 14<sup>10.30</sup> So Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 282) and others; cf. Birch, *PEF.* 1879, 177.

The second procession halted at the Guard Gate. This is generally located at the northeast corner of the temple area. So Stade (*GVI.* ii. 167) and others. Schick formerly (*ZDPV.* viii. 269) held the same opinion, more exactly defining its situation as that of the so-called Throne of Solomon about a hundred feet north of the Golden Gate; but later (*ZDPV.* xiv. 59 *sq.*) he came to the conclusion that it was on the other side of the temple, and that the second procession, following an outer wall, marched past the sanctuary to the site of the royal palace, and then, turning westward, went up to the sacred precincts by one of the great entrances, while the first entered by the other.

There is something to be said for the main feature of this hypothesis, that the Guard Gate was south of the temple. In the first place, it is noticeable that the first procession, according to Neh. 12<sup>37</sup>, seems to have stopped at the Water Gate, which, to judge from 3<sup>26-27</sup>, was a little south of the site of the royal palace. Again, it is reasonable to suppose that the Guard Gate was connected with the "guard court" where Jeremiah was confined. See Jer. 32<sup>2-8</sup> 33<sup>1</sup> 37<sup>21</sup> 38<sup>6.13.28</sup> 39<sup>14-15</sup>. But, according to Jer. 32<sup>2</sup>, this latter was a part of the royal palace. See also Neh. 3<sup>25</sup>. In view of these indications one is tempted to think that the original account of the celebration of the completion of the wall represented the processions as meeting, not at the temple, as the present text says, but at the site of the royal palace, and that, therefore, the first half of Neh. 12<sup>40</sup> is an interpolation. All this is in harmony with the teaching of the evidently genuine portions

<sup>49</sup> This second tower is wanting in some recensions of the Greek Version.

<sup>50</sup> In Jer. 20<sup>2</sup> the Upper Gate of Benjamin is described as "in the house of Yahweh."



**REMAINS OF THE CRUSADING PERIOD,  
on Haret el-Mawarinch.**



of the memoirs, to the effect that the reconstruction of the wall was a political rather than a religious matter.<sup>51</sup>

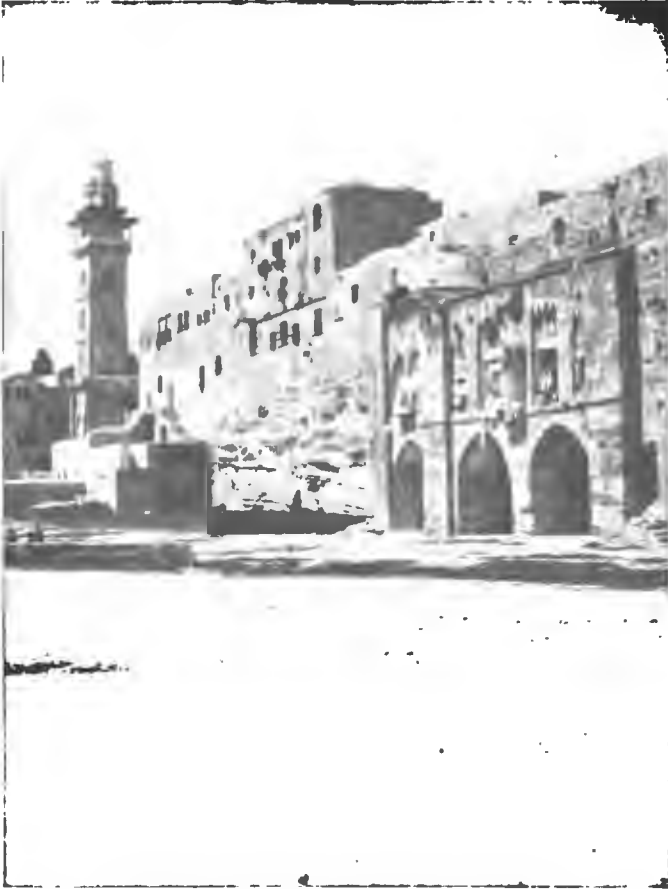
Thus far little account has been made of chapter 3, not because it was regarded as less important or less trustworthy for the purposes of this study, but because it was thought best to discuss it by itself. As a matter of fact, since it cannot be much more than a century later than the memoirs, and there is no reason to suppose that the course of the wall was changed or the designations for its principal features greatly modified during that interval, this detailed account must be regarded as a valuable supplement to the authentic memoirs of Nehemiah. It will now be examined for the sake of obtaining any additional information that it may contain, and confirming, or, if necessary, correcting, the conclusions already reached. Obviously, however, it will not be necessary to dwell on those points with respect to which this chapter agrees with the passages already studied.

