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George Adam Smith

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Jerusalem

First published in two volumes between 1907 and 1908, this major work by the Scottish biblical scholar and geographer Sir George Adam Smith (1856–1942) is organised into three books. Volume 1 contains the first two books. Book 1 covers the topography, geology and climate of ancient Jerusalem, while Book 2 focuses on the economic and political development of the city. Best known for his celebrated *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894), Smith provides here a more detailed and specialist analysis, based on first-hand knowledge derived from the visits he made to the region over the years. Spanning more than fourteen centuries of Jerusalem's history from 1400 BCE to 70 CE, these well-illustrated volumes remain a standard work of scholarship, expertly elucidating the changing shape of the city.

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Frontmatter

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George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

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Jerusalem

*The Topography, Economics and History
from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*

VOLUME 1

GEORGE ADAM SMITH



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Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108063517

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2013

This edition first published 1907
This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-06351-7 Paperback

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the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

JERUSALEM: THE TOPOGRAPHY
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the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*Τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ
δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. Οἶδαμεν
γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία
τοῦ σκῆνους καταλυθῇ, οἰκοδομῆν ἐκ
θεοῦ ἔχομεν, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον
αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*

2 CORINTHIANS IV. 18, V. 1.

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the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

JERUSALEM

THE TOPOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 70

BY

GEORGE ADAM SMITH

D.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE, LITERATURE
AND THEOLOGY, UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LONDON MCMVII

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978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty

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978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TO THE
M E M O R Y
OF
M. S.

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the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

P R E F A C E

IN the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* it was not possible, for reasons of space, to include a topography of Jerusalem, an appreciation of her material resources, or a full study of the historical significance of her site and surroundings. The present volumes are an attempt to deal with these subjects, and to give in addition a history of the City's politics, literature and religion.

In order to prepare the reader for the long and often intricate discussions of so vast a subject, extending over more than fourteen centuries, I have thought it well to present first of all a picture of the essential Jerusalem. This will be found in the Introduction.

Book I. comprises the Topography of the City and the various questions, which this raises, of position and nomenclature, along with some account of the Climate, a chapter on the Geology and another on Earthquakes. For the earthquakes which we know to have visited Jerusalem not only may have affected that exact distribution of the waters on which so many topographical questions depend, but have certainly by their *débris* masked other features of the site, while the

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the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

folklore connected with them has possibly influenced some of the names. There were unfortunately no previous studies of which I could avail myself in dealing with these matters. I have come to no definite conclusions—which, indeed, from the nature of the subject are impossible—but have been content to make a few suggestions and to enforce the need of caution in topographical argument, in face of the disturbance which the earthquakes of Jerusalem have undoubtedly introduced into the tradition of her topography. I have besides quoted the criticisms which the late Sir Charles Wilson kindly sent to me when my views on the subject were first published, so that the reader may judge for himself whether I have gone too far in estimating the influence of the earthquakes. As to the topography itself, one cannot give an adequate idea of it without the details of the controversies—topical, textual and historical—which have been more numerous and more keenly debated in the case of Jerusalem than in that of any other site in the whole world. Recently, however, the main issues have been cleared of much irrelevant reasoning, and there is a remarkable tendency towards agreement upon many of the conclusions.

The following pages, with their innumerable references, will exhibit the greatness of my debt to all who have worked on the site and, in only a less degree than this, to many who have argued about it. I most heartily express my gratitude to the Palestine Exploration Fund and their pioneers in the survey and excavation of the site—especially Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren,

