

GIBEAH OF SAUL AND ZELA. THE SITE OF  
JONATHAN'S HOME AND TOMB.

By THE REV. W. F. BIRCH.

DAVID and Jonathan, a noble pair of friends, in valour were equal, in honours unequal. David with cheeses tripped down to the valley of Elah and silenced Goliath with his first stone. Jonathan with lad, rod and sword, scaled beetling Bozez, and turned to flight armies of aliens. David, king for forty years, was buried with full honours in Zion, the city of David (on Ophel, so called, near Siloam, *Q.S.*, 1878), and his tomb is with us unto this day, untrodden apparently in 1910 by Capt. Parker. Jonathan fell on Gilboa: his body was fastened to the wall of Beth-shan; snatched by the clannish warriors of Jabesh, his bones were buried by them in a dolmen under its (terebinth?) tree, and finally transported by his sad friend to the north side of Zelah of Benjamin—

“Here rests his head upon the lap of earth,  
Nigh Kabr Ibn Israin, in the tomb of Kish.”

As the first stone for the monument (*acre perennius*), due at his native Gibeah to Jonathan, be the proof now tendered that Gibeah of Saul stood five miles north of Jerusalem, on the west side of Wādy ed-Dumm (valley of blood), on the hill known to the Franks for certainly some forty years as Khurbet Adeseh (ruin of Lentils). On October 24th, 1881, the reduced map brought light to me by its shading distinctly showing Gibeah.

In 1882 (*Q.S.*, pp. 59 and 52) the arguments for Adeseh being Gibeah seemed to me conclusive, and a special examination by Col. Mantell on February 20th showed that “the present ruin having tombs, cisterns, and other indications marks an important ancient site” (*ib.*, p. 168). Unhappily Adeseh had been already pre-occupied as the site of the Maccabæan Adasa, and Wādy ed-Dumm credited with having acquired its name from Nicanor's disastrous defeat: a remarkable coincidence and instance of a name apparently confirming an identification.

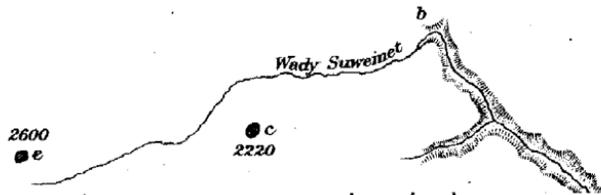
Hasty David might divide Saul's land between Mephibosheth and Ziba, but no one would have the temerity to suggest the division of a small hill between Gibeah and Adasa, or to maintain that the same locality was by Josephus called first Gibeah, then Adasa, next Gibeah of Saul, and finally by Col. Conder and Sir Charles Wilson, Kh. Adeseh. In 1882 I was fully convinced that Adeseh was the true site of Gibeah, but powerless to disperse the attractive popular illusion that Adasa had once stood on the Adeseh hill.

It is to be observed: (1) That Finn, between 1846 and 1863, identified Adasa after a chat with ploughmen. (2) That Prof. Clermont-Ganneau (*Q.S.*, 1874, p. 109) wrote: "One of my men told me that Kh. el-'Adésé, north (?) of Bir Nebala, is called also Beit Lidje"; and in *Researches* showed that the last name is in use about 800 years before, adding that the identity is "certainly proved." (3) That Conder's *Handbook* (1879) stated: "Adasa. The site is still connected with a tradition of some great slaughter, for the ruin of 'Adasah stands above the valley called Wādy ed-Dumm (the valley of blood)," and in the line of advance on Jerusalem (*Q.S.*, 1881, p. 46). (4) That the Fund's map (1880) marked Bir Nebala due west of Adaseh. (5) That the name list in 1881 gave "Kh. Adaseh. The ruin of lentils. Two ruins either of which might be Adasa. . . . The former is more probable. It is said to be also called Kh. Lejjeh, the ruins of the abyss or chasm." (6) That Conder said: "Adasa appears to be the present ruin of 'Adaseh, 6½ miles (= 56 stadia) from the Upper Beth-Horon" (*Mem.*, III, p. 30, 1883). (7) That Clermont-Ganneau (*Researches*) placed Adasa some miles west of Kh. Adeseh and explained Hadashah as meaning in Hebrew "New (city)." (8) That Josephus stated Adasa was 30 (not 56) stadia from Beth-horon, and that I Maccabees vii, 45, states that it was a day's journey from Gezer. (9) That in 1893 the late Sir Charles Wilson (*Dict. of Bible, s.v.*, "Adasa") observed: "Birch suggests Kh. Adaseh, two miles east of El Gib (Gibeon) as a site for Gibeah, but this place is apparently Adasa," etc.