The account of the distribution of the work of rebuilding the wall begins (v.<sup>1</sup>) by saying that the Sheep Gate and the wall as far as the towers Hammeah and Hananel were repaired by the High Priest. The assignment of the Sheep Gate to Eliashib confirms the opinion, above expressed, that it was near the temple. The towers are naturally mentioned in an order the reverse of that of 12<sup>30</sup>.

The wall between the fortress and the Fish Gate gives employment to two parties of workmen (v.<sup>2</sup>), but that between this gate and the next, to four (vs.<sup>4-6</sup>). This apportionment is doubtless intended to indicate that the latter portion was at least twice as great as the former, which would not be the case if the Gate of the Old . . . was where Schick locates it.

At v.<sup>7</sup> it is necessary to tarry a little to correct a widely accepted misinterpretation of the last words, which are rendered in the Authorized Version, "unto the throne of the governor on this side the

<sup>51</sup> Those to whom this suggestion does not appeal will find support for the older opinion in 3<sup>81</sup>. From this passage it appears that the northeast corner of the temple enclosure was devoted to certain more or less profane uses. The fact that the gate leading from it into the court of the temple was called the Watch Gate indicates that a guard for the sanctuary was stationed here. It is the northern entrance to this part of the enclosure, and the one nearest to the point where the people would descend from the wall, which Nehemiah calls the Guard Gate. Here the second procession would naturally halt and wait for a signal from the other, that they might enter the precincts together.



THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE HARAM.

river." Even so acute a critic as W. R. Smith has overlooked their meaning. He says (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xiii. 641): "From the tower of furnaces or ovens the 'broad wall' ran to the point where in the Persian time the governor of the Syrian provinces had his throne. The throne would stand in an open place by a gateway, and comparison of Neh. iii. 7 with xii. 39 shows that the gate must have been that of Ephraim, *i.e.* the gate of the main road leading to the north, which then as now must almost of necessity have followed the upper course of the Tyropoeon." Schick (*ZDPV*. viii. 269; xiv. 47) makes the throne of the governor a part of the castle remains of which he finds in the ruins unearthed on the site of the Russian Church east of the Sepulchre, the Middle Tower of Josephus (*BJ*. v. 7, 4), where he supposes Nehemiah himself to have had his residence during his stay at Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> The looseness of the construction should have prevented such an interpretation. The words are evidently explanatory. The stretch of wall next to the Corner Gate, says the author, was repaired by "men of Gibeon and Mispah." Now there were in Palestine several places called Mispah, and, therefore, nothing could be more natural than that the author should indicate to which of these places he referred. This he could best do by connecting the name with a fact with which his readers would all be familiar, namely, that, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, the governor had his residence at Mispah. See Jer. 40<sup>6</sup>. The word rendered "throne," therefore, should be construed as an appositive of the proper name, and the whole rendered "the seat of the governor beyond the River," *i.e.* on the west side of the Euphrates. Cf. Ryle.<sup>53</sup>