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978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

ix

Colonel Conder, M. Clermont-Ganneau (whose other works are equally valuable), and Dr. F. J. Bliss. For the last thirty years all work on the topography of Jerusalem, whether in English or other languages, has been based on the Fund's Ordnance Survey, its Maps, Plans and Memoirs. These can never cease to be indispensable to the student. In addition, I thank the Executive Committee of the Fund for their generous permission to me to base the large plan of the City which will be found in the pocket of Volume I. upon their Plan of Jerusalem reduced from the Ordnance Plan made by Sir Charles Wilson. I would also record my indebtedness, like that of every other worker on the subject, to the publications of what is now the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*. In particular, the chapter on the Geology and the geological map, by which Mr. Bartholomew has illustrated it, could not have been prepared without the materials supplied in Dr. Blanckenhorn's treatise on the Geology of Jerusalem which appeared in their *Zeitschrift*; and every student of the subject knows the value of Dr. Guthe's excavations on Ophel carried out under their auspices. I also owe much to the *Revue Biblique* and the work of the Dominican Fathers and their colleagues in Jerusalem; and among other individuals especially to Dr. Merrill, who has generously laid his stores of knowledge at the disposal of inquirers, and whose book we eagerly await; to the late Herr Baurath Schick, whose labours on the topography and architecture were so long and constant; to the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, Dr. Masterman, and other

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

residents in Jerusalem; to Mr. R. A. S. Macalister; and to various Directors of the American Archæological School.

In the following treatment of the topography the reader will not find any novel theories of the cardinal questions. Brought up in the traditional views of the position of Şion on the South-west Hill, I have been constrained by the Biblical evidence to conclude with the majority of modern scholars that the original Sion lay on the East Hill somewhere above the Virgin's Spring; and also to agree with those who find the rock of the Altar of Burnt-Offering in the present eṣ-Şakhra, and consequently place the Temple to the west of this. Nor have I many fresh suggestions upon the details of the topography. I found, however, that the Biblical evidence as to the name Şion had not received the exhaustive treatment which I have attempted to give it; and the reader will be interested in at least one of the results of this examination, viz. that the name Şion for the East Hill appears to be avoided by a school of Old Testament writers, and that *the 'Ophel* seems to have been once a synonym for it. As to the Walls of the City, all I have attempted is an elucidation of the results of the excavations and an exegesis of the relevant passages in the Old Testament and Josephus. I think I have given all the evidence that is extant, except in the case of certain alternative theories of the course of the Second Wall, because in my judgment we do not yet possess sufficient material for deciding among them. The question of the Second Wall involves that of the site of Calvary

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978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

xi

and the Sepulchre of our Lord. It may disappoint some readers that I offer no conclusion as to this. But after twenty-seven years' study of the evidence I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or other is yet possible, or perhaps ever will be possible. In this negative result I am confirmed by the opinion of an authority of much greater experience, the late Sir Charles Wilson, whose posthumous work, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, edited by Sir Charles Watson, and published last year by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is a lucid and exhaustive treatment of this difficult subject. After this, to attempt even to restate the evidence would be superfluous and wearisome. Sir Charles Wilson's volume is invaluable to the student and to the visitor to Jerusalem, not only upon this question but on many others in the topography of the City. Nor have I been able, in the present state of our information, to treat many of the details of the structure and arrangement of Herod's Temple; though I am clear that its actual site, size and appearance were as I have described them. But upon these and all other questions of the topography, I must here remind the reader, as I have done several times in the following pages, that the excavation of Jerusalem, though it has been profuse and thorough so far as it has gone, is nevertheless still incomplete, and that much of the ancient site remains unexplored. Whether surprises are in store for us, who can say?

To the topography proper I have added two chapters on the history of the name Jerusalem and on other names

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George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

for the City. The former is founded on a study of the name which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, article 'Jerusalem,' § I, and which has received the approval of so great an authority in philology as Dr. Eberhard Nestle.

