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## THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CITY OF DAVID.

By the Rev. D. LEE PITCAIRN, M.A.

UPON Mr. Bergheim's interesting paper in the April *Quarterly Statement* may I be permitted to remark that he appears to regard six propositions as axiomatic, which are all in fact highly debateable, viz. :—

1. That Zion was the highest of all the hills of Jerusalem.
2. That Zion was called the upper city.
3. That Zion occupied two hills, the higher, called the upper city, the other called the lower city.
4. That Zion occupied the north and also the north-west portion of the city.
5. That the lower knoll of Zion was levelled during the Hasmonean period.
6. That Millo formed the lower portion of Zion, and was afterwards called the lower city.

Of these propositions the first contradicts three of the historical writers of the Bible, who all use the phrase "go up," or "bring up," of one going from the City of David to Solomon's temple. The second and third are inconsistent with one another, and do not agree with Josephus. The latter speaks of an "upper market place," but he does not call it Zion, and he says that not Zion but the City of Jerusalem was built upon two hills, the one containing the upper city, and the other containing the lower city. Of the other three I will only say that they appear to require proof.

For the sake of brevity let the principal hills of Jerusalem be represented by letters.

Let S represent the small hill outside the present walls, through which the Siloam tunnel is cut, having the Virgin's Fountain on one side and Siloam on the other side.

Let T stand for the hill on which Solomon's temple was built, represented now by the *Kubbet es Sakhrah*.

Let H stand for the hill on which Herod built his palace and protecting castle, represented at the present day by the citadel with its five towers on the west of the city.

Let D stand for the southern part of the same hill, where now stands Neby Daûd, and which slopes down into the so-called Valley of Hinnom.

On the eastward slopes of D, outside the present walls, there are several remains of ancient habitations, rock-hewn dwellings and cisterns, pavements, &c. A man standing on a lower knoll of this hill, a little south and west of Siloam, will see Josephus' plan of the city plainly before him, the two hills and the valley between them, the upper city on his left

hand (D and H), the lower city on his right hand (the hill S with its slopes). Beyond the latter rises the elevation of the Haram (the hill T), which apparently was outside the walls until Solomon built the temple upon it. Josephus intimates ("Wars," V, iv, 2) that the first wall reached straight across from H to T, bounding the city after Solomon on the north. From this point of view (south of Siloam) the suitability of Psalm cxxv, 2,<sup>1</sup> is apparent. The city, before the invention of artillery, was not commanded, but protected, by the encircling hills. To the modern Jerusalem, which lies so much higher, the text is not so easily fitted. With this position of the city only was Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the city proper, defended by three walls (Josephus, "Wars," V, iv, 1), *i.e.*, it lay to the south of all three. The order to burn the city was responded to by setting fire *inter alia* to Akra and Ophel (Josephus, "Wars," V, vi, 3).

For the identification of Zion with the lower city and with S I have only to refer to Mr. Birch's able arguments in many numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*. They convinced me long ago, and acquaintance with Jerusalem itself has only deepened the conviction. Mr. Birch will pardon me, I hope, if in venturing to support him I should repeat him.

1. The smallness of the site on S is no objection. It is given<sup>2</sup> as 200 feet  $\times$  600 feet. With this may be compared the ancient Greek citadel of Tiryns. Colonel Leake ("Morea," vol. ii, p. 250) says: "The length of the summit of the rocky hill of Tiryns is about 250 yards, the breadth from 40 to 80; the height above the plain from 20 to 50 feet." Tiryns then is approximately of the same size as Mr. Birch's Zion. But it is certain that Tiryns comprised both a strong fortress and a palace. There is no reason why Zion should not have comprised both within an equal space. For Solomon's growing luxury an ampler site was required.

2. It is quite possible that Akra is a translation of Millo, and that both names refer to the same spot. First Maccabees is not the earliest place where the Akra appears in the LXX. In 1 Kings xi, 27, we read of Solomon that he ὠκοδόμησε τὴν ἄκρα, built the Akra or castle, *i.e.*, the LXX translated "the Millo" (it always has the article) by the word which in their age, or soon after, was so familiar as the name of the infamous "tower" which was opposed to the sanctuary. It is not improbable that they intended by using this word that Solomon built a tower or castle on the same site which was known in the Maccabean time as the Akra. Since among Solomon's buildings "the Millo" is translated "the Akra," the Akra of First Maccabees may be a translation of "the Millo" in the Hebrew original. "The Akra" is not a proper name, but a very fitting and descriptive word for a hill-top citadel. It could stand, as in Attic Greek, either for the hill-top itself or for the castle on it. Xenophon uses ἄκρα "as equivalent to ἀκρόπολις, the castle or citadel

<sup>1</sup> "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people from henceforth even for ever."