It was only about four hundred cubits from the Corner Gate to the

<sup>52</sup> It is impossible in this connection to give to Schick's ingenious theory the attention it deserves, but the subject ought not to be dismissed without a statement of some of the objections that suggest themselves. In the first place, one cannot but notice the surprising disparity between the size of his supposed castle and the amount of the materials from which he has constructed it. Secondly, he himself uses the same materials in his reconstruction of the buildings erected by Constantine about the Holy Sepulchre, and even the largest stones show signs of having formed a part of a comparatively late structure. Note the holes for the pegs that once supported the marble slabs with which they were faced. Finally, since, as has been shown, there are no reliable traces of the second wall between the Grand New Hotel and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it is hardly safe to conclude, without further excavations, that these isolated ruins were a part of it.

<sup>53</sup> Meyer (*EJ*. 108) holds the curious theory that Gibeon and Mispah at this time belonged, not to Nehemiah's pashalik, but to the province of Syria.



THE HEAVIER MASONRY IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

Broad Wall; yet the wall between these two points is divided into three sections (vs.<sup>7\*</sup>), doubtless because, according to the author, it had again suffered more seriously than any other part of the defences.

From the Broad Wall it was a long distance to the Ovens' Tower at the southwest corner of the city. Hence it is not surprising that the work to be done here should be distributed among four persons or parties (vs.<sup>9-11</sup>). On the other hand, because there was but a short stretch between this tower and the Ravine Gate, the whole of it is given to one man and his daughters (v.<sup>12</sup>).

Thus far, although there has been considerable disparity in the allotments, it has not occurred to the author to mention the length of the portion of the wall repaired by any of the persons or parties named. Now, however, on giving a single community credit for restoring not only the Ravine Gate but the wall between it and the Dung Gate, he gives the distance between the two points—doubtless in round numbers—a thousand cubits (v.<sup>13</sup>).

The same person is said to have repaired the Fountain Gate and that part of the wall between it and the Dung Gate (v.<sup>15</sup>) which at the same time formed the dam at the lower end of the Pool of the Conduit, the Lower Pool of Isa. 22<sup>9</sup>, and the Birket el-Ḥamrā of the present day. The correctness of this identification appears from the descriptive phrase “at the King's Garden.” The pool may have received the name here used because it was the receptacle for the water brought from the Virgin's Spring by the earliest aqueduct,<sup>64</sup> as well as that from the Upper Pool.

The next section of the wall is located with reference to three landmarks (v.<sup>16</sup>), the first of which is the Tombs of David. These royal sepulchres have never been discovered. Most of the authorities locate them toward the southern end of the hill on which the original city of Jerusalem was situated. Klaiber (*ZDPV.* iii. 210 *sqq.*) thinks they were on the east side, and quotes from the *Chronicon Paschale* an old tradition which he interprets in this sense. So also Schick. Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 330 *sq.*) seems inclined to place them higher up the hill. See also Stade, *GVI.* ii. 167. Bliss laid bare a considerable area of the rock on the west side of the hill, south of the line of the tunnel, but found no traces of tombs in his excavations (*EJ.* 230 *sq.*). Whether he would have been more

<sup>64</sup> This aqueduct ran through a short tunnel, the mouth of which can be seen in the picture on page 153.



**BIRKET EL-HAMRĀ,**  
from the south side.

successful had he dug to the north of the tunnel, where Clermont-Ganneau locates the tombs, cannot for the present be decided. The French archaeologist's idea (*RA.* ii. 254 *sqq.*) is that the curve in the tunnel was made to avoid the tombs.<sup>55</sup> He also holds that they are probably of the Phoenician type, consisting of a perpendicular shaft with a chamber (or chambers) at the bottom, and that therefore it is useless to look for anything above the ground.