Book II. The Economics and Politics.—As I put the chapters on the topography into shape, I found that my first design of adding to them one on the material resources of Jerusalem, her agriculture, industries and commerce, would not be sufficient for its subject. The very difficult problems of the City's economy are immediately suggested by the topography; they run through every phase of her ethics and politics; the character and organisation of her religion are deeply involved in them; and their materials survive even in the most spiritual forms of its symbolism—which are in use at the present day. How was so large a community, especially with the enormous additions made to it on the occasions of the great festivals, able to subsist on such a site in such surroundings? What lands had the City, and what did she grow on them? Devoid as her territory is of many of the necessaries of life, and beset by obstacles to trade, how did she secure the former and overcome the latter? After supplying their own needs, what surplus of natural products did the citizens possess with which to purchase the commodities denied to them by their own soil? What other revenues came to them? There has been no full answer to these problems in the histories of Jerusalem; some of them have hardly been raised by any historian. Yet they are radical to the life of the City, relevant (as I have said) to

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George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

xiii

every phase of her history, and greatly intensified by the growth of her peculiar religious institutions. Each of them requires a chapter to itself; and as among them they start the whole subject of the City's administration, I have added two other chapters upon the constitutional history of Israel from the earliest times to the Roman dominion. For these last there are, of course, many precedents; but as in the economic portions of this work I was without guides, I can hardly have done more than suggest to others fuller and more accurate ways in which to treat the subject.

Book III. The History.—Part of my original design was a sketch of the general history of Jerusalem, without which neither the significance of the site nor the details of the topography, differing as they did from age to age, could be made clear. But I found that this would not be sufficient to accomplish such aims, involving as these do the determination of so many points of historical and literary criticism. And if such a sketch were inadequate to declare the things in Jerusalem that may be seen, handled and physically measured, in so far as they affected the character of her people and the course of her history, still less could it do justice to the things that are unseen, the ethical and religious elements of that history; which, while sometimes determined by the material conditions, often wonderfully transcend both the aids and the obstacles that the latter contribute to them. It became necessary, therefore, to provide what is virtually a political and religious history of Israel from the time when with David the City was

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

Jerusalem

first identified with the fortunes of the People, to that of Titus when such an identification came to an end. This I have done in Book III.

It was impossible to prevent some overlapping among these three divisions of the work. The reader will find not a few anticipations of the general history of Book III. in the chapters of the first two Books. The history of the City under the Romans is treated with great brevity in Book III. because so much of it is already given in Book II. under 'The Government and Police' and 'The Multitude.'

The most of chapters vi., vii., ix. and x. in Book I., of chapter ix. in Book II., and of chapters ii. and iv.-xiii. in Book III., and of Appendices I. and II., along with portions of the Introduction, of chapters iv. and v. in Book I., and of chapters ii. and iii. in Book III., have appeared in the *Expositor* for 1903, 1905, 1906. Chapter x. Book II. was delivered as the Inaugural Lecture for Session 1907-8 of the Board of Theological Studies in the University of Liverpool. All the rest of the work is now published for the first time.

The thirteen Maps and Plans for the volumes have been prepared, like those of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by the eminent Scottish cartographer, Mr. John George Bartholomew, and warm thanks are due to him for all the trouble he has taken in their preparation, as well as for the clearness and impressiveness with which they have been achieved. Of the fifteen Plates, thirteen are from photographs by myself. The two others

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

xv

are of coins (except in two cases) from my own collection. To Mr. George Macdonald, LL.D., Honorary Curator of the Hunterian Coin Cabinet in the University of Glasgow, I owe the reproductions of the two coins from that collection, as well as assistance in determining other coins. My thanks are also due to Messrs. T. and R. Annan and Sons, Glasgow, for their beautiful reproduction of the photographs in collotype.

Two other debts I desire to acknowledge as the greatest of all. As my introduction to the history of Jerusalem, and my earliest interest in it, were due to the guidance of the dear kinswoman, my first teacher, to whose memory I have dedicated this work; so the work would never have been completed but for the constant assistance and counsel of my wife, who, besides reading all the proofs, has prepared the General and Special Indices to both volumes.

I have sought to make the work as useful as I could by giving the greater number of the dimensions and distances stated in the topography in metres as well as in feet, and by multiplying the references to the relevant literature. I have tested all these twice or thrice, but I cannot have escaped falling sometimes into error, and I will be grateful for corrections.