From (2) above it seems that the hill near Wādy ed-Dumm bears two names, one 800 years old, viz., Beit Lejjeh, probably descriptive, from the stony ravine (in which, I conjecture, an interesting cave is to be found), the other Kh. Adeseh, so accepted by Finn some sixty years ago. Another remarkable thing is that while history mentions but one Adasa, the surveyors found a second



- d. CIRCLE OF STONES.
- e. RAMAH.
- f. GIBEAH.
- g. GIBEON.
- h. "THE GATE."
- i. KH. RAS ET-TAWIL.
- j. TEL EL-FUL.
- k. GALLIM (?).
- L. JERUSALEM.
- m. LAISH.
- n. ANATHOTH.
- o. BAHURIM (ALMĒT).
- p. HIZMEH = (ZELA ?).
- q. FARAH = PARAH.



the plateau near *d* he found "large blocks of rock and soon recognised stones put upright forming a kind of rude circle, with about 400 feet diameter . . . not a wall, but stones put at some distance one from another . . . my conviction was that here was one of the ancient 'bamas' or high-places so often mentioned in Scripture."

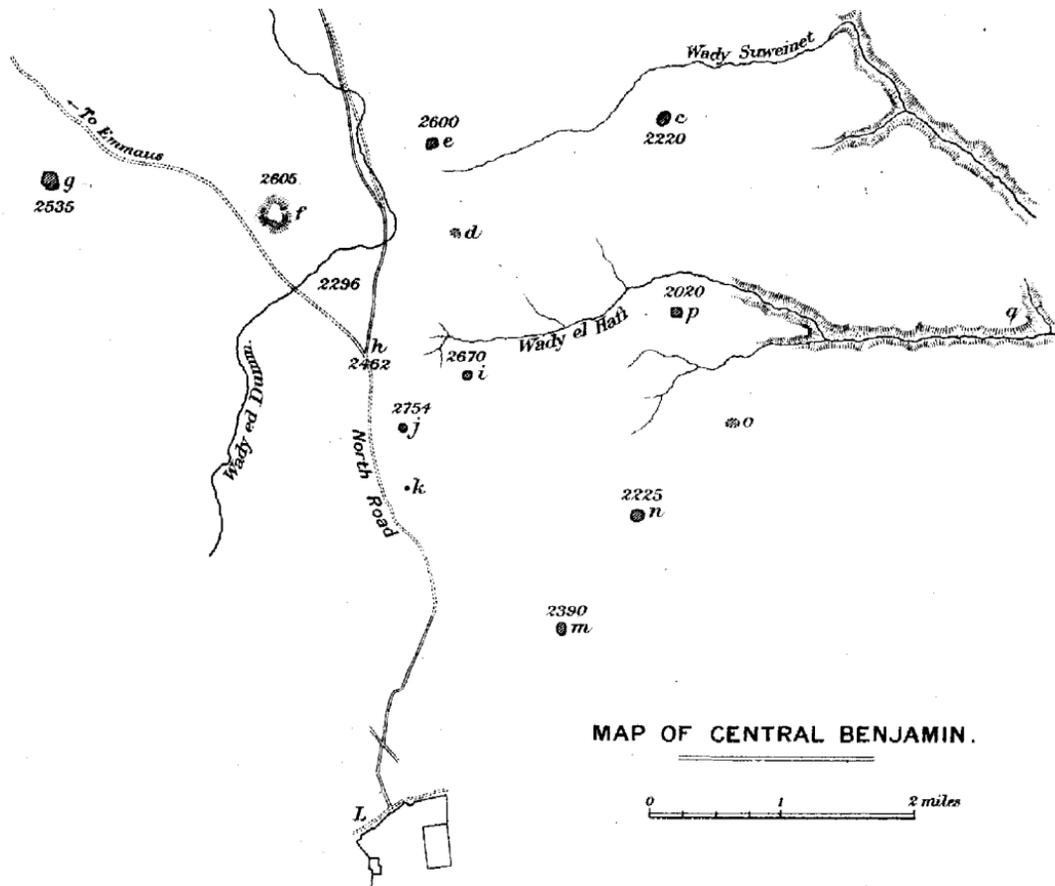
Beginning with Geba he observed in the order given in Is. x., 29, Ramah, Gibeah (Kh. Adaseh), Gallim (Soma), the hill of Laish, Anathoth, Hizmeh (? - Madmenah or Zela). He adds "B. wished to know the place where between Jeba and Er Ram 8 places could be seen; I found a place where I could see not only this eight, but two times more."