The author, having said that Nehemiah the son of Azbuk repaired the wall as far as a point opposite, *i.e.* in an east and west line with, the Tombs of David, adds "and [or "even"] as far as the Made Pool, and as far as the House of the Mighty." These words might, perhaps, be interpreted as meaning that the person named, after having reached a first point, carried his work on the wall to a second and a third, but this is not the natural interpretation. The preposition used<sup>56</sup> properly denotes a final limit. Therefore, although the word rendered in the English Version "the place over against" (lit. "prominence")<sup>57</sup> is not repeated, it is probable that the remaining landmarks were opposite the same point as the first one, on one side or the other of the wall. Schick (*ZDPV.* xiv. 54), adopting the first interpretation, locates the pool on the east side of the hill, just above the tombs. Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 334 *sq.*) prefers to identify it with one of the reservoirs that he discovered higher up the hill, either M. vii. or M. xix. of his map, preferably the latter. An objection to Schick's proposal is that no pool has been discovered in the vicinity of the site selected. Guthe's, on the other hand, is rendered improbable by the inferior size of the reservoirs mentioned.<sup>58</sup> Under the circumstances one is tempted to favor Birch's view (*PEF.* 1879, 178) that the pool in question should be identified with that at the

<sup>55</sup> It is doubtful if this theory is *a priori* the most reasonable that can be imagined. It is noticeable that the tunnel runs from the spring almost directly west, until it reaches a point just within the line along which modern investigators suppose the wall on the east side of the hill extended; that from the other end its general direction is eastward about as far as possible; and that between the points thus reached it follows a wavy north and south line not far below the surface. These facts suggest that the intention of the excavators was, first to bring the water within reach by a shaft inside the wall, then to carry it along the hill near enough to the surface to be drawn by persons outside the city through the shorter shafts that have been discovered, and finally to bring it into el-Wād, where it would be available for the inhabitants of the western as well as the eastern hill.

<sup>56</sup> *'ad.*

<sup>57</sup> *neged.*

<sup>58</sup> The dimensions given for M. vii. are: length, 49 ft. 4½ in.; width, 16 ft. 1 in. The only remaining side of the other was 19 ft. 8 in. long.

mouth of the tunnel, now called the 'Ain Silwān, which was originally seventy-five feet long (east to west) and seventy-one feet wide. The present pool, it is true, cannot now be seen from the east side of the hill, but it would be visible from a wall as high as the one that existed in the time of the Chronicler.

It is not clear what is meant by "the House of the Mighty." Schick (*ZDPV.* xiv. 54 *sq.*) interprets it as meaning barracks, which he places just above the tombs and the pool, under the southern wall of his "Jebus." A more attractive suggestion is that of Lewin (*SJ.* 312), adopted by Klaiber (*ZDPV.* iii. 206), that it is the tower called the Tower of David in Cant. 4<sup>1</sup>, and described as hung with "a thousand bucklers, all the shields of the mighty." Yet see below.

There follow (vs.<sup>17</sup>\*) three allotments, without a hint with reference to their limits, then (v.<sup>19</sup>) a fourth which, according to the English Version, was "over against the going up of the armory at the turning of the wall." The text is undoubtedly corrupt. The word rendered "turning"<sup>59</sup> is supported by the following verse, from which it may also be inferred that it here represents the limit of the portion of the wall repaired by Ezer. Hence, it must either be treated as an accusative or the preposition meaning "as far as"<sup>60</sup> must be inserted before it. Next, it is natural to expect to find among the preceding words mention of a *terminus a quo*, or a point past which the wall ran to reach the "turning." In the former case, however, the same point should appear in v.<sup>18</sup>. The absence of any such limit from this verse makes it necessary to adopt the other alternative and render the prepositional phrase, not "over against," but "past." Past what? The two following words can hardly mean what they are usually made to mean, "the ascent of the armory." The latter is repeatedly found in the sense of "arms," but never in that of "armory." It would be better, therefore, by the insertion of a single letter to change the word rendered "ascent" into the one for "chamber," and translate the whole "past the armor chamber to the corner."<sup>61</sup> It is possible, however, that the text should receive more radical emendation. See the Greek Version. In any case, there may be here a reference to the Tower of David already mentioned. The tower, or chamber, was at, or near, a corner, probably a corner in the wall, some distance up the hill. Guthe found two such corners, the first of which he connects (*ZDPV.* v. 298) with the one here mentioned. It would be at about the right distance

<sup>59</sup> *mikšō*'.