I have appended to this a table of the transliteration of Oriental names.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

GLASGOW,
19th October 1907.

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978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TRANSLITERATION OF SEMITIC NAMES

IN volume I. a number of the familiar historical names have been left in the usual English spelling. The following table explains such of the spelling adopted as may be unusual to the English reader.

HEBREW	ARABIC	ENGLISH TRANSLITERATION
Aleph	Elif	When initial not expressed, when medial ʾ
Gimel		g
	Gim	j
He	Hā	h
Wāw	Wāw	w (in a few cases v)
Ḥeth	Hā	ḥ
	Hā	kh (in a few cases ḫ)
Ṭeth	Tā	ṭ
	Zāy	z
Yodh	Yā	usually i or y (but in the Divine and other proper names j)
Kaph	Kāf	k (but in familiar proper names ch)
ʿAyin	ʿAin	ʿ
	Ghain	usually gh
Ṣadhe	Ṣād	ṣ
Qoph	Qāf	q

Final *he* (silent) is generally expressed, but not always; *e.g.* in titles of the tractates of the Mishna and Talmud. Some of these titles, too, have been given in the notes in the conventional spelling; the accurate transliteration will be found in Special Index III. In the text the Arabic definite article *el* (*en, esh, etc.*) is so spelt—with an *e*. But in a number of names on the large Plan of Jerusalem it appears with an *a*—*al* (*an, ash, etc.*).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

	PAGE
PREFACE	V

INTRODUCTION

THE ESSENTIAL CITY	3
------------------------------	---

BOOK I

THE TOPOGRAPHY—SITES AND NAMES

CHAP.

I. THE SITE OF THE CITY	31
II. FACTS AND QUESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY	44
III. THE GEOLOGY	50
IV. EARTHQUAKES, SPRINGS AND DRAGONS	61
V. THE WATERS OF JERUSALEM	75
1. The Rainfall and other Natural Conditions	77
2. The Springs—Real and Reputed	83
3. The Identification of the Springs	101
4. The Reservoirs and Aqueducts	112

b

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

Jerusalem

CHAP.	PAGE
VI. SION, OPHEL AND 'THE CITY OF DAVID'	134
1. The Arguments from Topography and Archæology	136
2. The Biblical Evidence as to Sion	144
3. History of the Name The 'Ophel'	152
4. History of the Name David's-Burgh or 'City of David'	154
5. The Tradition from Josephus onwards that the 'City of David' lay on the South-West Hill	161
6. The Return to the East Hill	165
VII. THE VALLEY OF HINNOM	170
VIII. THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM	181
1. The Present City Walls	184
2. Proofs of the Ancient Walls up to Titus and their Limits.	187
3. The Historical Evidence	191
4. The Evidence of the Excavations	209
5. The Three North Walls	241
IX. THE NAME JERUSALEM AND ITS HISTORY	250
X. OTHER NAMES FOR THE CITY	266

BOOK II

THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

I. A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS	275
II. THE ETHNIC AND ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF JERUSALEM	283

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

xix

CHAP.	PAGE
III. THE CITY LANDS	288
IV. THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF JERUSALEM	297
V. COMMERCE AND IMPORTS	310
VI. THE ROYAL REVENUES : ESTATES, TRIBUTE, TITHES, TAXATION	337
VII. THE TEMPLE REVENUES, PROPERTIES AND FINANCE	351
VIII. TRADES, CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES	367
IX. GOVERNMENT AND POLICE	377
1. Before the Exile	377
2. After the Return, 536-444 B.C.	380
3. Under Nehemiah, 444-432 B.C.	382
4. From Nehemiah to the Maccabees, 431-168 B.C.	384
5. The Reconstitution of Israel, 168-142 B.C.	398
6. The Hasmonean Dynasty, 142-63 B.C.	407
7. Under the Romans from B.C. 63 onwards	411
X. 'THE MULTITUDE'	435
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUME I.	457
SPECIAL INDEX I.—The Bible and Apocrypha	481
SPECIAL INDEX II.—Josephus	490
SPECIAL INDEX III.—Talmudic Literature	493
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES	495

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xx

Jerusalem

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS IN VOLUME I.