## Notes on the Map of Central Benjamin.

- a. MICHMASH.
- b. PASSAGE OF MICHMASH.
- c. GEBA.
- d. CIRCLE OF STONES.
- e. RAMAH.
- f. GIBEAH.
- g. GIBEON.
- h. "THE GATE."
- i. KH. RAS ET-TAWIL.
- j. TEL EL-FUL.
- k. GALLIM (?).
- l. JERUSALEM.
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Schick, after his visit in June, 1891, reported that on the plateau near *d* he found "large blocks of rock and soon recognised stones put upright forming a kind of rude circle, with about 400 feet diameter... not a wall, but stones put at some distance one from another... my conviction was that here was one of the ancient 'bamas' or high-places so often mentioned in Scripture."

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MAP OF CENTRAL BENJAMIN.

Kh. Adeseh only two miles from the first, nearer Jerusalem. The title, however, *valley of blood*, apparently referring to some great struggle, has helped the first Adeseh to be regarded as Adasa of the Maccabees. If it could be shown that probably hereabouts was Gibeah, then as 66,000 fell in the three days' battle in Judges, there would be more reason to attribute the title to this enormous slaughter of Israelites rather than to that of 9,000 Syrians.

Now Josephus writes as a deeply interested eye-witness, when he says (*Wars*, V, ii, 1) that Titus on his march from Gophna to Jerusalem "encamps in a line with the valley called by the Jews in their own tongue the valley of thorns, close by a certain village called Gabath-Saul, which signifies the hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty stadia, and that there he was joined at night by the division from Emmaus." It is vain to suppose that this Jew, who had fought in Galilee and saw Jerusalem destroyed, could blunder in the above passage.

The Rev. C. Hauser (*Q.S.*, 1910, p. 286) treats his words as inaccurate, being misled by a mistake of Conder, who puts the valley of thorns near Geba, because the wady there "is called Wady Suweinit, the valley of the little thorn tree," (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 105). Finn, however (*Byeways*, p. 207), says: "Suwan (Arabic, diminutive Suwaineet) signifies *flint*," the term valley of flints is common on the map. In the wady they abound. Why then impress a thornbush?

The annexed map shows that the road from Emmaus joins the great north road from Jerusalem to Gophna at thirty stadia from Jerusalem, while Sir Charles Wilson wrote that this junction "is just the position that an army advancing on Jerusalem and expecting reinforcements by the Beth-horon road might be expected to take up. Hereabouts then must have been the valley of thorns, perhaps Wady ed-Dumm west of the (north) road, or Wady el-Hafi east of it." As the latter lies over the eastern hill, Titus could hardly encamp in a line with it or over against it. The map shows that Wady ed-Dumm lies about half-way between Kh. Adeseh and the camp. Near that wady, or the camp, Josephus places Gibeah (not Geba), though some wrongly think the two were identical.

Adasa (Maccabaeon) has been generally connected with Hebrew 'Adashim (lentils), and the name list (as stated) gives two Kh. Adasehs within two miles of each other. A search therein gave a third Kh. el-Addeisiyeh (ruin of the lentil fields), then Nos. 4

and 5 of the same name, Wādy el-Adasiyeh (valley of lentils); then No. 6, Bir Adas (the well of lentils); Nos. 7 and 8, Khallet el-Adas (the dell of lentils); while Schumacher or Ollivant in Eastern Palestine found two more el-Adesehs, making in all ten lentil names, only one of which could possibly have had anything to do with the Maccabæan Adasa. But if nine Adesehs could spring up in Palestine without history to aid them, why not one? Why *must* the first be due to the Maccabæan Adasa? I invite a reply.