<sup>60</sup> *'ad*.

<sup>61</sup> מנגר עליית הנשק עד המקצת.





THE MINARET AT 'AIN SILWĀN,  
from the line of the ancient wall.

from the supposed site of the Tombs of David. It was at the edge of a depression which the earliest wall seems to have avoided altogether, or to have crossed at a point farther west, where it was shallower.<sup>62</sup> Here, as already intimated, since it is the point at which one of the paths from the Virgin's Spring still reaches the top of the hill, would be a natural location for one of the early gates.

In v.<sup>20</sup>, according to Guthe, the word rendered "earnestly" is a case of dittography, and therefore to be expunged. The Vulgate has *in monte*, which would require but a slight change in a single letter of the text.<sup>63</sup> It might then be rendered in English, "up the hill," which could be interpreted as meaning that the new wall took a more direct course than the old one.

It seems necessary to suppose that the wall did take such a course. Otherwise there would not have been six allotments between the corner just mentioned and the next one (v.<sup>24</sup>). The latter must have been as far northward as the great tower discovered by Warren. This tower was eighty feet in length. On either side of it was a smaller one. If, now, the corner here meant is the one where the small tower south of the great projection broke the line of the wall, it will not be difficult to understand the following verses and their repeated references to "the projecting tower." The last words of the verse now under consideration, "and unto the corner," are probably a gloss added by some one who erroneously identified the "turning" here meant with the towering southeast corner of the temple enclosure.

The interpretation of v.<sup>26</sup> has already been discussed in connection with the location of the Water Gate as the final point in the route of the second procession. See 12<sup>27</sup>. The explanation there given is equally applicable to vs.<sup>25-27</sup>. Here are three stretches of the new wall, all of which are described as being partly or wholly "over against" the projecting tower. This can hardly be understood except on the supposition that, as already suggested, this tower was left outside when Nehemiah restored the defences of the city.<sup>64</sup>

In v.<sup>25</sup> the tower is described as projecting "from the upper house

<sup>62</sup> Guthe (*ZDPV.* v. 327) raises the question whether the Chronicler, in 2 Chr. 33<sup>14</sup>, where he describes the wall built by Manasseh as "west of Gihon in the valley," can be understood as referring to this branch of the Kidron. The answer must be negative.

<sup>63</sup> הַחֵרֶב for הַחֵרֶב.

<sup>64</sup> G. A. Smith (*EB.*, art. 'Jerusalem,' § 24) finds in vs.<sup>26-27</sup> two projecting towers.



THE SITE OF THE GREAT TOWER DISCOVERED BY WARREN,  
from the south.

of the king," *i.e.* the residence of the kings after Solomon. Further, it, or the royal palace, is said to be "by the court of the prison." These descriptive phrases are not repeated in either of the following verses. If they are genuine, the Chronicler must be understood as locating the palace, not where it is usually located, at the southern end of the temple area, but several hundred feet farther southward. This, however, seems to be in harmony with what follows.<sup>65</sup>

The first words of v.<sup>26</sup>, "Now the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel," as has been shown, are foreign to the connection, and, therefore, must be pronounced a gloss. They are of value, however, as indicating where the one who inserted them located Ophel, namely, south of the temple enclosure and west of the projecting tower. Where, then, was "the wall of Ophel," the limit of that portion of the wall repaired by the Tekoites? The answer to this question is not far to seek. The next section of the wall is allotted to the priests (v.<sup>28</sup>). From this fact it might be inferred that it began at the southeast corner of the temple area. The mention of the Horse Gate, which, according to Jer. 31<sup>40</sup>, was at this corner, confirms this inference. "The wall of Ophel," therefore, must have run east and west across