- MAP I. General Plan of Jerusalem, illustrating recent discoveries, reduced by permission from the Palestine Exploration Fund's Plan of Jerusalem by Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.B., etc. *In the pocket of Vol I.*
- MAP II. Map of Judæa *facing page 1*
- MAP III. Comparative Profiles of the East and West Hills, with the Rock-Bed of the Kidron *facing page 42*
- MAP IV. Geological Map of Jerusalem, after Dr. Blanckenhorn *facing page 53*
- MAP V. Walls at the Mouth of the Central Valley, excavated by Dr. Bliss *facing page 219*
- MAP VI. The Northern Walls *facing page 241*

LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME I.

- PLATE I. Jerusalem. Looking South-east between Olivet and Jebel Abu Deir Tor to the Moabite Plateau *facing page 11*
- PLATE II. Jerusalem: Looking East across the Haram esh-Sherif to the Mount of Olives *facing page 11*
- PLATE III. The Valley of Hinnom and the South-West Hill *facing page 33*
- PLATE IV. The Hills and Valleys of Jerusalem from the South-east *facing page 33*
- PLATE V. The Lower Kidron Valley: Looking South *facing p. 81*
- PLATE VI. The North-east Tower of the Citadel *facing p. 192*
- PLATE VII. Courses of Ancient City Wall on the South-West Hill *facing page 214*
- PLATE VIII. The Present North Wall of Jerusalem *facing page 239*
- PLATE IX. Specimens of the Earliest Coins Circulating in Syria and Judæa *facing page 405*
- PLATE X. Specimens of Coins used by the Jews from Herod Archelaus to the Second Revolt, B.C. 4 to A.D. 135 *facing page 413*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from
the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

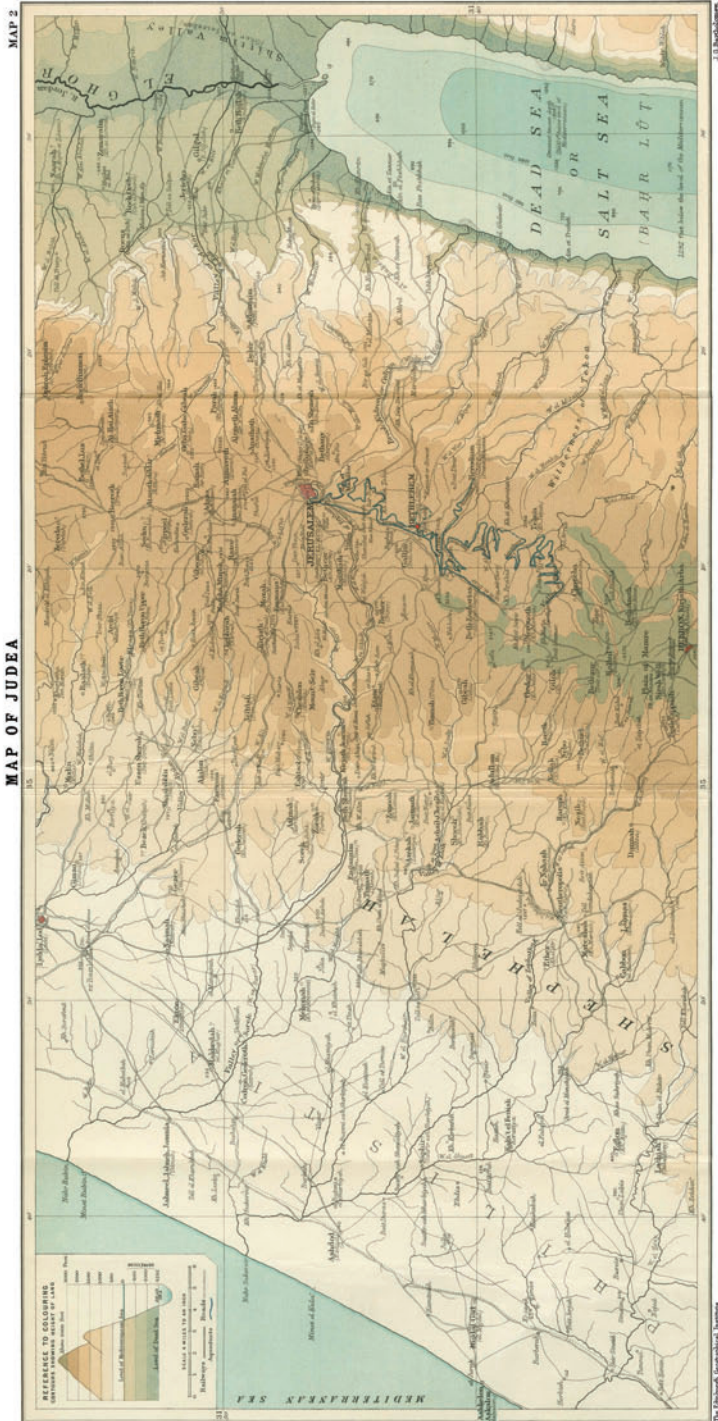
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith
Frontmatter