Now (after 1886) one perused *Across the Jordan*, p. 325, and read with interest: "El-Adeseh (the concrete of small pebbles used in Palestine, is called el-Adeseh)." Syrians here tell me the same, as also Abdallah Kayat of Jaffa. Did Esau ever eat Adeseh pottage? Thus at last it is clear that Finn's Adeseh need have nothing to do with Adasa and the Maccabæan valour near Wādy ed-Dumm, but merely with pottery or pottage; and that while Finn rested and mused on the old village Adasa, the communicative Sauls only droned about the soil and produce of their "important site." The illusion to me was instantly dissolved and has never returned. It is due, however, to Finn, who discovered so much, to observe that he had not then heard of Layard's tale (*Q.S.*, 1866, p. 12) of *Mabarafsh* (= "I do not know") becoming a common name on a map, or of Graham's warning to an incautious traveller that "any site, if he asks for it, will be pointed out." Adasa at Kh. Adeseh is thus evidently a mare's nest. We have been innocently imposed upon over it. I therefore now claim Adeseh for Gibeah.

Gibeah is to be distinguished from Geba.

Gibeah means hill, so does Geba. Both were towns in Benjamin, the first belonging to the Benjamites, the latter to the priests. They are mentioned as *distinct* towns in Isaiah x, 29. Geba is admitted to be Jeba on the south side of the passage of and facing Michmash. In Hebrew the two differ merely by one letter, but to suit the topographical indications in Judges and Samuel, it is necessary in the Hebrew text twice to change Geba into Gibeah, and twice Gibeah into Geba, a demand which causes a passing shudder. Yet some (as Conder) have maintained that the words are actually *interchangeable*, and have not been interchanged by a clerical error. It is true, however, that at times in the Bible a letter is corrupted in proper names: thus the son of Mikloth, only twice named, is called Shimcah and Shimeam, a light matter. Parah, near Anathoth, is also named three times in Jeremiah xiii,

but, in one instance, by Hebrew *He* being read as *Tau*, it has actually become "Euphrates," thus requiring Jeremiah to plod four times 400 miles between the Euphrates and Anathoth, instead of sauntering four times four miles between his native city and the picturesque spring of Farah, where David refreshed himself (2 Samuel xvi, 14). Josephus does violence to Biblical topography by needlessly fixing the cave of Adullam near the city of Adullam (names recur in the Bible, *e.g.*, at least eight names under A are applied to more than one place); then some critics go further and abolish entirely the famous cave (of Khureitun) as unfit for habitation by David and his set, but Drake certified that it was "dry and airy and admirably suited for an outlaw's hiding-place" (*Q.S.*, 1884, p. 61). Similarly it may at first seem reckless in me to interchange Gibeah and Geba four times in the Hebrew text, until one adds that the two names occur more than forty times in the Bible, so that the change is but one in ten places, while the examples given above are one in five, and even one in two. Adding and omitting *words* in Biblical topography seems to me a high-handed proceeding, compared with adding, removing or correcting now and then a (corrupted) letter or two.

Let me now name the four changes absolutely required in the Hebrew for the position of Gibeah to be proved. Gibeah must be *twice* read in Judges xx, 10, 33, as in A.V. (it is well also to read Geba in verse 31). This is demanded by the context. The *third* alteration is in 1 Samuel xiv, 2: "Saul abode in the uttermost part of Geba," just where he was in chap. xiii, 16: "he abode in Geba (Hebrew text) of Benjamin"; and the *fourth* is "the watchmen of Saul in Geba of Benjamin looked and, behold, the multitude melted away," etc. It is absurd to think that Saul was near the south cliff of the defile, with the enemy in front, while his sentinels were in his rear, it might be miles away, at Gibeah (not as yet fixed). Abner, indeed, slept on the hill of Hachilah, but surely not on the rock Rimmon (*Q.S.*, 1880, p. 106), or in Rimmon's cave (*Q.S.*, 1879, p. 124), with the foe over against him.

Isaiah's striking description of Sennacherib's extraordinary but actual advance on Jerusalem (see *Q.S.*, 1902, p. 197) by Ai (Kh. Haiyan), Michmash, Geba (Jeba) to Nob (near Shafat), clearly distinguishes Geba from Gibeah of Saul by naming both in Isaiah x, 28-31: "Geba is our lodging; Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Cry aloud with thy voice, O daughter of Gallim! Harken,

O Laishah! O thou poor Anathoth! Madmenah is a fugitive; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee." This passage is not merely rhetorical, but (*Q.S.*, 1877, p. 58) gives the places in correct order in the panorama as seen, not from Geba (as stated in 1877), but from a hilltop (with curious remains upon it) about one mile south-west of Geba. In 1891, Schick ascertained this point and took the bearings given in the chart. He says, of Laish, "L'Isawiyeh, the *village*, I could not see, situated on the south slope of the hill, which I was fully in sight of, but was not certain at what point the village will be beyond." Hizmeah was in view (? = Madmenah and [?] formerly called Zela). The whole letter, etc., is well worth printing, as showing the accuracy of Biblical topography.