<sup>2</sup> *Quarterly Statement*, 1886, p. 152.

on a steep rock overhanging the town" ("Liddell and Scott"). Similarly Millo (מִלּוֹן from מִלּוֹן) means "a mound or rampart, built up and filled in with stones or earth" ("Gesenius"). There was a Beth-Millo at Shechem, a Beth-Millo on the descent to Sillah, probably some place in the country ("Gesenius"). There may have been a Millo, or *arx*, in every hill city, and in the ancient City of David. But since Solomon, the castle which he had built or rebuilt was the Millo *par excellence*, as since Rufus "The Tower" has engrossed that name in London.

3. The Macedonian Akra may very well have stood on S. Josephus says that it adjoined and overlooked the temple, standing on higher ground. But 1 Maccabees does not confirm this. That book says that the Akra was in "the city of David" (i, 33); that "it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel" (i, 36); that it was on lower ground than the temple (vii, 32, 33), and that "the heathen issued out from it, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place." The hostile tower could be a constant menace to the temple without actually overlooking it. It was not so near as to shoot into the temple, the garrison had to make sorties ("issued out"; xiv, 36).

4. The Akra continued to stand on S after it was taken. According to Josephus, Simon Maccabaeus demolished the fortress, and cut down the hill on which it stood to a level with the rest of the city. According to the writer of 1 Maccabees Simon did no such thing, but "he entered into the tower," "cleansed it from pollution," "took all uncleanness out of it," "placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city." Clearly it was not demolished, but preserved. The marks of the cutting down of the rock now to be seen in the north part of the Haram do not confirm Josephus. They are evidence of the levelling of that area at some time, but not of there having ever existed a hill and a fortress on the spot.

5. It is remarkable that while in the historical books of the Bible the names "Zion" and "City of David" are interchangeable, in 1 Maccabees they are distinct. "The City of David" is twice named and is identified with the Akra, "Zion" is six times named, and is always identified with the sanctuary. The Psalms had prepared the way for this use of the name "Zion." But "the City of David" was more a name of locality, and was less likely to change its signification in the 270 years since Nehemiah, who fixes its position as near the Pool of Siloam, and above it (Nehemiah iii, 15).

6. The Akra was a citadel under Herod the Great (Josephus, "Antiq.," XV, vii, 8). The historian says that "there were (at Mariamne's death) two fortified places about the city, one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple"; and that "without the command of them it was not possible to offer the sacrifices." Clearly these two citadels were the temple itself and the Akra, which had so long interfered with the temple and the sacrifices. Antonia and the castle on H appear

not to have been built until later ("Antiq." XX, viii, 5 ; "Wars," V, iv, 3) ; and in any case the latter was too far off to affect the sacrifices.

7. When the Akra was burnt by Titus ("Wars," V, vi, 3), it was probably a fortress still, being named among other public buildings. But the palace of Queen Helena "in the midst of Akra," was not necessarily within the fortress. The whole hill appears to have borne the name.

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## LAPPING OF THE WATER.

By Rev. A. MOODY STUART, D.D.

AFTER reading with much interest and with the greatest satisfaction a recent record of Palestine Exploration, may I draw attention to a misconception of the "lapping" by Gideon's three hundred at the "Well of Trembling," which is usually taken by Biblical critics (with the single exception of Kitto in the "Pictorial Bible") to mean drinking the water out of the palm of the hand ? The "lapping" is never seen amongst us and probably not in Europe, but I had an unexpected opportunity of observing it fifty years ago in the Island of Madeira. One afternoon, in riding leisurely out of Funchal, there came toward the town a man in the light garb of a courier from the mountains running at the top of his speed ; as he approached me he stopped to quench his thirst at a fountain in a way that at once suggested the lapping of Gideon's men, and I drew up my pony to observe his action more exactly, but he was already away as on the wings of the wind, leaving me to wonder and admire. With one knee bent before him, and the other limb stretched behind in the same attitude as he ran, and with his face upward toward heaven, he threw the water apparently with his fingers in a continuous stream through his open lips without bringing his hand nearer to his mouth than perhaps a foot and a half, and so satisfied his thirst in a few moments.

Gideon with his chosen three hundred, "faint yet pursuing," and hastily drinking of the brook by the way, sets before us a singularly fine picture of energy and zeal in the work of the Lord, and one well fitted to move us whilst thankfully sharing in many mercies, yet to use them as only "lapping the water with our hand" in our course heavenward.

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