[More information](#)



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Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06351-7 - Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70: Volume 1

George Adam Smith

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME I.

PAGE

- 48, line 14 : קָלָא'אֵת read קָל'אֵת.
- 51, line 19, and footnote 4 : Lortet read Lartet.
- 78, footnote 3 : Lortet read Lartet.
85. On the reputed spring under the Temple it is interesting to compare Mr. Macalister's discovery of a deep-seated spring, reached by a tunnel below the site of Gezer : *P.E.F.Q.*, January 1908.
- 90, footnote 2 : Kilt read el-Ḳelt.
- 112, to footnote 1 add : But see Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie*, 178 ff.
- 123, line 13 : eĵ-Jib read eĵ-Jġb.
- 144, footnote 3 : ךֿײַצ read ךֿײַצ.
- 174, footnote 3 : 'emek (twice) read 'emek.
- 175, line 7 : Dr. Schwartz (so spelt by Warren) read Rabbi Schwarz.
176. On the Valley and Dung Gates see Mommert, *Topographie d. alten Jerusalem*, iv^{er} Theil, 45 ff. With the Dung-Gate cf. the later name for the S.W. quarter of the City, Beth-so, Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 2.
- 194, line 11 : 64 B.C. read 63 B.C.
- 194, line 24 : vi. read v.
- 197 f. On the course of Nehemiah's night-ride see Mommert, *Topogr. d. alt. Jerus.* iv^{er} Theil 1-12, where he corrects Rückert's view. See also pp. 48 ff. on the Fountain-Gate.
- 201, lines 8, 14, 19 : Ḥanane'-el read Ḥanane'el.
- 350, line 1 : serisim read s̄arisim.
- 366, footnote 1. For Hyrcanus son of Tobias we should probably read Hyrcanus-Tobias. See vol. ii. 426 f.
390. On the date of the Letter of Aristeas see vol. ii. 441 n. 3, 447.
- 393, line 18. The Papyrus discovered at Elephantine (see vol. ii., Prefatory Note, and pp. 354 f. n. 6) show that there was a Persian Governor of Judah in 411 B.C.
- 411, footnote 3 : 64 read 63.
- 440, last line. This was more probably Ptolemy IV. (221-204 B.C.) or Ptolemy V. (204-181). See p. 368.
- INDEX. On p. 467 under Josephus (last line), on p. 469 under Mishna (last line), and on p. 471 under Tosephta, for vol. ii. read vol. i. On p. 476 under Talmud (last line) read—Special Index III. to vol. i.