As Isaiah gives Geba and Gibeah as two distinct cities, who can set aside his accuracy and precision (as established above) in favour of the *M.S.* for Judges, etc.? Indeed, the two (though near to one another) were in distinct water-basins, Gibeah in the western, Geba in the eastern; and how to make watchmen in Gibeah see (and hear) what was going on among the Philistines (over the hill) near Michmash, opposite to Geba, has been a puzzle for 2,000 years. The LXX (in Isaiah) omits both names, giving instead "the city of Saul." Josephus (I fancy) uses one word for both, while the confusion appears in the A.V., whose translators had no map to help them.

Robinson at first placed (so Conder and others still do) Gibeah at Jeba (Geba), a fatal mistake, as they are distinct. He soon changed to Tel el-Ful the now popular site, but Conder offered the fatal objection that the Survey shows that "Tel el-Ful cannot have been the site of an ancient town (*Q.S.*, 1881, p. 44). It is probably a beacon and not a city at all" (p. 89)! No answer is forthcoming. In 1880 (*Q.S.*, p. 237) I began to doubt about Tel el-Ful and to look further north, until the Reduced Map drew my attention to Kh. Adeseh. It is clear from Judges that Gibeah was near the north road and south of Ramah, from Josephus (as above) that the Roman camp, which would be near that road and near (πρός) Gibeah and the Valley of Thorns, was about thirty stadia from Jerusalem, and that the legion from Emmaus passed near Kh. Adeseh to reach the camp, and from Jerome that Paula, taking the same road, would, after passing Gibeon on her right hand, also pass near Kh. Adeseh, stopping for a short time somewhere at Gibeah (then in ruins) on her way to Jerusalem.

It has been shown that Gibeah was neither Geba nor Tel el-Ful. Mr. Hauser's proposed site at Neby Samwil (Mizpeh) is too far from Titus's line of march, and Kh. Ras et-Tawil is merely offered as a possible site by Sir C. Wilson. Let me now give two proofs, one short, the other long, that Gibeah of Saul was situated at Kh. Adeseh.

The Levite bound for Shiloh decided to lodge in Gibeah or in Ramah, both near the north road. The league leading to the junction (Bab el-Muallakah = "the overhanging gate," see Map)—a *via dolorosa* to countless pilgrims—never saw one more pitiable than the master of the servant who knew that Jebusites were better than Benjamites. So they passed over Scopus and went their ill-fated way, ever and anon glancing at the rapidly declining sun, and had already reached "the Gate" when (as Wickliffe translated it) "the sonne wente down to hem beside Gaba" (*i.e.*, Gibeah, Judges xix, 14); Matthewe from Tyndale inserted "when they were" (fast by Gibaah).

To me the Hebrew certainly seems to imply that they *saw* it set beside Gibeah, at any rate in their protracted anxiety they would watch it "sinking to sleep." In the following, *to him* seems equal to *he saw*. Mark i, 10: "He saw the heavens opened, and," etc. Matthew iii, 16: "Lo, the heavens were opened *unto him*, and he saw," etc. This is literal, but figuratively Isaiah gives (?) as parallel (chap. ix, 2): "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon (Hebrew *'al*) them hath the light shined." Surely one might say that the term is like a dative of special limitation expressing that the sunset appeared under a special aspect as regarded from a certain point of view, *i.e.*, where the party stood.

If it be said that the Levite probably may (but not necessarily, according to grammar and usage, *must*) have seen the sun set close by Gibeah, and that *for them* may only mean that they were close to Gibeah, then perhaps some one will give another Biblical instance. 2 Samuel ii, 24, says: "The sun went down when they were come to the hill of Ammah (*i.e.*, the mother city, as in 2 Samuel xx, 19, viii, 1, *i.e.*, Gibeah) which lieth before Giah (the valley Wady ed-Dumm) by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon." Why should Judges not say "when they came to Gibeah"? If from the north road the sun was seen to be near Gibeah, it follows that Gibeah was west of the road, and as Kh. Adeseh is the only suitable hill on the west near Wady ed-Dumm it practically follows that the site of Gibeah