<sup>65</sup> Wellhausen (*CH.* 266 *sq.*) holds that the royal palace immediately adjoined the temple; that, in fact, it was in the outer court of the same enclosure as the sanctuary. This he infers from 1 Kgs. 6 *sq.*, where the account of the erection of the temple is interrupted (7<sup>1-12</sup>) by a description of Solomon's palace. It is very doubtful, however, if this is a fair interpretation of the passage. In the first place, "the other court" of 7<sup>8</sup> can hardly be the same as "the great court" of v.<sup>12</sup>. Secondly, this latter, which, to be sure, was enclosed in the same way as the inner court of the temple, appears to be the outer court of the palace as distinguished from the sanctuary. If one should insist, as Wellhausen does, that the position of 7<sup>1-12</sup> favors his opinion, there is the objection that in the Greek Version these verses come at the end, instead of the beginning, of the chapter. Kittel explains their position by supposing that 7<sup>13-14</sup> is a supplementary description of the temple by a later hand than that of chapter 6. Wellhausen also cites 2 Kgs. 11, but he thinks most convincing (*ganz gewiss*) Ezek. 43<sup>7-8</sup>, where the kings of Judah are represented as defiling the name of Yahweh by their corpses, and by placing their threshold by that of their God, with only a wall between them. This is interpreted as meaning that even the sepulchres of the kings were within the temple area. The passage, however, should be interpreted in the light of Ezekiel's scheme for the restoration, of which it is a part. He describes the temple as standing in a court nearly a mile square (42<sup>19-20</sup>), *i.e.* larger than the entire site of ancient Jerusalem, the same being situated in the middle of a tract assigned to the priests which was nearly fifty miles long and twenty wide, and thus protected from defilement by anything common or unclean. To the author of such a scheme, of course, a king, dead or alive, within half a mile of the house of God would be intolerable. See Jer. 31<sup>39-40</sup>.

the hill north of ancient Jerusalem, at first protecting it on its weakest side, and afterward serving the less important purpose of separating it from the temple and its precincts. See Ezek. 43<sup>8</sup>.

The wall repaired went "over the Horse Gate." This gate, therefore, must have been an entrance to substructions similar to those on which the southern end of the present platform rests, which the Chronicler supposes to have been left undisturbed when the city was taken by the Babylonians. See Jer. 31<sup>40</sup>.

The phrase "over the Horse Gate" has further significance. It means that from this point onward the wall repaired under Nehemiah was not the outer wall, a remnant of which was uncovered by Warren (*PEF.* 1869; App. 90) in front of the present Golden Gate, but, as might have been expected, the inner one bounding on the east the temple area. This interpretation is admitted by Schick (*ZDPV.* xiv. 57), who, however, supposes that vs.<sup>24, 27, 30, 34</sup> refer to a second outer wall; which is altogether unlikely in view of the Chronicler's evident appreciation of the situation.

In v.<sup>28</sup> "the priests" are probably the same who are mentioned by name in the following verses.<sup>66</sup> Shemaiah is described as "keeper of the East Gate." Perhaps the author intended to imply that he conducted the repairs on this entrance, which must have been farther south than the Golden Gate of the present day. The reference to the "chamber" of Meshullam (v.<sup>30</sup>) indicates that the inference drawn from the phrase "over the Horse Gate" is correct, and that the east wall of the city was here the east wall of the temple enclosure. The priests, then, or some of them, lived within the sacred precincts, either in the chambers connected with the temple or in separate houses, and Malkijah, who, according to the English version (v.<sup>31</sup>) was "the goldsmith's son" (AV.) or "one of the goldsmiths" (RV.), probably belonged to the same order. He may, however, have been one of the Nethinim, who also had a dwelling here.<sup>67</sup> The "merchants" of this verse are doubtless persons who were authorized to sell within the enclosure animals and other necessities to worshippers. See Mark 11<sup>15</sup>. It is not probable that they occupied the same quarters as the Nethinim. Hence it is better to translate the latter half of the verse "and the traders [repaired]"<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The word *'ahārāu*, which usually has the sense of "next," at the beginning of v.<sup>29</sup> might therefore here be rendered "first."