is proved by one word in Judges xix, 14. But if one word does not, like David's first stone, settle the business, one must use—like Jonathan—lad, rod, and sword. Now, first, Josephus fixes the camp of Titus thirty stadia from Jerusalem, near the gate. Next, the camp was in line with a wādy, the only possible one being Wādy ed-Dumm. Thirdly, in the third battle (Judges xx, 43) the Israelites "enclosed the Benjamites round about, chased them, trod them down at Menuchah, as far as over against Gibeah toward the sunrising." Thus 18,000 fell: some turned and fled to the Rock of Rinmon, east of Geba . . . . "they followed hard after them right up to Gidom" (verse 44). As Josephus, who was with the Romans and no doubt knew the wādy, says that the Benjamites were driven together into a hollow place (? valley) full of chasms or ravines and there shot down by the Israelites that stood around them (except the 600), the place is obviously some part of Wādy ed-Dumm, opposite Kh. Adeseh. Mr. Henderson says Gidom means "*the cutting down, i.e., the place of the massacre.*" Here also I should put the stone Ezel, near which David hid. The valley lower down (as I observed in 1875) has good hiding-places. The cave, in which part of the ambush was placed, may still be found in the valley.

Thus we have opposite Adeseh (1) Gidom (Judges); (2) Valley of Thorns (Josephus, *Wars*, V, ii, 1); and (3) a valley now called Valley of Blood; three names for one place, or rather originally one name with alterations. If Gidom were the original name, by the time of Josephus it was regarded as Gai-Dummim (Hebrew) "Valley of Blood," so now called. After the *Wars* was translated into Greek, in some way Αἱμάτων, "blood," was read as Ἀκάνθων, "thorns." Let me here quote a letter from the Rev. E. L. Hicks, now Bishop of Lincoln: "Hulme Hall, September 2nd, 1891. There is nothing impossible in the confusion you suggest, so far as MS. probability goes. The *correctness* of the conjecture must be decided upon from other and intrinsic reasons. In a MS. (say) of the first century A.D., the word would be written ΑΙΜΑΤΩΝ, which might be mistaken for ΑΚΑΝ . . ΩΝ, especially if the letters were a little crowded; then suppose IM misread for K and the latter part of the word might soon be corrupted . . . . E. L. Hicks." Why not change the false name of the hill on the map and call it Gibeah (Beit Jonathan)? If topographers admit that Kh. Adeseh is not the site of Adasa, let them follow Rizpah, and, leaving the tragic hill of Gibeah, cross the water-parting and go

down Wādy el-Hafi, or valley of the barefooted man (nicknamed Mephibosheth) and examine the five dolmens (Finn, p. 209; *Mem.*, III, p. 101) called Kabur el-Beni Israim, marking the tombs of five grandsons of Saul erected by men of Jabesh; find south of the wādy the tomb of Kish with the gigantic *kōk* of Saul, in which tomb Jonathan's bones or ashes lie, and "the tomb of the two brothers" Armoni and Mephibosheth lower down the valley (Ganneau's *Researches*, Vol. II, p. 278).

## REPORT ON THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

*Translated from the Diary of the Captain of the Escort of the Pilgrims.*

MILITARY Report of the Expedition of the "Hag Sherif" (Holy Pilgrimage) of 1301 and 1302 (A.H.):—

At 9 a.m. on the morning of Sunday, September 7th, 1884, the Mahmal Sherif left by a special train from Abbassiyeh to Suez where it arrived at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. After the procession had been paraded through the city up to 6 o'clock, the Mahmal was again placed on the train and we proceeded to the docks.

On Monday, September 8th, we remained in the docks.

On Tuesday, September 9th, at 9 a.m., the baggage and Mahmal were shipped on board the "Rahmaniyeh," and the steamer left the docks and we slept at sea.

On Wednesday, September 10th, at 6 a.m., the steamer left for Jidda.

On Friday, September 12th, at 11 a.m., we arrived at Yembo el-Bahr, and after making the necessary salutes from the steamer we remained there up to 2 p.m., then left for Jidda.

On Saturday, September 13th, at 12 noon, we arrived at Jidda when passengers and baggage were all landed on shore and remained there until next morning for want of transport, but the Mahmal camels, Holy Carpet, and Treasury were left on board and were disembarked in the morning.

On Sunday, September 14th, at 8 a.m., the necessary procession was made and passed through the streets of Jidda *en route* for the