<sup>67</sup> The text is evidently corrupt, but thus far no plausible emendation has been suggested. For the latest, see Guthe, *SBOT*.

<sup>68</sup> For other cases of the omission of the verb, see v.<sup>25</sup>.

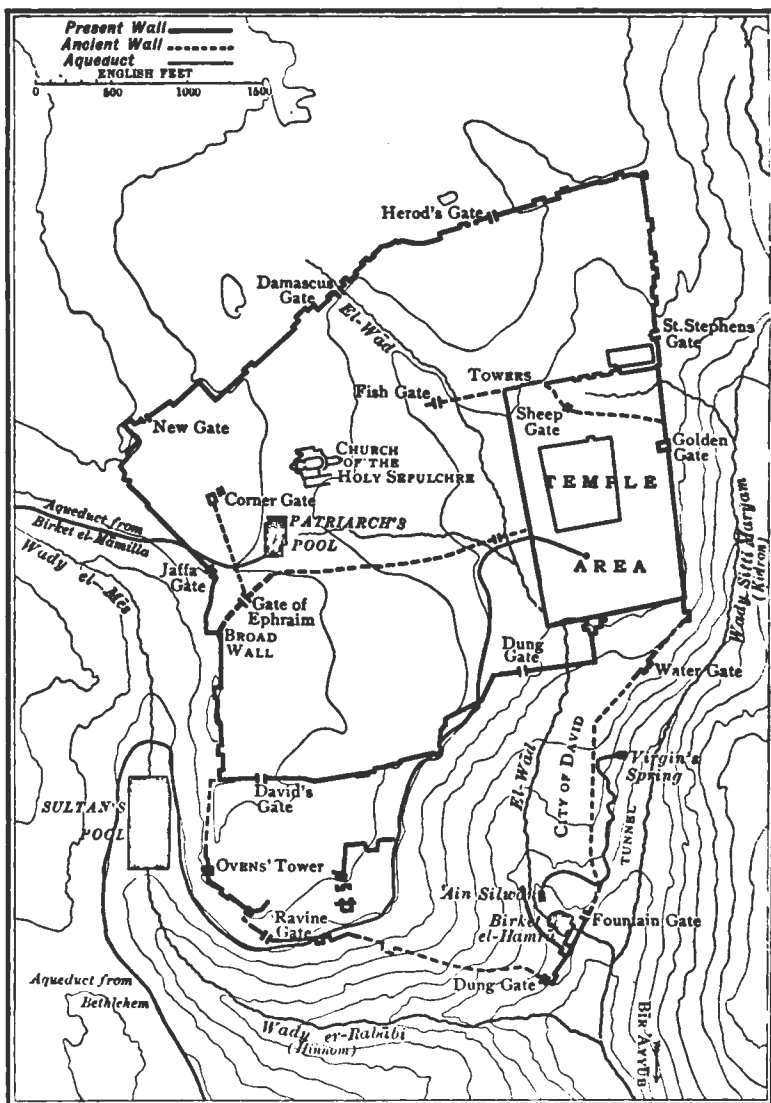
opposite the Watch Gate and as far as the Corner Chamber," thus at the same time giving this important class a share in providing for the defence of the city and the temple from which they lived. The Watch Gate seems to have been one that gave entrance from the less sacred part of the enclosure, where the traders did business, to the sanctuary proper. See also Ezek. 43<sup>21</sup>. The Corner Chamber was in the tower at the northwest corner of the temple area. The last portion of the wall, that between the Corner Chamber and the Sheep Gate, also, is properly allotted to the traders, in this case assisted by the goldsmiths or, perhaps, the money-changers.

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